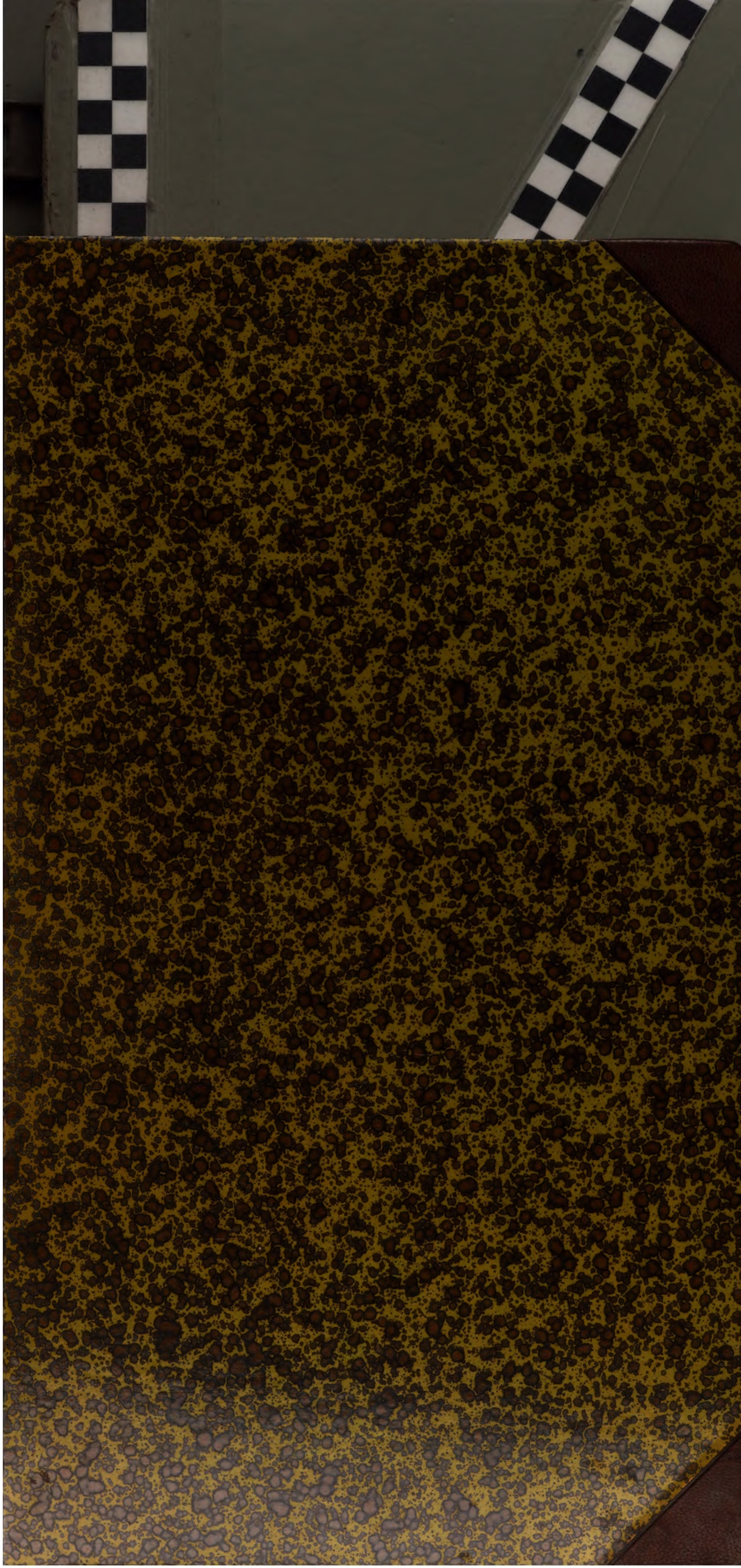
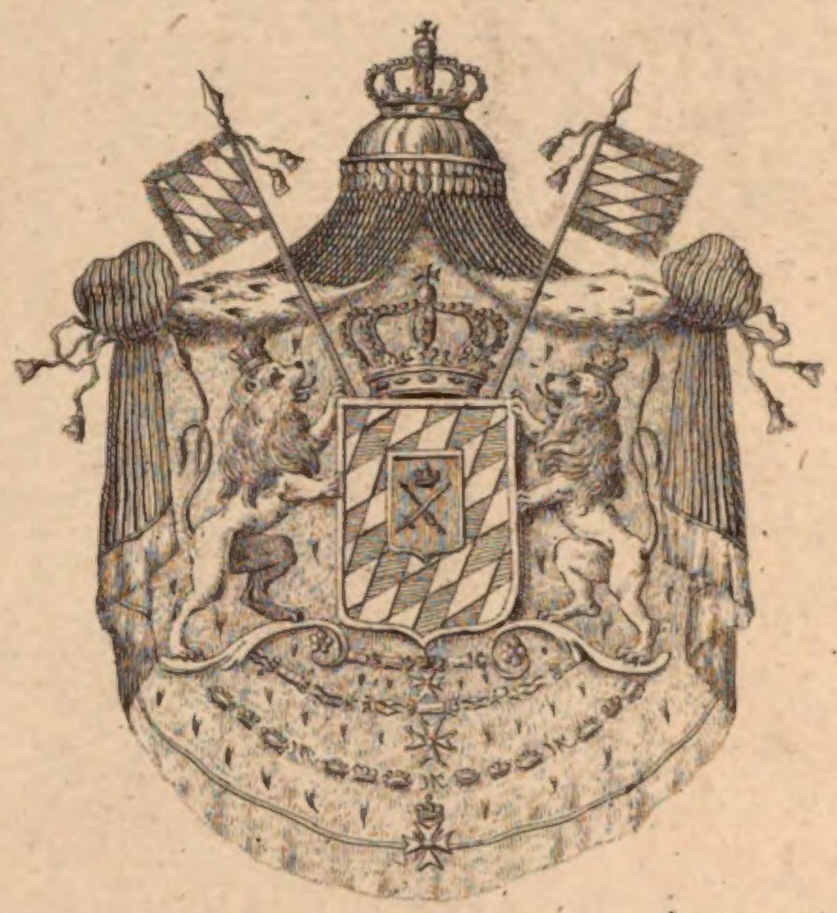


2° Biogr. C. 12 b/5



BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
MONACENSIS.

<36626282350011

<36626282350011

Bayer. Staatsbibliothek

# BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.

VOLUME THE FIFTH.

ΔΟΓΠΔΙΕ ΔΗΕ ΒΙΔΙΓ

# ΒΚΙΔΥ ИИΓCΥ

## ΒΙΟCΚΥΔΗΙΥ

# Biographia Britannica:

OR, THE

# LIVES

OF THE

## MOST EMINENT PERSONS

WHO HAVE FLOURISHED IN

## GREAT-BRITAIN

AND

## IRELAND,

FROM THE EARLIEST AGES, TO THE PRESENT TIMES:

COLLECTED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES, PRINTED AND MANUSCRIPT,

AND DIGESTED IN THE MANNER OF

Mr. BAYLE's Hiſtorical and Critical DICTIONARY.

THE SECOND EDITION,

With CORRECTIONS, ENLARGEMENTS, and the Addition of New LIVES:

By ANDREW KIPPIS, D.D. F.R.S. and S.A.

With the Aſſiſtance of the Rev. JOSEPH TOWERS, LL.D.

And other GENTLEMEN.

VOLUME THE FIFTH.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY JOHN NICHOLS,

FOR T. LONGMAN, B. LAW, H. BALDWIN, C. DILLY, G. G. AND J. ROBINSON,
J. NICHOLS, H. GARDNER, W. OTTRIDGE, F. AND C. RIVINGTON, A. STRAHAN,
J. MURRAY, T. EVANS, S. HAYES, J. DEBRETT, T. PAYNE, W. LOWNDES,
J. SCATCHERD, DARTON AND HARVEY, AND J. TAYLOR.

1793.

786 F

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

SACRED

TO THE MEMORY OF

Sir DAVID DALRYMPLE, Bart.

LORD HAILES, OF NEW HAILES,

NEAR EDINBURGH,

AND ONE OF THE SENATORS

OF THE COLLEGE OF JUSTICE,

IN THAT CITY;

TO WHOM THIS VOLUME

WAS INTENDED TO HAVE BEEN INSCRIBED,

IN TESTIMONY OF RESPECT

FOR HIS EXCELLENT CHARACTER AND ACCURATE LEARNING,

AND OF GRATITUDE FOR HIS LONG CORRESPONDENCE WITH,

AND NUMEROUS COMMUNICATIONS TO,

THE EDITOR OF THE

BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA,

October 22,
1793.

ANDREW KIPPIS.

# PREFACE

TO THE

## FIFTH VOLUME OF THE SECOND EDITION.

ALTHOUGH, from the extenſive nature of the preſent Work, I have declined being anſwerable to the Public for the ſpecific times in which the ſucceſſive parts of it ſhall appear, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that this Fifth Volume would undoubtedly have been given to the world at leaſt ſix months ſooner, had not peculiar and temporary circumſtances made ſuch demands upon the printer, and, indeed, upon printers in general, that undertakings of a permanent kind were obliged to ſubmit to a conſiderable degree of interruption. One advantage, however, ariſes even from delay, which is, that, in conſequence of new publications, ſuch a continual acceſſion is afforded to the Treaſures of Biography as contributes to render our Repoſitory more inſtructive and valuable.

This Volume preſents an additional ſet of friends, to whom, for their aſſiſtance, my thanks are particularly due. The articles of Mr. Day, Mrs. Delany, Mr. Orton under Dr. Doddridge, Archbiſhop Dolben, Profeſſor Duncan, Mr. William and Mr. John Duncombe, Dr. John Edwards, and Dr. Thomas Edwards, of Coventry, will ſhew how much I am indebted to the communications of the late Mrs. Day and William Lowndes, Eſq.; George Keate and Court Dewes, Eſqrs.; the Rev. Mr. Stedman, Vicar of St. Chad's, Shrewſbury; John Engliſh Dolben Eſq.; Mrs. Duncombe, of Canterbury, and Anthony Highmore, Eſq.; Dr. Gerard, Profeſſor of Divinity, in King's College, Aberdeen; an anonymous Benefactor, whom I have reaſon to believe to be a perſon of very high rank in the Church; and Dr. Edwards, of Cambridge, and the Rev. Peter Emans.

To Mr. Park, of Piccadilly, I muſt pay my grateful acknowledgements, not only for his information relative to Drummond of Hawthornden, but for a ſeries of Addenda to various articles in the preceding Volumes. Theſe I have thought proper to inſert ſeparately, at the end of my own Addenda.

The obligations I have received have extended not ſolely to occaſional aſſiſtance, but, in ſeveral caſes, to the gratuitous communication of entire articles. To Dr. Diſney I owe the account of the Rev. John Diſney. The Life of Humphrey Ditton was ſent me by Mr. Newton, of New Ormond Street. For the Article of Dr. Daniel Duncan, and the curious narrative of the Duncan Family, I am obliged to the Rev. Dr. John Duncan, Rector of South-Warmborough, Hants. The Account of Sir Richard Fanſhawe has been compoſed, at my particular requeſt, by Edmund Turnor, jun. Eſq. of Panton, in Lincolnſhire, who is deſcended from a branch of the family. All theſe Articles will, I doubt not, be judged to be valuable parts of the preſent volume.

# PREFACE.

The curious Life of Sir John Faſtolff, which was elaborately, but awkwardly, written by Mr. Oldys, Richard Gough, Eſq; has condeſcended entirely to new-model. In doing this Mr. Gough has not only made uſe of Mr. Oldys's materials, but has enriched the Account with much additional information, ariſing from his ſuperior and eminent knowledge in whatever relates to Antiquarian Literature.

One Gentleman is yet remaining, to whom my acknowledgments are eſpecially due. The gentleman I mean is the Rev. Francis Henry Egerton, Rector of Whitechurch, in Shropſhire, and Prebendary of Durham, who has favoured me with the accurate and elaborate life of his great anceſtor, the Lord Chancellor Egerton. This is, in every reſpect, ſo much ſuperior to the Article concerning his Lordſhip in the former edition, that it will juſtly be regarded as an important acceſſion to the Biographia.

There is one article, from the length of which I am apprehenſive of being charged with ſome degree of partiality, ariſing from my particular profeſſion and connections. It is the life of Dr. Philip Doddridge. What I have to ſay, by way of apology, is as follows: Firſt, having been requeſted to write a life of that eminent divine, to be prefixed to the ſeventh edition of his Family Expoſitor, and this being (though with conſiderable acceſſions of new matter), in a great meaſure, an abridgment of Mr. Orton's Memoirs, I found that to abridge my own account ſtill farther would render it leſs intereſting than it is in its preſent form. Secondly, The narrative contains much information relative to the Proteſtant Diſſenters during the period in which Dr. Doddridge flouriſhed; and the hiſtory of ſects conſtitutes a part of the general eccleſiaſtical and literary hiſtory of any country. Thirdly, the Doctor is a divine who is held in ſuch great reputation by the Clergy and Laity of the Church of England, that there is reaſon to believe, that a copious account of him will be as acceptable to *them* as to thoſe of his own Denomination. Fourthly, There are interſperſed, through the narrative, various anecdotes reſpecting ſeveral of the moſt dignified and diſtinguiſhed ornaments of the eſtabliſhed religion. Fifthly, Nothing will be found in the article which can give juſt cauſe of offence to any party of Chriſtians. And, ſixthly, Having been a pupil of Dr. Doddridge, and highly favoured by him; and regarding his memory with the utmoſt gratitude, reverence, and affection, as my benefactor, friend, and father; if theſe circumſtances have led me aſtray, it can only be ſaid, that the feelings of the heart have been ſuperior to the dictates of the underſtanding. Should theſe conſiderations not be deemed of ſufficient force to conſtitute my vindication, I ſhall patiently, and even chearfully, ſubmit to any cenſures that may be paſſed upon me.

It is with ſome degree of confidence that I offer to public inſpection a Volume which contains fifty new lives, and additions (ſeveral of them very large) to almoſt forty old articles. In ſo complicated a work, there will undoubtedly occur various errors and defects; and diverſities of judgment will be formed concerning different objects. But if, on the whole, it ſhall appear that there is not any diminution of diligence or candour in the preſent volume, and that it contains no ſmall ſtore of Hiſtorical, Biographical, Miſcellaneous, and Literary, Information, the Editor has no doubt of receiving that approbation with which the labours of himſelf and his co-adjutors have hitherto been indulged.

A. K.

FARTHER

# CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA

TO THE

# First Volume of the Biographia Britannica.

## ALDRICH (Henry), p. 131.

OF Dr. Aldrich's knowledge and taſte in building notice is taken in a Treatiſe upon the Elements of Architecture, publiſhed in 1789.

## ALLEYN (Edward), p. 157.

For a very curious and accurate account of Dulwich College, and its Founder, Edward Alleyn, our Readers are referred to the Rev. Daniel Lyſons's late valuable publication, entituled, "The Environs of London," Vol. I. p. 87—106. We ſhall tranſcribe the inſcription which there is, upon a tablet of black marble, over the door, in the centre of the front building of the College:

" Regnante Jacobo,
" Primo totius Britannæ monarcho,
" Edward Alleyn, Armiger,
" Theromachiæ Regiæ præfectus,
" Theatri Fortunæ dicti Choragus,
" Ævique ſui Roſcius,
" Hoc Collegium inſtituit;
" Atque ad duodecim Senes egenos,
" Sex ſcilicet Viros et totidem Fœminas
" Commode ſuſtentandos,
" Paremque Puerorum Numerum alendum,
" Et in Chriſtina Diſciplina et bonis Literis erudiendum,
" Re ſatis amplâ inſtruxit.
" Porro,
" Ne quod Deo dicaverat poſtmodo fruſtra fieret,
" Sedulo cavit.
" Diplomate namque regio munitus, juſſit
" Et a Magiſtro, Cuſtode, et quatuor Sociis,
" Qui et Conſcientiæ Vinculis aſtricti,
" Et ſua ipſorum Utilitate admoniti,
" Rem bene adminiſtrarent,
" In perpetuum regeretur.
" Poſtquam Annos bene multos Collegio ſuo præfuiſſet,
" Dierum tandem et bonorum Operum ſatur,
" Fato conceſſit,
" VI Cal. Decris, A. D. 1616.
" Beatus ille qui miſertus eſt Pauperum.
" Abi tu et fac ſimiliter (*a*)."

(*a*) The environs of London. Vol. I. p. 105, 106.

In Alleyn's article, it is ſaid, that he was twice or three times married; and Mr. Lyſons informs us, that the tradition in the College has always been, that he had three wives; though there is no account of more than two. That he had only two wives is now aſcertained by Mr. Malone, in his Prolegomena to his late edition of Shakeſpeare. Joan Woodward was the daughter of Agnes, the widow of ——— Woodward, whom Henſlowe married after Woodward's death. Mr. Alleyn, therefore, did not marry the daughter, but the ſtep-daughter, of Henſlowe, who was one and the ſame perſon with

the daughter of Woodward. Henſlowe, in the Biographia, is erroneouſly called Hinchtoe (*b*).

(*b*) "Biographia." Vol. I. p. 152, 153. "Environs of London." Vol. I. p. 88. Monthly Review, for September, 1793, p. 72.

## ANNESLEY (ARTHUR), Earl of Angleſey, p. 202.

The note *L*, the deſign of which is to deſtroy the credit of the Earl of Angleſey's memorandum concerning the Eikon Baſilike's having been written by Dr. Gauden, forms a curious inſtance of ingenious reaſoning againſt a matter of fact. It is now clearly aſcertained that Gauden was the Author of that book. In the third volume of the Clarendon State-papers are ſeveral of his letters, in which he claims the merit of having been the ſole writer of the work, and grounds upon it his title to farther promotion and favour. It does not appear that his aſſertions either were, or could, be called in queſtion. Previouſly to the publication of the Clarendon papers, we had concurred in opinion with thoſe who believed the Eikon Baſilike to be King Charles's own production. Some extracts from Biſhop Gauden's Letters, and a farther diſcuſſion of the ſubject, will more properly find a place in our addition to that prelate's article (*c*).

(*c*) Clarendon State-papers, Vol. III. Supplement, p. xxvi—xxxii. eſpecially p. xxix, xxx.

## ARABELLA (STUART), p. 229.

It is aſſerted, in the original article of this lady, that ſhe was far from being either beautiful in her perſon, or from being diſtinguiſhed by any extraordinary qualities of mind, and yet ſhe met with many admirers, on account of her royal deſcent, and near relation to the Crown of England. This aſſertion, ſo diſadvantageoas to Arabella Stuart, has been laid hold of by Mr. Lodge, in his "Illuſtrations of Britiſh Hiſtory;" and, in his Remarks upon it, he hath indulged himſelf in ſome reflections, rather of a ſarcaſtic nature, on the perſons concerned in the new edition of the Biographia. But, if he had chanced to look forward to the end of the article, he would have found a note added by us, in which we have not only pointed out the error of our predeceſſor, but done full juſtice to the intellectual accompliſhments, and perſonal beauty, of the Lady Arabella. A regard to our own character has obliged us to take notice of this circumſtance, in doing which we act from no diſreſpect to Mr. Lodge; of the value and uſefulneſs of whoſe work we are entirely ſenſible (*d*).

(*d*) Illuſtrations of Britiſh Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 178, 179.

## BATHE (WILLIAM), p. 691.

At the beginning of this article, it is ſaid, that the family of the Bathes were heretofore of conſiderable conſequence in the counties of Dublin and Meath, and diſperſed into many branches; but that, what by rebellions, extravagance of heirs, or one misfortune or other, it has been reduced to narrow bounds, inſomuch that not one of them remains now of any rank in their country. The latter part of what is here inſerted is founded on a miſtake. It is true that the family has ſuffered much, both in its ſplendour and fortune, on account of the unhappy attachment of the principal members of it to the Roman Catholic religion, and the Houſe of Stuart. But the de Bathes have continued in regular deſcent down to this time, and have retained ſome part of their property in Ireland, eſpecially in the County of Meath.——————Till lately, they have chiefly reſided abroad; and, in a courſe of years, the original name of de Bathe was changed to Bath. James Michael de Bathe, Eſq. who is a Proteſtant, is the preſent head of the family. Having produced unqueſtionable evidence of his deſcent, in the direct male line, through ſeveral centuries, from the de Bathes, as well as from other illuſtrious anceſtors, his claim has been certified and recorded in the Heralds' office in Ireland, and acknowledged and regiſtered in the College of Arms in England. In conſequence of this, his Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to grant him licence and authority to aſſume the name of de Bathe, according to the ancient cuſtom of the family. This grant appeared in the London Gazette, of March 26, 1793, and is as follows:

"*Whitehall*, March 26.

"The King has been pleaſed to grant to James Michael Bath, of Knightſtown, "Caſhel, and Ladyrath, in the County of Meath and Kingdom of Ireland, Eſq. now "reſident in the pariſh of St. Mary-le-Bone, in the County of Middleſex, and his "iſſue, his Royal Licence and Authority to take and uſe the name of De-Bathe, as "anciently uſed by his family: and, alſo, to order that this his Majeſty's conceſſion and "declaration be regiſtered in the College of Arms."

FARTHER

FARTHER

# CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA

TO THE

# Third Volume of the Biographia Britannica.

## BUNYAN (John), p. 13.

DR. JOHNSON, we are told by Mr. Boſwell, praiſed John Bunyan highly. The ſhort but comprehenſive character which the Doctor gave of him was as follows: 'His "Pilgrim's Progreſs" has great merit, both for invention, imagination, 'and the conduct of the ſtory; and it has had the beſt evidence of its merit, the 'general and continued approbation of mankind. Few books, I believe, have had a 'more extenſive ſale. It is remarkable, that it begins very much like the Poem 'of Dante; yet, there was no tranſlation of Dante when Bunyan wrote. There is 'reaſon to think that he had read Spenſer (*a*)."

(*a*) Boſwell's Life of Dr. Samuel Johnſon, Vol. II. p. 97. Second edition.

## BURNET (Gilbert), p. 41.

In the former Corrigenda & Addenda to this Volume, we have ſaid, upon evidence which we deemed authentic, that there are no deſcendants left of Biſhop Burnet. An extract from a letter, with which we have been favoured by the Rev. Mr. Williams, of Wellſbourn, Warwickſhire, will amply enable us to correct our miſtake. The letter was dated on the third of October, 1789.

"The truth of the caſe is, that there are now living ſeven legitimate deſcendants of "the Biſhop, viz. Firſt, On the male ſide—Governor Burnet had, beſides Captain "Burnet, a legitimate ſon, named Gilbert, a moſt accompliſhed gentleman, and a moſt "incorrigible rake, who died early in life, but not before he had abſolutely exhauſted "a very handſome fortune, leaving a ſon without a penny; which ſon, Mr. Thomas "Burnet, is now a ſurgeon at Chigwell, in Eſſex, and has a daughter.

"Secondly, On the female ſide,—

"Lord Chancellor Weſt, who married the Biſhop's youngeſt daughter, had by her "two children—Richard Weſt, the poet and friend of Gray; and Mary Weſt, who, "after her father's death, married John Williams, Eſq. of Pembrokeſhire, who had "been the firſt Secretary to the Chancellor, and was afterwards Secretary to the "Engliſh Embaſſador at Paris. This laſt mentioned Lady (the Biſhop's grand-"daughter) is now living at Warwick, and has been for ſome time the oldeſt penſioner "on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment. She has a ſon (the writer of this) who is Vicar of Wellſ-"bourn, in Warwickſhire, and he has three children. Your account of Mrs. Mit-"chell is nearly exact—ſhe was fair, blue-eyed, and remarkably good-tempered; her "ſiſter, Mrs. Weſt, was juſt the reverſe, with black eyes, full of fire and fierceneſs, "and a temper exactly correſponding with her appearance. She was a woman of a "very ſuperior underſtanding—her ſallies of wit and depth of reaſoning were ſuch as to "aſtoniſh Mr. Addiſon, Steele, and other eminent men of thoſe days; but they ſeldom "left her company without bluſhing alſo at the intemperance of her paſſions and "the irregularity of her mind. To her pen they are indebted for ſome elegant "letters in the Tatlers and Spectators."

## BUTLER (James, Duke of Ormond), p. 79.

In Lord Mountmorres's Hiſtory of the Principal Tranſactions of the Iriſh Parliament, from the year 1634 to 1666, containing Proceedings of the Lords and Commons during the

the adminiſtrations of the Earl of Strafford, and of the firſt Duke of Ormond, is inſerted a narrative of his Grace's Life, collected from the papers of Sir Robert Southwell, Knight, Secretary of State in Ireland, and Preſident of the Royal Society. This narrative, which appears to have been written about the time of the Revolution, was only a collection of ſome ſhort notes of the Duke of Ormond's private familiar converſation, and was ſolely intended for the inſpection of his grandſon and relations. Being, therefore, plainly never deſigned for the preſs, Lord Mountmorres has taken the liberty of correcting the ancient ſpelling, of extending the ſentences occaſionally, and of ſubſtituting in many places modern for obſolete phraſes and expreſſions. "This ſhort hiſtory," ſays his Lordſhip, "which is the moſt authentic account that has hitherto appeared of "one of the firſt characters of his age, the greateſt ſtateſman, the moſt polite and ac- "compliſhed man that Ireland ever knew, cannot but be acceptable. Touching this "laſt part of his character, it has been remarked, by many Engliſh officers who have "been quartered in the town where the ancient manſion of the family is ſituated, that "they had experienced more hoſpitality and good-breeding there than in any other "country quarters; which certainly were the remnant of that politeneſs and decorum, "introduced by the firſt and laſt Duke of Ormond, during their occaſional reſidence at "the Caſtle of Kilkenny (*b*)."

(*b*) Lord Mountmorres's Hiſtory of the principal Tranſactions of the Iriſh Parliament. Vol. I. p. 189—313.

## CAMPBELL (Dr. John), p. 215.

Dr. Johnſon's teſtimony to Dr. Campbell was, that he was a man of much knowledge, and had a good ſhare of imagination; that his "Hermippus Redivivus" is very entertaining, as an account of the Hermetic Philoſophy, and as furniſhing a curious hiſtory of the extravagances of the human mind; and that he was the richeſt author that ever grazed the Common of Literature (*c*)."

(*c*) Boſwell's Life of Dr. Samuel Johnſon, Vol. I. p. 382. Second edition.

## CHILLINGWORTH (William), p. 518.

Mr. Whitaker, in his "Origin of Arianiſm diſcloſed," has produced a number of arguments to ſhew, that Mr. Chillingworth, in the latter part of his life, became a Socinian (*d*). We acknowledge ourſelves to be convinced by Mr. Whitaker's teſtimonies and reaſonings; and, therefore, retract what we had before ſaid upon the ſubject. The Socinians, we apprehend, will be proud to have ſuch a name as that of Chillingworth ranked among them.

(*d*) "The Origin of Arianiſm diſcloſed. p. 482—492.

## CLARKE (Samuel), p. 610.

Mr. Whitaker has taken uncommon pains to ſupport the truth of Chevalier Ramſay's aſſertion, that Dr. Clarke greatly repented of his ever having publiſhed his work upon the Trinity. The teſtimonies on the other ſide of the queſtion Mr. Whitaker endeavours to reconcile, by ſuppoſing that the Doctor occaſionally avowed his repentance, and yet continued his practices. He avowed fully "to Mr. Ramſay what he was too "timid to avow to his ſon, to a Hoadly, or to an Emlyn; and what he even took pains "to conceal from them, in a ſeeming continuance of opinion, and in an actual perſeve- "rance of conduct (*e*)." Thus is Dr. Clarke charged with having been guilty of the groſſeſt diſſimulation and falſehood. We ſcruple not to ſay, that we conſider this charge as totally groundleſs; and we ſteadfaſtly adhere to our former opinion and declaration on the ſubject in queſtion.

(*e*) "The Origin of Arianiſm diſcloſed." p. 456—463.

## CLAYTON (Robert), Biſhop of Clogher, p. 628.

Mr. Whitaker has made ſome ingenious ſtrictures on the fact related by us, that the "Eſſay on Spirit" was not written by the Biſhop of Clogher (*f*). All that we deem neceſſary to anſwer is, that we have been very ſpecific in giving the authority on which our narrative is founded; and that we did not conſider ourſelves as obliged to wander into the regions of conjecture.

(*f*) "The Origin of Arianiſm diſcloſed." p. 190, 192. Note.

FARTHER

# CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA

TO THE

# Second Volume of the Biographia Britannica

## BAXTER (Richard), p. 22.

TO the teſtimonies ſo copiouſly given of the merit of this famous divine, we ſhall add that of Dr. Johnſon. The Doctor, in the latter part of his life, "betook himſelf," ſays Sir John Hawkins, "to the reading of books of practical divinity, and, among the reſt, the writings of Baxter, and others of the old Puritan and Nonconforming Divines. Of Baxter, he entertained a very high opinion, and often ſpoke of him to me as a man of great parts, profound learning, and exemplary piety. He ſaid, of the Office for the Communion drawn up by him and produced at the Savoy-Conference, that it was one of the fineſt compoſitions of the ritual kind he had ever ſeen, It was a circumſtance to be wondered at, that a High Churchman, ſuch as Johnſon profeſſed himſelf to be, ſhould be driven to ſeek for ſpiritual comfort in the writings of ſectaries; men whom he affected, as well to condemn for their ignorance as to hate for their principles. But, as his acquaintance with the world, and with the writings of ſuch men as Watts, Foſter, Lardner, and Lowman, increaſed, theſe prejudices were greatly ſoftened (*a*)."

Dr. Johnſon thought, that Baxter's "Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion" contained the beſt collection of the evidences of the Divinity of the Chriſtian Syſtem. Mr. Boſwell, having aſked the Doctor what works of Richard Baxter he ſhould read, he ſaid, "Read any of them; they are all good (*b*)."

Mr. Cookſey, in his Eſſay on the Life of Lord Somers, after giving an honourable teſtimony to Mr. Baxter, as having contributed, by his inſtructions and his zeal, to promote a ſpirit of induſtry as well as of Religion at Kidderminſter, has added, that he was the author of a treatiſe, entituled, "A Shove for a heavy-a—d Chriſtian (*c*)." It was not to be expected that a young lawyer ſhould be much acquainted with Baxter's works. But Mr. Cookſey ought to have obtained better information before he related ſo falſe and fooliſh a ſtory. If he had read the catalogue of Mr. Baxter's writings, he would have known that no ſuch treatiſe occurs among them; and, if he had underſtood the character of this eminent Divine, he would have been ſenſible that he was wholly incapable of publiſhing any book with ſo ridiculous a title.

(*a*) Hawkins's Life of Dr. Samuel Johnſon, p. 540, 541.

(*b*) Boſwell's Life of Dr. Johnſon, Vol. III. p. 492, 479.

(*c*) Eſſay on the Life of Lord Somers, p. 11, 12.

## BECKET (Thomas), p. 114.

In 1790, was publiſhed by Mr. Berington, "The Hiſtory of the Reign of Henry the Second, and of Richard and John, his ſons; with the events of the period, from 1154 to 1216. In which the character of Thomas a Becket is vindicated from the attacks of George Lord Lyttelton." It is evident from the title-page, as well as from the nature of the ſubject, how diſtinguiſhed a part Thomas Becket muſt ſuſtain in this work. It would carry us too far to enter into the various points wherein Mr. Berington differs from Lord Lyttelton, and from other Proteſtant hiſtorians. For theſe things we ſhall refer our readers to the book itſelf, in which they will find much matter deſerving of attention, and perhaps of diſcuſſion. We ſhall content ourſelves with adding, to the characters that have already been given of Becket, in the courſe of the article, that which is drawn up by Mr. Berington.

'Thus, in the fifty-third year of his age, died Thomas à Becket, Archbiſhop of 'Canterbury, and Primate of England.—Without incurring the imputation of vain 'ſingularity, may I ſay, that the character of this man has never been fairly appreciated? 'When the catholic draws the portrait, all his virtues are emblazoned, and his blemiſhes

'are loſt in the glare of light. They view him as a ſaint; and, unfortunately, ſo im-
'poſing has that character been rendered, that the eſſential ſtrains of morality are not al-
'lowed to reſt upon it. Since the recent date of the Reformation, it ſhould ſeem, that
'the moral order of things has been inverted. Some virtues loſt their name; and what
'had been religious, exemplary, and perfect, above the reach of unaſſiſted nature, ceaſed
'to be ſo. The Proteſtant then ſeized the pencil, and viewing Becket, drew a portrait
'on which were ſeen no lines of former beauty. On both ſides is much partial judg-
'ment. The ancient hiſtorians, I know, who lie before me, wrote with two warm an
'impreſſion. The glare of miracles, they thought, was flaſhing round them; and the
'praiſes of Rome and of Europe echoed in their ears. It is an apotheoſis which they
'celebrate. But, becauſe this is too much, can we ſit down with too little, and ſay that
'we are juſt?

'With ſome enthuſiaſm on my mind, I confeſs, I have deſcribed the conduct of
'Becket. Every where I ſaw him great as other men; and, on ſome occaſions, I ſaw him
'greater. Real excellence there may be; but it is by comparing only that we judge.
'By his ſide, the contemporary men of the day, the greateſt the æra could produce, in
'church or ſtate, loſe all their ſplendor. Alexander is an irreſolute and timid poli-
'tician: the prelates of England baſely deſerting a cauſe, which their own conſciences
'held ſacred, are courtly ſycophants, and excite contempt: the ſacred college of
'Cardinals, bribed by gold, forget their dignity, and, bartering away the privileges of
'the Roman ſee, publicly poſt up their venality, and become the ſhame of Chriſten-
'dom: Henry, the lord of many people, whom Europe then admired, and whom
'poſterity has called the greateſt of Engliſh Kings, through the quarrel which him-
'ſelf provoked, is wayward, vindictive, timorous, and deceptious, never ſhewing one
'exertion which became a King, and ever indulging a train of affections, which would
'have diſgraced his loweſt vaſſal: Becket, from the beginning, is firm, dauntleſs,
'compoſed, and manly; like a deep and majeſtic river, he proceeds even in his courſe
'hardly ruffled by rocks of oppoſition, and true to the level he had taken.

'His endowments from nature were great, and he had given to them ſuch cultivation
'as the ſtate of the times permitted. It would have been well, perhaps, had he never
'ſeen Bologna, and imbibed from its maſters thoſe maxims of church-domination,
'which, though the age held them ſacred, were to him the occaſion of an unfortunate
'controverſy, and, to others, much affliction. Early in life, he was engaged in buſi-
'neſs, which made him an able negociator; and the favour of his Prince, which ſoon
'followed, raiſed him to uncommon greatneſs. But the unbounded confidence he
'enjoyed was all uſed to ennoble the ſource from which it flowed. He did not enrich
'himſelf, his family, or his retainers. All was Henry's. His influence he employed
'to gain him friends, and to ſpread his intereſt; and when he diſplayed a munificence,
'more than royal, it was his maſter's fame he looked to. The love of pleaſure,
'which in a diſſipated court can make the ſtouteſt virtue tremble, paſſed over his ſenſes
'as a gentle gale. There was a ſternneſs in his character, which would not bend to
'affections that enervate; and it is remarkable, that, even when his enemies were moſt
'numerous and malevolent, they never charged him with a ſingle vice. His ruling
'paſſions were the paſſions of a great mind, ſuch as, when circumſtances favour, lead
'men to the atchievements of patriots and of heroes; and, had Providence given
'Becket to his country but a few years later, we ſhould have ſeen him oppoſing with
'main fortitude the wild pretenſions of Rome, and, at the head of the barons, wreſting
'*Magna Charta* from the tyrant ſon of Henry. On ſome occaſions, I think, he was
'too acrid in his expreſſions, and too unyielding in his conduct; but, when we
'weigh his provocations, and the inceſſant ſtreſs of low oppoſition, wonder we cannot,
'and we may eaſily forgive. His private virtues were amiable. They endeared him
'to Henry, who loved him with a brother's love; nor were they ſoured, it ſeems, by
'adverſe fortune. They made him many friends; and John of Saliſbury, his ſecretary
'and companion, then deſcribes him beſt, when he checks his impetuoſity, and chides
'his too cauſtic humour, and does not give offence.

'With regard to the controverſy itſelf, he only is competent to judge, who can
'tranſport himſelf back to the times I have deſcribed. The privileges of the church,
'deemed ſacred, and, by a ſelfiſh policy, too much, at all times, confounded with
'thoſe of religion, were immediately connected with it. To require that Becket, on
'this head, ſhould not have had the notions, which Chriſtian Europe then had, is
'abſurd; and to require that, from any worldly motive, he ſhould have relinquiſhed
'them, is to think baſely of human nature. I read in all his letters the ſtrongeſt con-
'viction of the magnitude and holy import of his cauſe. By the force of what caſuiſtry,
'then, could he have acted than as he did? The favour of his Prince, the allure-
'ments of patronage, the vaſt power of Canterbury with its wealth, and the endearing
'ties of his country, he ſacrificed. In the gratification of a ruling paſſion, I know, all
'that is not connected with it weighs as does a feather; but, in the ſituation he left,

'was there not a wider ſcope for action, than in exile, in the retirement of Pontigny, 'or in the dependence, even for bread, on the precarious bounty of another?

'Religion, I think, through life, gave energy to his conduct. I ſpeak of Religion 'as he viewed it, not always, perhaps, clear from every miſconception in theory, or in 'practice, always uninfluenced by human failings. To read its divine maxims, with 'an unerring preciſion, and to be guided in all things by them alone, has been of ſome 'minds, I believe, the noble ardour: but the beſt wiſhes of the heart are clogged 'by the connate weakneſſes of our being.—There was a time when the virtues, which 'beſt become a Churchman, ſtood not foremoſt, it is true, in the life of Becket. 'That time I marked. But Theobald, his patron and his guide, had then given him 'to Henry, and told him to be his companion in the cabinet, in the court, in the 'camp, and in the ſports of the field. The old man's views were upright. Ap-'pointed to a higher charge, with which thoſe occupations could not accord, even as 'a misjudging age beheld it, with a becoming fortitude, he broke from every en-'gagement, and became the ſhepherd of his flock. Courtiers, he knew, and men of 'earthly minds, would charge him with ingratitude, and with motives even of ambi-'tion. He ſpurned the malevolent imputation, and, as the duties of his ſtation di-'rected, ſteadily purſued his choice. What benefits England might have drawn from 'his exertions, in the promotion of virtue and the ſuppreſſion of vice, the troubles 'which ſoon followed did not permit her to experience. To good men the proſpect 'had been flattering.—Through the trying years of proſecution, Religion doubtleſs 'often aided his reſolution; and when he exceeded, let it be remembered, that the 'conviction of his mind, and the patronage of many, had then given an enthuſiaſm 'to his cauſe.—He practiſed abſtemiouſneſs and other penitential rigours. Theſe, I 'know, are an equivocal ſign of virtue; but when they are done in ſecret, or are 'known only to a few, he truly muſt be an unequitable man, who will aſcribe them 'to other motives than thoſe of piety and ſelf-abaſement.

'Give me the greateſt heroes, whom antient times did deify, or ſuch as a more 'temperate poſterity has regiſtered on the liſts of fame, and I will ſay, that Becket, 'when he cloſed his life, was full as great as they. All his native energy then col-'lected at the heart; and ſeeing the heavens, as he thought, opened to him, he fell, 'as bleſſed martyrs had done.

'In a word, he had blemiſhes, and he had many virtues: his cauſe, which to us 'wears few marks of Chriſtian truth, to him was ſacred, and he defended it ſincerely: 'but if many Catholics have praiſed him immoderately; why ſhall Proteſtants be un-'juſt? True it is,

'Men's evil manners live in braſs, their virtues
'We write in water.'

(c) The Hiſtory of the reign of Henry the Second, &c. p. 235—240.

Mr. Berington, in his ſecond Appendix, calls in queſtion the authenticity and the authority of a *Letter* of Foliot, Biſhop of London; and of a bull aſcribed to Pope Alexander the Third, which Lord Lyttelton found in the Cottonian Collection of Manuſcripts, and on which his Lordſhip has laid conſiderable ſtreſs, in his account of Becket (*d*).

(*d*) Ibid. p. 647—673.

## BOETHIUS (Hector), p. 396.

The following character of Boethius is drawn by Dr. Johnſon, in his journey to the Weſtern Iſlands of Scotland. "In old Aberdeen ſtands the King's College, of "which the firſt principal was *Hector Boece*, or *Boethius*, who may be juſtly reverenced "as one of the revivers of elegant learning. When he ſtudied at Paris, he was acquainted "with *Eraſmus*, who afterwards gave him a public teſtimony of his eſteem by in-"ſcribing to him a catalogue of his works. The ſtyle of Boethius, though, perhaps, "not always rigorouſly pure, is formed with great diligence upon ancient models, "and wholly uninfected with monaſtic barbarity. His hiſtory is written with ele-"gance and vigour, but his fabulouſneſs and credulity are juſtly blamed. His "fabulouſneſs, if he was the author of the fictions, is a fault for which no apology "can be made; but his credulity may be excuſed in an age, when all men were "credulous. Learning was then riſing on the world; but ages, ſo long accuſtomed "to darkneſs, were too much dazzled with its light to ſee any thing diſtinctly. The "firſt race of ſcholars, in the fifteenth century, and ſome time after, were, for the "moſt part, learning to ſpeak, rather than to think, and were therefore more ſtudious "of elegance than of truth. The contemporaries of Boethius thought it ſufficient "to know what the Ancients had delivered. The examination of tenets and of facts "was reſerved for another generation.

" Boethius, as Preſident of the Univerſity, enjoyed a revenue of forty Scottiſh marks,
" about two pounds four ſhillings and ſix-pence of ſterling money.
" In the preſent age of trade and taxes, it is difficult even for the imagination ſo to
" raiſe the value of money, or ſo to diminiſh the demands of life, as to ſuppoſe four-
" and-forty ſhillings an honourable ſtipend: yet, it was probably equal, not only to
" the needs but to the rank of Boethius. The wealth of England was, undoubtedly,
" to that of Scotland, more than five to one; and it is known, that Henry the Eighth,
" among whoſe faults avarice was never reckoned, granted to Roger Aſcham, as a
" reward of his learning, a penſion of ten pounds a year (*e*)."

(*e*) A Journey to the Weſtern Iſlands of Scotland, p. 27—29.

## BRADY (NICHOLAS), p. 565.

Concerning Brady's tranſlation of the Æneid, Dr. Johnſon's expreſſion is, that " it
" was dragged forth into the world, but lived not long enough to cry (*f*)."

(*f*) Lyſons's Environs of London. Vol. I. p. 168.

## BRINDLEY (JAMES), p. 604.

When this article was written, navigable canals, though ſignally uſeful, ſo far as they had been conſtructed, were comparatively in their infancy. They are now extended in an extraordinary degree, and plans for the increaſe of them are forming every day. In Mr. Philips's hiſtory of canals, recently publiſhed, there is much curious information on the ſubject.

## BUC (GEORGE), p. 678.

Mr. Malone, upon the authority of Sir Henry Herbert's papers, relates, that this Sir George Buc, who was knighted by King James, July 23, 1603, was not the author of the celebrated " Hiſtory of King Richard the Third;" which was written above twenty years after his death, by George Buch, Eſq. whom we may ſuppoſe to have been the ſon of the former. Not having Mr. Malone's Shakſpeare at hand, we ſtate the fact as given in the Monthly Review for September, 1793, p. 72.

## BUCHANAN (GEORGE), p. 688.

Mr. Whitaker, in his Vindication of Mary, Queen of Scots, has treated the character of George Buchanan with great ſeverity. He accumulates and enforces ſeveral of the charges againſt him that had been brought by Dr. Gilbert Stuart. Still, however, there are admirers of Buchanan, who will not give a ready aſſent to Mr. Whitaker's poſitions, or find themſelves eaſily ſatisfied with the force of his reaſonings. Of this number is Lord Gardenſtone, who, in the ſecond edition of his Miſcellanies, publiſhed at Edinburgh in 1792, has printed original Memoirs of the life, character, and Writings, of George Buchanan, including a Vindication of his moral character, and the firſt regular criticiſm on his poetical works which has appeared in the Engliſh language. Both the facts and the critical remarks advanced by his Lordſhip will be found deſerving of attention.

# CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA

TO THE

# Fourth Volume of the Biographia Britannica.

## COLLINS (William), p. 34.

IT is related, in the life of our poet, that, in his laſt illneſs, he ſhewed to Dr. Joſeph and Mr. Thomas Warton an Ode, inſcribed to Mr. John Home, on the Superſtition of the Highlands; which they thought ſuperior to his other works, but which no ſearch has yet found. Happily, the poem has at length been diſcovered. The manuſcript is in Mr. Collins's handwriting, and fell into the hands of Dr. Alexander Carlyle, among the papers of a friend of his and Mr. John Home's, who died as long ago as the year 1754. Soon after Dr. Carlyle found the poem, he ſhewed it to Mr. Home, who told him that it had been addreſſed to him by Mr. Collins, on his leaving London in the year 1749, and that it was haſtily compoſed and incorrect. This is apparent from the ode itſelf. It is evidently the *prima cura* of the poem, as will eaſily be perceived from the alterations made in the manuſcript, by the blotting out of many lines and words, and the ſubſtitution of others. In particular, the greateſt part of the twelfth ſtanza is modelled in that manner. "Struck with the ſingular beauty of this "poem," ſays Alexander Frazer Tytler, Eſq. (in a letter to Mr. Robinſon, Secretary "to the Royal Society of Edinburgh,) of which, I believe, no man of taſte will ſay "that Dr. Warton and his brother have over-rated the merit, I could not help regret-"ting the mutilated form in which it appeared; and, on talking on that ſubject to my "friend Mr. Henry Mackenzie, of the Exchequer, (a gentleman well known in the "literary world by many ingenious productions,) I propoſed to him the taſk of ſup-"plying the fifth ſtanza, and the half of the ſixth, which were entirely loſt. How "well he has executed that taſk, the public will judge; who, unleſs warned by the "inverted commas that diſtinguiſh the ſupplemental verſes, would probably never "have diſcovered the chaſm. Several hemiſtichs, and words left blank by Mr. "Collins, had before been very happily ſupplied by Dr. Carlyle." The poem, which is entitled "An Ode on the Popular Superſtitions of the Highlands of Scotland, con-"ſidered as the Subject of Poetry," is now publiſhed in the firſt volume of the "Tranſactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh;" and Dr. Carlyle and Mr. Tytler have conferred no ſmall obligations upon the literary world in bringing it to light. Though there are evident proofs that it was haſtily compoſed, it evinces, at the ſame time, the vigour of the author's imagination, and the ready command he poſſeſſed of harmonious numbers (*a*).

(*a*) Tranſactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Vol. I. Part the Second, p. 63—75.

The conſtruction of the ſtanza is different from what Mr. Collins has uſed on any former occaſion. To us it is not perfectly pleaſing; being, we think, too operoſe and formal. That the poem is highly beautiful, every man of taſte muſt ſtrongly feel; but ſtill there will probably be found perſons who will give the preference to the "Ode "upon the Paſſions."

The late Mr. Scott, of Amwell, in his "Critical Eſſays," has entered into a particular diſcuſſion of Collins's "Oriental Eclogues." Many of the critic's remarks are juſt and ingenious; but, ſome of them we conſider as too minutely faſtidious. On the whole, Mr. Scott concludes, that theſe eclogues, however they may have been depreciated, have all the requiſites of a good poem, deſcription, incident, ſentiment, and moral; that they have ſimplicity of thought, and melody of language; and that they have nothing to fear from a compariſon with any of their predeceſſors (*b*).

(*b*) Scott's Critical Eſſays, p. 153—184.

# CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA.

## CONGREVE (WILLIAM), p. 82.

Mr. Thomas Davies, in his "Dramatic Miſcellanies," has ſpent two chapters upon Congreve. His remarks are not injudicious; and his account of the ſeveral performers, who have repreſented the principal characters in Mr. Congreve's plays, is entertaining. It is ſufficient to refer to a book which, we ſuppoſe, is well known to ſuch of our Readers as make the hiſtory of the Stage the object of their attention (*c*).

(*c*) Dramatic Miſcellanies, Vol. III. p. 312—382.

In the third volume of the "Obſerver" is an ingenious criticiſm upon Congreve's "Double Dealer," the principal deſign of which is to ſhew, that, though the Author meant that his villain ſhould in the end outwit himſelf, he has made him fall into ſome improbable, and even abſurd, contrivances. It is alſo juſtly remarked, that the match between Melafont and Cynthia, for the prevention of which, artifices of ſo virulent and diabolical a nature are practiſed by Lady Touchwood and Maſkwell, is not preſſed upon the feelings of the ſpectators in ſo intereſting a manner as it ſhould and might have been. The view, upon the whole, which is given of the play, is as follows: "Of the characters in this comedy, Lady Touch-
"wood, though of an unfavourable caſt, ſeems to have been the chief care of the poet,
"and is well preſerved throughout. Her elevation of tone, nearly approaching to the
"tragic, affords a ſtrong relief to the lighter ſketches of the epiſodical perſons, Sir
"Paul and Lady Pliant, Lord and Lady Froſt, who are highly entertaining, but
"much more looſe than the ſtage in its preſent ſtate of reformation would endure.
"Nothing more can be ſaid of Careleſs and Briſk than that they are the young men of
"the theatre, at the time when they were in repreſentation. Of Maſkwell enough
"has been ſaid in theſe remarks; nor need any thing be added to what has been already
"obſerved upon Mellafont and Cynthia. As for the moral of the play, which the
"author ſays he deſigned in the firſt place, and applied the fable to it, it ſhould ſeem
"to have been the principal object in the formation of the comedy, and yet it is not
"made to reach ſeveral characters of very libertine principles, who are left to reform
"themſelves at leiſure; and the plot, though ſubordinate to the moral, ſeems to have
"drawn him off from executing his good intentions ſo completely as thoſe profeſſions
"may be underſtood to engage for (*b*)."

(*d*) The Obſerver, Vol. III. p. 46—60.

## COOPER (ANTHONY ASHLEY), p. 251.

Note *E*, line 6. For *Eſſex*, read *Halifax*.

## COWLEY (ABRAHAM), p. 376.

In our addition to this article, after having related an anecdote from Dr. Warton's Eſſay on the writings and genius of Pope, concerning the cauſe of Cowley's death, we have expreſſed our wiſh that the Dr. had favoured the public with the authority on which the ſtory is founded. This has procured to the Editor the honour of a letter from that ingenious and learned writer, by which we are informed, that the authority he had for ſaying how Cowley had contracted his illneſs was from the papers of Mr. Spence. Theſe papers Dr. Warton tranſcribed a Mr. Spence's houſe, and under his eye, in the year 1754. Mr. Spence had his account from Mr. Pope, who had been very diligent in making all the enquiries he could about Cowley, in the neighbourhood of Chertſey. The fact was, that both the divine and the poet not only prolonged their viſit to a late hour, but had indulged their conviviality in a very high degree, which occaſioned their miſtaking their way, and lying all night under a hedge. If we had conſulted the third, inſtead of the firſt, edition of the Eſſay on Pope, we ſhould have found, that Mr. Spence's authority was referred to, and conſequently that our remark was groundleſs.

## COWPER (WILLIAM), EARL COWPER, p. 385.

Line 18. For *Oxford*, read *Orford*.

## CREW (NATHANAEL), BISHOP OF DURHAM, AND LORD CREW, p. 441.

In 1790, was publiſhed "An Examination of the Life and Character of Nathanael
"Lord Crewe, Biſhop of Durham: wherein the Writings of his ſeveral Biographers,
"and

" and other Authors, are critically reviewed, and compared with a Manuſcript, never " before publiſhed, containing curious Anecdotes of that Prelate." The manuſcript here mentioned ſeems to have been written by ſome domeſtic of his Lordſhip, and relates a number of minute circumſtances concerning him, but not ſuch as are generally intereſting, or which ſerve to place the Biſhop's political conduct in a more favourable light than that in which it is uſually repreſented. Of this the Editor of the " Examination" is ſufficiently ſenſible, who is by no means partial to Lord Crew's memory. The moſt important part of the manuſcript is the account that is given of our prelate's retreat to Holland, at the time of the Revolution. As this matter has not hitherto been fully underſtood by any of his Lordſhip's Biographers, we ſhall tranſcribe the paſſage : " The latter end of " February, 1688, my Lord went over into Holland, his attendants Mr. James Montague, " his Nephew, who was perfect maſter of the French language; my Lord's ſervant, Harry " Carter, who was maſter of the Dutch language; and one Mr. John Turner, a facetious " pleaſant man, a fellow of King's College, Cambridge. My Lord embarked for Holland " in a clean new veſſel ; for five days they had a violent ſtorm, the ſeamen loſt their gage, " and were confounded in their calculations. My Lord, on Saturday, at ſix in the even- " ing, took the compaſs, and ſteered the veſſel into the Brill ; the wind turned fair, but " the tide contrary. On Sunday, about one, they got to Rotterdam. After my Lord had " refreſhed himſelf on ſhore, he walked round the town, viſiting the churches and other " curioſities : he ſtayed about three weeks. Will frequently mimic the geſtures of the " preachers with much pleaſantry. Went to Leyden, where he met with his old tutor " Mr. Hickman, who retired from Brackley at the Reſtoration. My Lord told him of " the government oaths, ' Alack, alack !' ſays he, ' are they come to that again, that " is poor doing indeed !'—Hickman was a lover of *Aqua Cinnamomi*. My Lord viſited " Bruſſels and Antwerp, and continued abroad four or five months: returned to Eng- " land in July, the ſame year: never lived more to his ſatisfaction ; was ſuſpected to " be the Earl of Northumberland, *Un homme fort ſçavant*. My Lord has often ſaid, he " would not have wanted the pleaſure of this voyage for any conſideration.

" During my Lord's ſtay abroad, King William and Queen Mary were crowned. My " Lord had letters, kindly to invite his attendance to aſſiſt at that ceremony, and large pro- " miſes of favour and welcome reception ; but he would not return at that time. Return- " ing in July he fell into a deep calm, was many days at ſea, and not a breeze to move the " veſſel. It pleaſed God my Lord came to London the day before the time limited for ta- " king the oaths to government expired. Upon inquiry, he found the Houſe of Lords had " adjourned three days before the expiration of the limited time, which adjournment was " chiefly promoted by the Biſhop of Sarum, who was a well-wiſher to have Durham vacant: " upon this, he got his countryman, Sir Thomas Stamp, then Lord Mayor of London, " to call a Guild ; and in Guildhall, the day before the time limited for all perſons to " qualify themſelves to government, did my Lord take thoſe public oaths. This was no " ſooner done, than the news was carried to Court, which was no ſmall mortification, " particularly to Burnet, who had got King William's promiſe of the Biſhopric, if my " Lord did not comply with the laws. Old Lord Falconberg, in the King's bed-chamber, " ſaid, ' My Lord had done wiſely,' or, ' was a wiſe man in taking the oaths.' My " Lord's pardon was the day before the exception, his ſwearing was the day before the " time expired: had either of them been wanting, or omitted, he would not have " continued in the See of Durham; at leaſt not quietly. My Lord was never out of " the dominions of the States of Holland (*a*)." The laſt ſentence is in expreſs contradiction to what is before ſaid, that the Biſhop viſited Bruſſels and Antwerp.

(*a*) An Examination, &c. p. 80—83.

CROMWELL (THOMAS), p. 471.

Note *O*, Four lines from the bottom. For *Henry*, read *Edward*.

FARTHER

FARTHER

# ADDENDA

TO THE

Second, Third, and Fourth Volumes

OF THE

# BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.

[Communicated by Mr. PARK.]

VOLUME II.

BENTINCK (WILLIAM), p. 218.

"IT is no wonder, if the Earl of Portland was not acceptable to the Engliſh "nation. His Lordſhip had been, for ten years, entirely truſted by the King; "was his chief favourite and boſom-friend; and the favourites of Kings are ſeldom "favourites of the people. But, as long as hiſtory has not charged his memory with "failings that might deſervedly render him obnoxious to the public, there can be no "partiality in attributing this nobleman's unpopularity, partly to the above reaſons, "and, partly, to his *being a foreigner*, for which he ſuffered not a little, from the envy "and malice of his enemies, in their ſpeeches, libels, &c."

The latter part is particularly glanced at by Daniel De Foe, in his ſatire of "The "True-born Engliſhman."

Great *Portland* ne'er was bantered when he ſtrove
For us, his maſter's kindeſt thoughts to move.
We ne'er lampoon'd his conduct when employ'd
King James's ſecret councils to divide:
Then we careſs'd him, as the only man
Which could the doubtful oracle explain:
The only Huſhai able to repel
The dark deſigns of our Achitophel.
Compar'd his maſter's courage to his ſenſe;
The ableſt Stateſman, and the braveſt Prince.
Ten years in Engliſh ſervice he appear'd,
And gain'd his maſter's, and the world's regard:
But 'tis not England's cuſtom to reward.
The wars are over,—England needs him not——
Now he's a *Dutchman, and the Lord knows what.*"——

# CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA

## BROWNE, (WILLIAM), p. 624.

Though the fact has hitherto, I believe, been unnoticed, it appears from the liſt of George Wither's productions, drawn up by himſelf, at the end of his Fides-Anglicana, Ed. 1661, that he had a ſhare in writing "The Shepherd's Pipe;" for, he expreſsly ſays, it was "compoſed by *him* and Mr. William Brown." This divided claim has farther preſumptive confirmation from the teſtimony of their friend and contemporary, Richard Brathwaite. See his "Strappado," ed. 1615, (the very year after which Browne's Poem (*a*) appeared—) p. 23. After ſeverely cenſuring ſome

(*a*) It was reprinted along with the works of Geo. Wither, in 1620.

"Poets in this time
"Who write of ſwains, might write as well of ſwine,"

he proceeds to vindicate his favourites from the general obloquy.

"Yet ranke I not (as ſome men do ſuppoſe)
"Theſe worthleſs ſwaines amongſt the laies of thoſe
"Time-honour'd ſhepherds (for they ſtill ſhall be
"(As well they merit) honoured of mee,
"*Who beare a part*, like honeſt faithfull ſwaines,
"On witty Wither's never-with'ring plaines,
"For theſe (though ſeeming ſhepherds) have deſerv'd
"To have their names in laſting marble carv'd;
"Yea, this I know, I may be bold to ſay,
"Thames ne'er had ſwans that ſung more ſweet than they.
"Its true, I may avow't, that ne'er was ſong
"Chanted in any age, by ſwains ſo young (*b*),
"With more delight than was perform'd by them,
"Prettily ſhadow'd in *a borrow'd name*.
"And long may England's Theſpian ſprings be known,
"By lovely *Wither*, and by bonny *Brown!*"

(*b*) Wither was 26, and Browne 28, when this poem was publiſhed.

---

# VOLUME III.

## CAVENDISH (MARGARET), p. 341.

IN "Enterpe revived," or epigrams made at ſeveral times, on perſons of the greateſt honour and quality, in 1672-3-and-4, by Richard Flecknoe, the following compliment occurs:

### TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE;

### *On my* LADY-DUCHESS *writing of his Life.*

MY LORD,

"Whilſt with your noble actions you *indite*
"Unto your Ladie's pen what ſhe ſhould *write*,
"'Tmay well be ſaid, as 'twas of Thetis' ſon,
"That you are doubly happie, both to have done
"Such famous deeds, and to have had agen
"A pen ſo famous for the writing them:
"And ne'er was life more worthy to be writ,
"Nor *pen* more worthy of the *writing* it.

"The

" She makes you famous, and you her agen
" By th' famous ſubject you afford her pen:
" Whence 'tis a queſtion ever will remain,
" Wh'er *fame* makes *writers*, or elſe *writers*, *fame*.
" So whilſt you live i'th' life that ſhe does give,
" And ſhe in writing of your life will live;
" Betwixt you both, your *fame* will never die,
" But one give t'other *immortality*."

There is another Epigram " On William Duke of Newcaſtle," and, a third, " On " the Study of the Ducheſs," in the ſame collection (*a*).

(*a*) Epigrams, Book 1, p. 13. Ed. 1675.

## CHAUCER (Geoffrey), p. 472.

Mr. Tyrwhitt's admirable vindication of Chaucer's poetry from metrical irregularity, " ariſing either from a ſuperfluity or deficiency of ſyllable, or from the accents being " improperly placed," has farther corroboration, if, indeed, it needed any, in the following appoſite remarks, by a writer of the 16th century.

" Our Father Chaucer hath uſed the ſame libertie in feete and meaſures that the " Latiniſts doe uſe; and who ſo ever doe peruſe and well conſider his workes, he ſhal " finde that although his lines are not alwayes of one ſelf ſame number of ſyllables, " yet being red by one that hath underſtanding, the longeſt verſe, and that which " hath moſt ſillables in it, will fall (to the eare) correſpondent unto that which hath " in it feweſt ſillables;" and, *vice verſa*—From " Certaine Notes of Inſtruction con- " cerning the making of Verſe or Rime in Engliſh,"—printed at the end of Gaſcoigne's Works, 1587 (*b*).

(*b*) Ut ſupra, p. 455, note F, p. 466, U.

Sir Francis Kinaſton's Latin MS. tranſlation of Troilus and Creſcide (the loſs or concealment of which is regretted by Dr. Campbell in note U) was ſold with the library of the Rev. J. H. Hindley, A. M. in March, 1793, and purchaſed by Mr. Waldron, of Drury-Lane Theatre. It contained the five books of Troilus, with the Teſtament of Creſcida, by R. Henderſon (or Henderſoun, as Lord Hailes and Mr. Pinkerton diſcriminate him) as a ſixth book. Each ſtanza of Chaucer's text is followed by the Latin Verſion, and interſperſed with a variety of curious and intelligent remarks. As the imprimatur of Tho. Wykes, Jan. 1640, is affixed to the laſt page, it appears that the whole work was prepared for publication, though Dr. C. ſays, the two firſt books alone were printed.

## CHEKE, (John), p. 491.

The oppoſition made by the Univerſity to Sir John Cheke's learned improvements in pronouncing the Greek tongue, and the circumſtance of his having been tutor to Edward VI. are thus noticed by Milton, in his Eleventh Sonnet—

" Thy age, like ours, O ſoul of *Sir John Cheek*,
" Hated not learning worſe than toad or aſp,
" When thou taught'ſt Cambridge and King Edward Greek."

## CLEIVELAND, (John), p. 633.

As the Intereſt exerted by Cleiveland, againſt Cromwell's being elected for Cambridge, was overpowered by the ſtronger influence of the latter; this circumſtance, perhaps, was leſs likely to have rankled in the Protector's mind, than that bitter invective which was perſonally levelled at him by Cleiveland in " The Character of a " London Diurnall;" but, which Cromwell had the ſuperior greatneſs not to reſent. I cite the following extract from an edition publiſhed two years before the ſatyriſt was " generouſly ſet at liberty."

" This Cromwell is never ſo valourous, as when he is making ſpeeches for the " Aſſociation: which, nevertheleſſe, he doth ſomewhat ominouſly, with his neck " awry, holding up his ear, as if he expected Mahomet's pidgeon to come and prompt " him. He ſhould be a bird of prey too, by his bloody beak: his noſe is able to try a " young eagle, whether ſhe be lawfully begotten. But all is not gold that gliſters: " what we wonder at in the reſt of them is naturall in him, to kill without bloud-ſhed:

" for moſt of his trophies are in a church-window, when a looking-glaſs would ſhew " him more ſuperſtition. O brave Oliver! Times Voider, ſubſizer to the worms: " in whom death, who formerly devoured our anceſtors, now chews the cud. " Believe him, as he whiſtles to his Cambridge teem of Committee-men, and he does " wonders. But *holy men*, like the *holy language*, muſt be read backwards. They riſle " to *colleges* to promote *learning*, and pull down *churches* for *edification*. But *ſacrilege* " is *intailed* upon him: there muſt be a *Cromwell* for cathedrals, as well as abbeys; a " ſecure ſin, whoſe offence carries its pardon in its mouth; for, how can he be hanged " for *church robbery*, which gives itſelf the benefit of the *clergy*."

And, againſt the Earl of Mancheſter, by whom he was deprived of his Fellowſhip, he proceeds (as might be expected) in a ſtrain ſtill more indignant.

" But for all *Cromwell*'s noſe (*c*) weares the *dominical letter*, compared to *Mancheſter*, " he is but like the *Vigil* to an holy-day. This, this is the man of God! ſo ſanctified a " thunderbolt, that Burroughs, in a proportionable blaſphemy to his Lord of Hoſts, " would ſtyle him the Archangel, giving battell to the devil. Indeed, as the angels, " each of them makes a ſeveral ſpecies, ſo every one of his ſoldiers is a diſtinct church. " Had theſe beaſts been to enter into the ark, it would have puzzled Noah to have " ſuited them into pairs. If ever there were a rope of ſand, it was ſo many ſects " twiſted into an aſſociation (*d*)."

(*c*) "Cromwell's *noſe*, ſays Mr. Granger, being remarkably red and ſhining, was the ſubject of much ridicule." Biog. Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 5.

(*d*) Cleiveland's works, 1653, p. 92.

# VOLUME IV.

## COLLINS (WILLIAM), p. 28.

THE lines to Miſs Aurelia C——r, printed from Dr. Johnſon's Lives of the Poets, as the " Firſt Efforts of Collins's Poetical Genius," appear in the Gent. Mag. for January, 1739, with the ſignature *Amaſius*; and, in ſucceeding months of that, and following years, are numerous poetical pieces, with the ſame ſignature; but, they appear to have been ſent by a different Correſpondent. It were to have been wiſhed, that Dr. Johnſon had ſpecified upon what authority his aſſertion was made, which gave Collins a claim to the excepted poem in the ſingle inſtance produced.

In his celebrated " Ode upon the Paſſions," Collins's finiſhed picture of Fear, ſeems to have been firſt ſketched by Sir Philip Sidney.

" A ſatyr once did run away for dread
" With ſound of horn, which he himſelf did blow,
" Fearing and fear'd, thus from himſelf he fled,
" Deeming ſtrange evil in that he did not know (*a*)."

(*a*) Sir Philip Sidney's Works, p. 478. Ed. 1613.

Quere—Whether the intelligence, announced in the following paragraph, from a daily paper, is to be relied on?

" A beautiful monument is juſt completed at Rome, intended to be erected in " Chicheſter Cathedral, to the memory of Collins, the poet. It conſiſts of a ſtriking " buſt of that elegant writer, with a ſimple inſcription; and, underneath, appear the " paſſions, in baſs relief, moſt expreſſively copied from the inſpiration of his own " poem (*b*)."

(*b*) Ledger, Feb. 6, 1792.

Should this deſign take place, it will ſuperſede the poetical complaint of Scott, of Amwell.

# TO THE FOURTH VOLUME.

## CORBET (RICHARD), p. 273.

Some humourous anecdotes of Biſhop Corbet (not noticed here) were extracted by Mr. Headley from Aubrey's MSS. in the Aſhmolean Muſeum, and printed in his "Biographical Sketches," pp. xxxviii—ix.

## CORYATE, (THOMAS), p. 278.

Note *I*, [*Many copies of verſes by the moſt eminent Poets.*] Theſe verſes were reprinted in the ſame year, (1611,) detached from the Crudities, with this title: "The Odcombian Banquet, diſhed foorth by Thomas the Coriat, and ſerved in a Number of "Noble Wits, in praiſe of his Crudities and Crambe too—Aſinus portans Myſteria;" and with a proſe advertiſement at the concluſion, of which the following is a tranſcript.

"Noverint univerſi, &c.

"Know, gentle Reader, that the booke, in prayſe whereof all theſe preceding "verſes were written, is purpoſely omitted for thine and thy purſes good; partly for "the greatneſs of the volume, containing 654 pages, each page 36 lines, each line "48 letters, beſides panegyricks, poems, epiſtles, prefaces, letters, orations, fragments, poſthumes, with the commas, colons, full-points, and other things hereunto appertaining; which being printed of a character legible without ſpectacles would have cauſed the booke much to exceed that price, whereat men in theſe witty dayes value ſuch ſtuffe as that; and, partly, for that one

"Whoſe learning, judgement, wit, and braine,
"Are weight with Tom's juſt to a graine.

"Having read the booke with an intent to epitomize it, could he but have melted out "of the whole lumpe ſo much matter worthy the reading as would have filled foure "pages; but, finding his labour loſt, and his hope therein fallen ſhort, is reſolved to "defer it till the author of the "Crudities" have finiſhed his ſecond travels; which "being intended for a place farre more remote, is likely to produce a booke of a farre "greater bulk: both which being drawne into an exact compend, as Munſter, "Baronius, the Magdeburgians, and other famous Chronologers, have beene, may, "perhaps, afford ſomething either worthy thy reading, or ſupply thy need in ſuch "caſes of extremitie, as nature and cuſtome oft times inforce men unto. VALE."

In Note *I* it is inferred, from the dedication to Prince Henry, that Coriate was unconſcious of the deſign of the poets to ridicule him; but, from the prefatory addreſs before his book, this obviouſly was not the caſe. His diſcernment was ſufficiently acute to perceive, that the drift of their mock-commendations was to expoſe both the work and its author; but his vanity being paramount to every other feeling, he was proud even of irony from men of eminence, and ſo his production did not eſcape notice, he was content with having it "damned to everlaſting fame."

## COWLEY (ABRAHAM), p. 366.

In deſcribing the contents of Cowley's "Poetical Bloſſoms," a ſlight inaccuracy of Anthony Wood's has been copied into note *B*. The title of the firſt is not Antonius and Melida, but "Conſtantia and Philetus." The two copies of recommendatory verſes by his ſchool fellows are ſigned Ben Maers and Robert Meade; the latter of whom was afterwards diſtinguiſhed as a ſoldier and dramatic writer (*a*).

(*a*) See Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. Col. 165.

# CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA

## CHATTERTON (THOMAS), p. 593.

To the poetic eulogiums on Chatterton, may be added the following tribute to his memory, from the claſſical pen of Mr. Headley; after the manner of "An Ode to "Evening," by Collins, and another "To Spring," by Miſs Aikin (now Mrs. Barbauld).

—— Hunc inopem vidiſtis Athenæ
Nil præter gelidas auſæ conferre cicutas. *Juvenal.*

Ill-fated youth, adieu; was thine a breaſt
Where fell deſpair might fix her dark reſolve,
To mar thy ſimple heart,
And ſnatch thee from the world?
Whilſt Fancy finds a friend, and Genius charms,
With eagle-eye, and high-aſpiring thought,
Thy ſainted memory
Shall ever ſacred live.
When Spring, with ſcanty veſt and maiden ſmile,
Leads on the ſprightly months and infant year,
Her tears of morning dew
Shall wet thy death-bed cold.
When jocund Summer, with her honey'd breath,
(Sweetening the golden grain and blithſome gale)
Diſplays her ſun-burnt face
Beneath the hat of ſtraw,
The lily's hanging head, the panſy pale,
(Poor Fancy's lowly followers,) in meek
Attire, ſhall deck thy turf,
And, withering, lie with thee.
When ſober Autumn, with lack-luſtre eye,
Shakes, with a chiding blaſt, the yellow leaf,
And hears the woodman's ſong
And early ſportman's foot;
When naked Winter, like a pilgrim grey,
Of verieſt rude aſpect, and joyleſs brow,
Calls for the carol wild,
And trims the ſocial fire;
Remembrance oft, in Pity's penſive ear,
At ſilent eve, ſhall ſorrowing toll thy knell,
And tell to after-days
Thy tale, thy luckleſs tale.

From a copy of Chatterton's Life, by Dr. Gregory, in my poſſeſſion, it appears, that the notes to the 8vo edition, ſigned O, were contributed by the late Dr. Lort.

## DANIEL (SAMUEL), p. 628.

To the various editions of Daniel's numerous works here produced from Wood's Athenæ, the following might be ſuperadded:

| | |
|---|---|
| Complaint of Roſamond | 1605, 8vo. |
| Letter from Octavia | 1605, |
| Funeral Sermon on the Earl of Devonſhire | 1611, 12mo. |
| Panegyric Congratulatory | 1603, 12mo. |
| Epiſtle to Great Perſonages, in Verſe | 1603, |
| Paſſion of a diſtreſſed Man | 1603, |
| Sonnets to Delia | 1592, 4to. 1611, 12mo. |
| Queen's Accadia | 1611, |
| Defence of Rhime | 1603. |

# TO THE FOURTH VOLUME.

In Daviſon's "Poetical Rapſodie" are ſome Verſes "To Samuel Daniel, Prince of "Engliſh Poets," in which he is applauded, even beyond Spenſer: this is the concluding ſtanza:

"One ſhar'd out Greece, another Aſia held,
"And fertile Egypt to a third did fall,
"But onely Alexander all did wield.
"So in ſoft pleaſing Lyricks ſome are ſkil'd,
"In Tragicke ſome, ſome in Heroicall,
"But thou alone art matchleſs in them all."

## D'AVENANT, (WILLIAM), p. 642.

Beſide the encomiums on Gondebirt, here cited from Mr. Headley, that accompliſhed ſcholar addreſſed a Sonnet to Mrs. Barbauld, complimenting her on the part ſhe was ſuppoſed to have taken with her brother Dr. Aikin, in reviving the reputation of Sir William Davenant.

## DAVIES (JOHN), p. 662.

In Daviſon's "Poetical Rapſodie" are two ingenious pieces by Sir John Davies, not collected by his modern Editor on the republication of his poems. One is entituled, "A Contention betwixt a Wife, a Widdow, and a Maide;" and the other, "Yet "other Twelve Wonders of the World;" in which the following characters are introduced, with much ſhrewd ſatire: "The Courtier, the Divine, the Souldier, the "Lawyer, the Phyſician, the Merchant, the Country Gentleman, the Bachelor, the "Married Man, the Wife, the Widow, and the Maid."

In the text, p. 653.—"Noſce Teipſum" is ſaid (probably from Anthony Wood) to have been firſt publiſhed in 1599; but how is this to be reconciled with the Author's dedication of it to Queen Elizabeth, which bears date July 11, 1592?

A LIST

A

# LIST OF THE PERSONS

OF WHOM SOME

## ACCOUNT IS GIVEN IN THE NOTES,

OR,

## ADDITIONS TO OTHER ARTICLES.

### VOLUME I.

Page.

175 EAMES (John), Philoſopher.
177 EARL (Jabez), Divine.
448 BACON (Sir Nathaniel), Proficient in Painting.
243 ARBUTHNOT (Charles), Divine.
413 SMITH (Miles), Prelate.
501, 502 RAWLEY (William), Divine and Philoſopher.
601 BARCLAY (David), Warrior and Senator.
661 HEWIT (John), Divine.
685 GLISSON (Francis), Phyſician.

### VOLUME II.

29, 30 FINCH (Sir John), Phyſician.
89 FLETCHER (Richard), Prelate.
89, 90 FLETCHER (Giles), Hiſtorian and Poet.
173, 174 BENNET (Sir John), Lawyer and Senator.
207 ALEXANDER (John), Divine.
408, 409 BOOTH (Sir George), Firſt Lord Delamer.
614, 615 MORAY (Sir Robert), Philoſopher.

### VOLUME III.

38, 39 BURNET (William), Governor.
39 BURNET (Gilbert), Divine.
39—41 BURNET (Sir Thomas), Judge.
41 BURNET (Thomas), Divine.
42 BURTON (William), Antiquary.
43 BURTON (Hezekiah), Divine.
143, 144 FATIO (Nicholas), Philoſopher and Enthuſiaſt.
264 CARTE (Samuel), Divine.
269 CARTE (John), Divine.
270, 271 CARTERET (Sir George), Eminent Loyaliſt.



322, 323 ELIZA-

# A LIST OF PERSONS, &c.


| Page. | |
|---|---|
| 322, 323 | ELIZABETH (Counteſs of Shrewſbury). |
| 359, 360 | WYDEVILLE (Anthony), EARL OF RIVERS, } Learned Nobleman. |
| 436 | CHANDLER, (Mary), Poeteſs. |
| 433, 484 | CHAUNCY (Charles), Divine. |
| 464, 465 | SARAH (Ducheſs of Marlborough). |
| 589 | CIBBER (Theophilus), Comedian. |
| 589, 590 | CIBBER (Suſanna Maria), Tragic Actreſs. |
| 590 | CHARKE (Charlotte), Actreſs. |
| 640—642 | CLIFFORD (Anne), Counteſs of Dorſet, Pembroke, and Montgomery, |

## VOLUME IV.

| | |
|---|---|
| 47, 48 | The Comber Family. |
| 95, 96 | MILDRED, (Lady Burleigh), Learned Lady. |
| 96—98 | ANNE (Lady Bacon), Learned Lady. |
| 98, 99 | ELIZABETH (Lady Ruſſel), Learned Lady. |
| 99 | KATHERINE (Lady Killegrew), Learned Lady. |

## VOLUME V.

| | |
|---|---|
| 17—19 | BLACKWALL (Anthony), Divine, Grammarian, and Critic. |
| 178, 179 | JACOB (Henry), Orientaliſt and Philologer. |
| 197, 198 | WHITE (Thomas), Divine and Philoſopher. |
| 266—268 | DODDRIDE (Sir John), Judge. |
| 308—315 | ORTON (Job), Divine. |
| 327, 328 | DODWELL (William), Divine. |
| 465 | RATCLIFFE, (Thomas, Earl of Suſſex). |
| 487 | DODSWORTH (Roger), Antiquary. |
| 492—496 | DUNCAN Family. |


---

## ERRATUM.

Page 266. Dr. Doddridge's article, line 4, for great grandfather, read great-great-grandfather.

TABLE

# TABLE OF THE LIVES

CONTAINED IN THE

# FIFTH VOLUME.

[Thoſe with this Mark *** prefixed are new Lives. Thoſe with this Mark † have ſome Additions made to them.]


| Page. | | | Born. A. D. | Died. A. D. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | † | DAVIS (John), Navigator and Diſcoverer - - | —— | 1605 |
| 4 | † | DAVYSON (William), Stateſman and Secretary of State | Sixteenth Century. | |
| 15 | † | DAWES (Sir William), Prelate - - - | 1671 | 1724 |
| 17 | *** | DAWES (Richard), Critic - - - - | 1708 | 1766 |
| 21 | *** | DAY (Thomas), Poetical, Political, and Miſcellaneous Writer - - - - - | 1748 | 1789 |
| 32 | | DEE (John), Mathematician, Alchymiſt, and Enthuſiaſt | 1527 | 1608 |
| 45 | *** | DE FOE (Daniel), ingenious and various Writer - | 1663 | 1731 |
| 75 | *** | DELANY (Patrick), Divine - - - | 1685 | 1768 |
| 88 | *** | DELANY (Mary), uncommonly ingenious Lady - | 1700 | 1788 |
| 93 | *** | DEMPSTER (Thomas), Civilian and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian | 1579 | 1625 |
| 95 | † | DENHAM (Sir John), Poet - - - - | 1615 | 1688 |
| 99 | *** | DENNIS (John), Poet, Political Writer, and Critic | 1657 | 1733-4 |
| 114 | † | DENNY (Sir Anthony), Stateſman - - | —— | 1550 |
| 116 | † | DERHAM (William), Philoſopher and Divine - | 1657 | 1735 |
| 120 | *** | DESAGULIERS (John Theophilus), Divine and Experimental Philoſopher - - - | 1683 | 1749 |
| 125 | † | DEVEREUX (Walter), Earl of Eſſex, Warrior and Stateſman - - - - | 1540 | 1576 |
| 131 | † | DEVEREUX (Robert), Earl of Eſſex, Stateſman, Warrior, and Royal Favourite - - - | 1567 | 1600-1 |
| 155 | † | DEVEREUX (Robert), Earl of Eſſex, Warrior - | | |
| 168 | † | D'EWES (Sir Symonds), Hiſtorian and Antiquary | 1602 | 1650 |
| 175 | † | DICKINSON (Edmund), Phyſician and Chemiſt - | 1624 | 1707 |
| 179 | † | DIGBY (Sir Everard), Conſpirator - - | 1581 | 1605-6 |
| 184 | † | DIGBY (Sir Kenelme), Philoſopher - - - | 1603 | 1665 |
| 199 | *** | DIGBY (John), Earl of Briſtol, Embaſſador, and Stateſman - - - - - | 1580 | 1652-3 |
| 210 | *** | DIGBY (George), Earl of Briſtol, Stateſman and Warrior | 1612 | 1676-7 |
| 238 | | DIGGES (Leonard), Mathematician - - - | —— | 1574 |
| 239 | | DIGGES (Thomas), Mathematician - - - | —— | 1595 |
| 239 | † | DIGGES (Sir Dudley), Embaſſador and Stateſman - | 1583 | 1638-9 |
| 242 | *** | DILLENIUS (John James), Botaniſt - - - | 1687 | 1747 |
| 247 | *** | DILLON (Wentworth), Earl of Roſcommon, Poet | —— | 1684 |


251 *** Dis-

| Page. | | | Born. A. D. | Died. A. D. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 251 | *** | Disney (John), Magiſtrate and Divine - | 1677 | 1729-30 |
| 263 | *** | Ditton (Humphrey), Mathematician - - | 1675 | 1715 |
| 264 | *** | Dobson (William), Painter - - - | 1610 | 1646 |
| 266 | *** | Doddridge (Philip), Divine and Tutor - | 1702 | 1751 |
| 315 | *** | Dodsley (Robert), poetical, dramatical, and miſcellaneous Writer - - - | 1703 | 1764 |
| 320 | † | Dodwell (Henry), learned Writer and Critic | 1641 | 1711 |
| 328 | *** | Dolben (John), Prelate - - - | 1624-5 | 1686 |
| 331 | † | Donne (John), Poet and Divine - - | 1573 | 1631 |
| 337 | *** | Douglas (Gawin), Prelate and Poet - - | 1474 | 1521 |
| 343 | † | Drake (Sir Francis), Navigator and Naval Commander | 1545 | 1595 |
| 356 | † | Drake (James), Phyſician and political Writer | 1667 | 1706-7 |
| 359 | † | Drayton (Michael), Poet - - | 1563 | 1631 |
| 365 | *** | Drummond (William), Poet - - | 1585 | 1649 |
| 373 | † | Dryden (John), Poet - - - - | 1631 | 1701 |
| 398 | *** | Ducarel (Andrew Coltee), Antiquary - | 1713 | 1785 |
| 410 | *** | Duchal (James), Divine - - | 1697 | 1761 |
| 414 | *** | Duck (Stephen), Poet - - - | —— | 1756 |
| 417 | | Dudley Family | | |
| 420 | † | Dudley (Edmund), Lawyer and Staeſman - | 1462 | 1510 |
| 427 | † | Dudley (John), Duke of Northumberland, Stateſman, and Warrior - - - | 1502 | 1553 |
| 441 | † | Dudley (Ambroſe), Earl of Warwick, Warrior | 1530 or 1531 | 1539 |
| 444 | † | Dudley (Robert), Earl of Leiceſter, Stateſman, Warrior, and Royal Favourite - - | 1532 | 1588 |
| 469 | † | Dudley (Sir Robert), Stateſman and Philoſopher | 1573 | 1649 |
| 478 | † | Dugard (William), School-maſter and Grammarian | 1606 | 1662 |
| 479 | † | Dugdale (William), Antiquary and Hiſtorian | 1605 | 1685-6 |
| 488 | *** | Duke (Richard), Divine and Poet - - | —— | 1710-11 |
| 489 | *** | Dunbar (William), Poet - - - | 1465 | 1530 |
| 492 | *** | Duncan (Daniel), Phyſician - - | 1649 | 1735 |
| 500 | *** | Duncan (William), Profeſſor and learned Writer | 1717 | 1760 |
| 504 | *** | Duncombe (William), poetical and miſcellaneous Writer - - - - | 1689-90 | 1769 |
| 509 | *** | Duncombe (John), Divine, and poetical and miſcellaneous Writer - - | 1729 | 1786 |
| 512 | *** | Duns (John Scotus), Scholaſtic Divine - | —— | 1308 |
| 514 | † | Duppa (Brian), Prelate - - | 1588-9 | 1662 |
| 516 | | Durel (John), Divine - - - | 1625 | 1683 |
| 518 | *** | Durell (David), Divine - - - | 1728 | 1775 |
| 521 | † | Dyer (Sir James), Lawyer and Judge - - | 1511 | 1581 |
| 523 | *** | Dyer (John), Poet - - - | 1700 | 1758 |


## E.


| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 529 | *** | Eachard (John), Divine and miſcellaneous Writer | 1636 | 1697 |
| 532 | *** | Echard (Laurence), Divine and Hiſtorian - | 1671 | 1730 |
| 535 | † | Edmondes (Sir Thomas), Embaſſador - | 1563 | 1639 |
| 539 | † | Edwards (Thomas), Divine - - | 1599 | 1647 |
| 543 | *** | Edwards (John), Divine - - | 1637 | 1716 |
| 546 | *** | Edwards (Thomas), Critic, and poetical Writer | 1699 | 1757 |
| 552 | *** | Edwards (George), Naturaliſt - - | 1693 | 1773 |
| 559 | *** | Edwards (Thomas), Divine - - | 1729 | 1785 |

# IN THE FIFTH VOLUME.


| Page. | | | Born. A. D. | Died. A, D. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 562 | *** | Egerton (Thomas), Viſcount Brackley, Lord High Chancellor, and Stateſman - - | 1540 | 1617 |
| 581 | *** | Ellys (Anthony), Prelate - - | 1693 | 1761 |
| 584 | *** | Elstob (William), Divine and Antiquary - | 1673 | 1714 |
| 585 | *** | Elstob (Elizabeth), Antiquary - - | 1683 | 1756 |
| 586 | † | Elsynge (Henry), Antiquary - - | 1598 | 1654 |
| 587 | † | Elyot (Sir Thomas), Embaſſador, and learned Writer | —— | 1546 |
| 588 | *** | Emlyn (Thomas), Divine - - | 1663 | 1743 |
| 597 | *** | Erigena (John Scotus), Scholaſtic Divine - | Ninth Century. | |
| 600 | † | Etherege (George), Dramatic Poet - - | 1636 | 1690 |
| 609 | † | Evelyn (John), Philoſopher, and various Writer | 1620 | 1705-6 |
| 634 | | Evelyn (John), miſcellaneous Writer - - | 1654 | 1698 |
| 635 | *** | Evremond (St. Charles), Miſcellaneous Writer | 1613 | 1703 |


## F.


| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 643 | † | Fabian (Robert), Hiſtorian - - | —— | 1512 |
| 644 | *** | Fairfax (Edward), Poet - - | —— | 1632 |
| 649 | † | Fairfax (Thomas Lord), Warrior - - | 1611 | 1671 |
| 661 | *** | Fanshawe (Sir Richard), Embaſſador and Poet | 1607 | 1666 |
| 664 | *** | Farmer (Hugh), Divine - - - | 1714 | 1787 |
| 682 | *** | Farnaby (Thomas), Grammarian - - | 1575 | 1647 |
| 684 | † | Farquhar (George), Dramatic Poet - - | 1678 | 1707 |
| 697 | *** | Faſtolff (Sir John), Warrior - - | 1377 | 1459 |

THE

# LIVES

OF THE

## Moſt Eminent PERSONS

Who have flouriſhed in

## *GREAT-BRITAIN*, AND *IRELAND*,

From the earlieſt Ages, down to the preſent Times.

---

DAVIS (John), an excellent Pilot, and fortunate diſcoverer of unknown countries, in the XVIth century, was born at Sandridge, a pleaſant ſeat, in the pariſh of Stoke-Gabriel, near Dartmouth in Devonſhire (*a*). His birth near that eminent ſeaport, having given him a fair opportunity, to which probably was added a ſtrong natural diſpoſition, he put himſelf early to ſea; where, by the help of a good maſter, and his ſubſequent induſtry, knowledge, and experience, he became the moſt expert Pilot, and one of the ableſt Navigators of his time (*b*). The firſt publick employment he had was in the year 1585, when he undertook to diſcover *a new Paſſage*, by the North-Weſt parts of America, to the Eaſt-Indies. For that purpoſe, he ſailed from Dartmouth, on the ſeventh of June, with two barks [*A*], and met, July 19, many iſlands of ice floating, in 60 degrees northern latitude (*c*). They were ſoon encompaſſed with them; and going upon ſome, perceived, that the roaring noiſe they heard, at which they were greatly aſtoniſhed, was cauſed only by the rolling of the ice together. The next day, they diſcovered the ſouthern coaſt of Groenland; five hundred leagues diſtant from the Durſeys, or Miſſenhead, in Ireland (*d*); and obſerved it to be extremely rocky and mountainous, and covered with ſnow, without any ſigns of wood, glaſs, or earth to be ſeen. The ſhore, likewiſe, was ſo full of ice, that no ſhip could come near it by two leagues: and ſo ſhocking was the appearance of it, and the cracking of the ice ſo hideous, that they imagined it to be a quite deſolate country, without a living creature, or even any vegetable ſubſtance; for which reaſon Captain Davis named it, *The Land of Deſolation* (*e*). Perceiving that they were run into a very deep bay, wherein they were almoſt ſurrounded with ice, they kept coaſting along the edge of it, South-ſouth-weſt, till the 25th of July; when, after having gone fifty or ſixty leagues, they found that the ſhore lay directly North. So they altered their courſe to the North-weſt, in hopes of finding their deſired paſſage: but on the 29th they diſcovered land to the North-eaſt, in 64 degr. 15 min. Latitude. Making towards it, they

(*a*) Weſtcot, Deſcript. of Devonſhire in Sandridge. Prince's Worthies of Devon. Exeter, 1701, p. 247.

(*b*) Prince, ibid.

(*c*) Voyages, Navigations, &c. publiſhed by R. Hakluyt, vol. III. edit. 1600, p. 98, &c. and Purchas his Pilgrimes, Part iii. Book iii. c. 2. pp. 463-464.

(*d*) See Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, edit. 1735, p. 222.

(*e*) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p 99, 119.

[*A*] *With two barks.*] One of fifty tuns, named *the Sunſhine* of London, which carried twenty-three perſons, John Davis, Captain; the other was of thirty-five tuns, named *the Moonſhine* of Dartmouth, having nineteen perſons on board, William Bruton, Captain. They were fitted out at the charge of ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry, particularly Sir Francis Walſingham, Secretary of State, and of many Merchants of London and the Weſt-Country The chief manager of this undertaking, was Mr. William Sanderſon, Merchant and Globe-maker in London; who recommended to the adventurers Mr. John Davis, a man well-grounded in the principles of Navigation, for Captain and chief Pilot in this expedition. Some attempts had been made before, by Capt. Henry Hudſon, Capt. Martin Frobiſher, Capt. Adrian Gilbert, and others, to diſcover this North-weſt paſſage; but without ſucceſs (1). Mr. Davis informs us, (2) that 'in his firſt voyage he was not experi-'enced of the nature of thoſe climates, and had no 'direction either by chart, globe, or other certain 'relation, in what altitude that paſſage was to be 'ſearched.'

(1) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 98, &c.

(2) Ibid. p. 119.

perceived that they were paſſed the ice, and were among many green, temperate, and pleaſant iſlands, bordering upon the ſhore; though the hills of the continent were ſtill covered with great quantities of ſnow. Among theſe iſlands were many fine bays, and good roads for ſhipping: they landed in ſome, and the people of the country came down and converſed with them [*B*]. By ſigns they made Mr. Davis underſtand, that there was a great ſea towards the North and Weſt (*f*). He ſtaid in this place till the firſt of Auguſt, and then proceeded in his diſcovery. The ſixth of that month, they found land in 66 degr. 40 min. Latitude, quite free from ice; and anchored in a ſafe road, under a great mountain, the cliffs whereof gliſtered like gold. This mountain he named, *Mount Raleigh:* the road where their ſhips lay at anchor, *Totneſs Road:* the bay which encompaſſed the mountain, *Exeter Sound:* the foreland towards the North, *Dier's Cape:* and the foreland towards the South, *Cape Walſingham*. He departed from hence the eighth of Auguſt, coaſting along the ſhore, which lay South-ſouth-weſt, and Eaſt-north-eaſt; and on the eleventh came to the moſt ſoutherly cape of that land, which he named, *The Cape of God's Mercy*, as being the place of their firſt entrance for the diſcovery. Going forward, they came into a very fine ſtraight, or paſſage, in ſome places twenty leagues broad, in others thirty, quite free from ice, the weather in it very tolerable, and the water of the ſame colour and nature as the main ocean. This paſſage ſtill retains the name of its firſt diſcoverer, being called to this day *Fretum Davis*, or *Davis's Straights*. Having ſailed, North-weſt, ſixty leagues (*g*) in this paſſage, they diſcovered ſeveral iſlands in the midſt of it; on ſome of which they landed. The coaſt was very barren, without wood or graſs; and the rocks were like fine marble, full of veins of divers colours. Some days after they continued ſearching for the North-weſt Paſſage [*C*], but found only a great number of iſlands. And, on the 20th, the wind coming contrary, they altered their courſe and deſign; and returning for England, arrived at Dartmouth the 29th of September (*h*). The next year Mr. Davis undertook a *ſecond* voyage, for the farther diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage, being ſupported and encouraged again by Secretary Walſingham, and other adventurers (*i*). With a view therefore of ſearching the bottom of the Straights he had been in the year before, he ſailed from Dartmouth, May the 7th, 1586, with four ſhips [*D*], and the 15th of June diſcovered land in 60 degr. Latitude, and 47 degr. Longitude Weſt from London. The ice along the coaſt reached in ſome places ten, in ſome twenty, and in others fifty leagues into the ſea; ſo that, to avoid it, they were forced to bear into 57 degr. Latitude. After many tempeſtuous ſtorms, they made the land again, June the 29th, in 64 degr. of Latitude, and 58 of Longitude; and ran among the temperate iſlands they had been at the year before. But the water was ſo deep, they could not eaſily come to an anchor: however, they found means to go aſhore, on ſome of the iſlands, where they were extremely careſſed and welcomed by the natives, who knew them again (*k*). Having finiſhed a pinnace, which was to ſerve them for a front in their diſcoveries; they landed, not only in that, but alſo in their boats, in ſeveral places [*E*]: and, upon the ſtricteſt ſearch, found

(*f*) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, pp. 100. 119.

(*g*) Mr. Davis himſelf ſays only, *thirty or forty leagues*. See Hakluyt, as above, p. 119.

(*h*) Hakluyt, pp. 102. 119.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 119.

(*k*) Ibid, pp. 103, 104.

[*B*] *The people came down and converſed with them.*] Namely, by ſigns. For the Engliſh could not underſtand the Savages' language; whoſe pronunciation was very hollow, through the throat. Before they would come near, they pointed to the Sun, and ſtruck their breaſt, and the Engliſh doing the like, the others ventured to truſt themſelves with them. They were a very tractable people, void of craft or double-dealing, eaſy to be brought to any civility or good order, and took great care of one another. Their light garments were made of birds' ſkins with the feathers on; and the heavier of Seal's ſkins. Their buſkins, hoſe, and gloves, were neatly ſewed, and well dreſſed. Theſe iſlands had no freſh water, but pools of melted ſnow: and the cliffs abounded with ore, that look'd like gold. Upon the rocks, and in the moſs, grew a ſhrub, whoſe fruit was very ſweet, and full of red juice, like Corinths, ſuppoſed to be the Cranberry, or Bearberry (3).

(3) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 100, 101. See alſo Voyages and Diſcoveries to the South and North, by Sir John Narbrough &c. in the Introduction, p. xvii. edit. 1694, 8vo.

[*C*] *They continued ſearching for the North-weſt paſſage.*] And, for the following reaſons, concluded that in all probability there was ſuch a paſſage, 1. Becauſe this place was all iſlands, with great ſounds between them. 2. The water remained of one colour with the main ocean, without altering. Whereas the colour of the water, in whatever Bay they came, was very blackiſh. 3. They ſaw to the Weſt of thoſe iſles, three or four whales, which they judged to come from a weſterly ſea, not having ſeen any to the eaſtward. 4. As they were rowing into a very great ſound lying South-weſt, from whence the whales came, on a ſudden there came a violent countercheck of a tide from the South-weſt againſt the flood they came with, not knowing from whence it proceeded. 5. In ſailing twenty leagues within the mouth of that entrance they had ſounding in ninety fathoms, and the farther Weſt they ran, the deeper was the water, ſo that cloſe to the ſhore among theſe iſles they could not find ground in 330 fathoms. 6. It ebbed and flowed ſix or ſeven fathoms, the flood coming from divers parts, ſo that they could not perceive the chief ſource of it (4).

(4) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, p. 102.

[*D*] *With four ſhips.*] Namely, The Mermaid, of one hundred and twenty tuns: The Sunſhine, of ſixty tuns: The Moonſhine, a bark of thirty-five tuns: and a Pinnace of ten tuns, named the North Star. About the beginning of June, when they came into nearly ſixty degrees of latitude, Mr. Davis divided this little fleet; ſending the Sunſhine, and the North Star, to ſeek a paſſage northward, between Groenland and Iceland to the latitude of eighty degrees; whilſt he proceeded himſelf, with the Mermaid and the Moonſhine in the farther diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage (5). The Sunſhine returned to England, October 4, with a quantity of ſeal-ſkins; but the Pinnace was loſt.

(5) Hakluyt, ubi ſupra, pp. 103. 108, 109.

[*E*] *They landed - - - - - - in ſeveral places.*] And ſaw the habitations of the nations, which were only a kind of tents covered with ſeal-ſkins. They found likewiſe a grave, with ſeveral buried in it, being covered with ſeal ſkins, and having a croſs laid over them. The people are of good ſtature, well proportioned in body, have ſmall ſlender hands and feet, broad viſages, ſmall eyes, wide mouths, generally beardleſs, great lips, and are cloſe-toothed. They are very apt to bleed, and therefore ſtop their noſes with deer's hair, or the hair of an elan (6). They are idolaters, and have abundance of images. Their meat, which is moſtly fiſh, they eat raw; and drink ſalt-water, and eat graſs and ice with pleaſure. Sel-

(6) Or elk; a kind of ſtag.

found the land not to be a continent, as they imagined, but a collection of huge, waſte, and deſert iſles, with great ſounds and inlets paſſing between ſea and ſea (*l*). They purſued their voyage the 11th of July, and on the 17th in 63 degr. 8 min. Latitude, met with a prodigious maſs of ice, which they coaſted till the 30th. This was a great obſtacle, and diſcouragement to them, not having the like there the year before; and, beſides, the men beginning to grow ſickly, the crew of the *Mermaid*, on which he chiefly depended, forſook him, and reſolved to proceed no farther (*m*). However, not to diſappoint Mr. W. Sanderſon, who was the chief adventurer in this voyage, and for fear of loſing the favour of Secretary Walſingham, who had this diſcovery much at heart, Mr. Davis undertook to proceed alone in his ſmall bark of thirty tuns. Having therefore fitted, and well-victualled it, in a harbour lying in 66 degr. 33 min. Latitude, and 70 degr. Longitude; which he found to be a very hot place, and full of muſcatoes; he ſet ſail the 12th of Auguſt, and coming into a ſtraight followed the courſe of it for eighty leagues, till he came among many iſlands, where the water ebbed and flowed ſix fathom deep (*n*). He had hopes of finding a paſſage there, but upon ſearching farther in his boat, he perceived there was none. So he returned again into the open ſea, and kept coaſting ſouthward as far as 54 degr. ½ of Latitude: in which time he found another great inlet near forty leagues broad, between two lands, Weſt, where the water ran in with great violence. This, he imagined, was the paſſage ſo long ſought for, but the wind being then contrary, and two furious ſtorms happening ſoon after, he neither thought it ſafe nor wiſe to proceed farther: eſpecially in one ſmall bark, and when the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced. Wherefore he ſailed for England the 11th of September (*o*); and arrived there in the beginning of October [*F*]. By what obſervations he made, he concluded, that the North parts of America are all iſlands (*p*). He made a *third* voyage to theſe parts again the year following, 1587. All the Weſtern Merchants, and moſt of thoſe of London refuſed to be engaged farther in the undertaking; but the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, and Secretary Walſingham, ſet it forwards. Mr. Davis having, in his laſt voyage, diſcovered prodigious quantities of excellent cod-fiſh, in 56 degr. of Latitude; for that reaſon, two ſhips were ſent along with him for fiſhing, and one only for the diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage [*G*]. They ſailed from Dartmouth the 19th of May, and diſcovered land the 14th of June, at ſixteen leagues diſtance, being very mountainous, and covered with ſnow (*q*). On the 21ſt of June the two barks left him, and went upon the fiſhing, after having promiſed him, not to depart till his return to them about the end of Auguſt. But having finiſhed their voyage in about ſixteen days after, they ſet ſail for England without any regard to their promiſe. As for Captain Davis, he purſued his intended diſcovery, in the ſea between America and Groenland, from 64 to 73 deg. of Latitude. Having entered the Straights which bear his name, he went on northward, from the 21ſt to the 30th of June; naming one part *Merchants Coaſt* (*r*); another, *The London Coaſt*; another, *Hope Sanderſon* in 73 degr. Latitude, being the fartheſt he went that day. The wind coming northerly, he altered his courſe, and ran forty leagues Weſt, without ſeeing any land (*s*). On the 2d of July, he fell in with a great bank of ice, which he coaſted ſouthward till the 19th of July, when he came within ſight of Mount Raleigh on the American coaſt, in about 67 degrees of Latitude. Having ſailed ſixty leagues North-weſt into the gulf that lies beyond it, he anchored, July 23, at the bottom of that gulf, among many iſlands, which he named *The Earl of Cumberland's Iſles*. He quitted that place again the ſame day, and ſailed back South-eaſt, in order to recover the ſea; which he did the 29th in 62 deg. of Latitude. The 30th he paſſed by a great bank, or inlet, to which he gave the name of *Lumley's Inlet*; and the next day by a head land, which he called *The Earl of Warwick's Foreland*. On the firſt of Auguſt he fell in with the ſouthermoſt cape, named by him *Chudley's Cape*: and, the 12th, paſſed by an iſland which he named *Darcy's Iſland*. When he came in 52 deg. of Latitude, not finding the two ſhips that had promiſed to ſtay for him, he was in great diſtreſs, having but little wood, and only half a hogſhead of water left. However, taking courage, he made the beſt of his way home, and arrived at Dartmouth

(*l*) Ibid. pp. 103. 105.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 119.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 120.

(*o*) Ibid. pp. 107. 108. 120.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 120.

(*q*) Ibid p. 111. 120.

(*r*) Becauſe he found people there that merchandiſed with him. Hakluyt, p. 112.

(*s*) Ibid.

dom are they out of water, excepting when they go to ſleep on the land, in ſome warm corner, or under a rock. Their nets for catching fiſh are made of a whale. When they grow familiar, they are very thieviſh; and ſo covetous are they of iron, that they could not forbear ſtealing any thing that was made of that metal. Their way of kindling a fire is thus: they take a piece of board having a hole half through, in which they put the end of a round ſtick, (like a bed-ſtaff,) dipped in train oil; then working it round in that hole with a leather thong, like a turner, they ſoon get a fire by the violent agitation. Mr. Davis got among theſe people copper-ore, and black and red copper (7).——Whilſt he remained among theſe iſlands he ſaw a whirlwind that laſted three hours, and took up great quantities of water into the air, with incredible violence and fury (8).

(7) Hakluyt, ib. pp. 104. 105.

(8) P. 105.

[*F*] *And arrived thither in the beginning of October.*] Soon after his arrival, he wrote a letter to Mr. W. Sanderſon, dated from Exeter, Oct. 14, wherein he tells him.——'I have now experience of much of 'the North-weſt part of the world, and have brought 'the paſſage to that likelihood, as that I am aſſured 'it muſt bee in one of foure places, or els not at all. 'And further I can aſſure you upon the perill of my 'life, that this voyage may be performed without 'further charge, nay with certain profite to the ad-'venturers, if I may have but your favour in the ac-'tion (9).'

(9) Ibid. p. 108.

[*G*] *Two ſhips were ſent along with him for fiſhing, and one only for the diſcovery of the North-weſt Paſſage.*] The two barks that were ſent with him for fiſhing, were, *The Elizabeth* of Dartmouth, and *The Sunſhine* of London. The Pinnace he was to proceed in, in his diſcoveries, was called *The Helen* of London (10).

(10) Ibid. p. 111.

September the 15th (*t*), very ſanguine, that the *North-weſt Paſſage* was moſt probable, and the execution eaſy [*H*]. But Secretary Walſingham being otherwiſe engaged, and dying not long after, that deſign was laid aſide (*u*). Mr. Davis, notwithſtanding, did not remain idle. For, Auguſt 26, 1591, he was Captain of the *Deſire*, Rear Admiral to Mr. Thomas Cavendiſh, in his ſecond unfortunate expedition to the South-Sea; and is highly blamed by Mr. Cavendiſh, for having deſerted him, and thereby being the cauſe of his overthrow (*w*). After many diſaſters, Mr. Davis arrived again at Bear-Haven in Ireland, June 11, 1593 (*x*). He performed afterwards no leſs than five voyages to the Eaſt-Indies [*I*], in the ſtation of a Pilot (*y*). One was in a Dutch ſhip, wherein he ſet out, March 15, 159$\frac{7}{8}$, from Fluſhing, and returned to Middleburgh, July 23, 1600 (*z*). Of the reſt we have no account, only of one he performed with Sir Edward Michelbourne (*a*), in which were ſpent nineteen months, from December 5, 1604, to July 9, 1606. During this voyage Mr. Davis was ſlain, on the 27th of December, 1605, in a deſperate fight with ſome Japoneſe near the coaſt of Malacca (*b*). He married Faith, daughter of Sir John Fulford, of Fulford in Devonſhire, Knight, by Dorothy his wife, daughter of John Lord Bouchier, Earl of Bath (*c*); by whom probably he had iſſue: for ſome of his poſterity are ſaid to have been living ſome years ago at, or near, Deptford (*d*). He was author of ſome things in the naval way [*K*].

(*t*) Ibid. pp. 114-120.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 120.

(*w*) See above under the article CAVENDISH (THOMAS).

(*x*) Hakluyt, vol. III. p. 842—852.

(*y*) Prince, ubi ſupra.

(*z*) See Collection of Voyages, &c. publiſhed by J. Harris, 2 vols. fol. Lond. 1705. Vol. I. p. 49, &c.

(*a*) Purchas his Pilgrimes, vol. I. p. 132; and vol. III. p. 556.

(*b*) Harris, Ibid. p 57.

(*c*) Weſtcot Pedigree. See Prince, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Prince, ibid.

DAVYSON or DAVISON (WILLIAM), a very eminent Stateſman, and Secretary of State in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was, if not a native of Scotland, at leaſt deſcended from thoſe who were, as himſelf profeſſed to Sir James Melvile (*a*), which is all that we know of his family. At what time he came into the Court of Queen Elizabeth, or in what ſtate, cannot, at this diſtance of time, be poſitively affirmed. It is moſt probable, that his parts and learning, together with that extraordinary diligence and wonderful addreſs for which he was always diſtinguiſhed, recommended him to Mr. Killigrew, afterwards Sir Henry Killigrew, with whom he went in quality of Secretary, at the time he was ſent into Scotland to compliment Queen Mary upon the birth of her ſon (*b*). This was in the year 1566, and there is a good reaſon to believe that he remained thenceforward about the Court, and was employed in ſeveral affairs of great conſequence. In 1575, when the States of Brabant and Flanders aſſumed to themſelves the adminiſtration of all affairs, till his Catholick Majeſty ſhould appoint a new Governor of the Low Countries, Mr. Daviſon was ſent over with a publick character from the Queen to thoſe States, under the plauſible pretence of exhorting them to continue in their obedience to his Catholick Majeſty, but, in reality, to ſee how things actually ſtood in that part of the world, that her Majeſty might be the better able to know how to proceed in reſpect to the ſeveral applications made to her from the Prince of Orange, and the people of Holland (*c*). He executed this commiſſion very ſucceſsfully, and therefore, when things were riper, the Queen ſent him over as her Miniſter, to pacify the troubles that had ariſen at Ghent; and, when his preſence was no longer neceſſary there, he was commiſſioned on her behalf to the States of Holland in 1579 (*d*). His conduct there gave equal

(*a*) Sir James Melvile's Memoirs, p. 157.

(*b*) Camden, Ann. Eliz. p. 123.

(*c*) Strype's Ann. vol. II. p. 403. Camden, Ann. Eliz. p. 299.

(*d*) Several papers relative to this Negotiation are ſtill in the Harleian Library of MSS. as I have been informed by the ingenious Mr. W. O. of Gray's-Inn.

[*H*] *Very ſanguine that the North-weſt Paſſage was moſt probable, and the execution eaſy.*] This he declared to his great patron, Mr. W. Sanderſon, in a letter from Sandridge, the next day after his return to England—'I have,' ſaith he, 'made my ſafe returne in 'health, with all my company, and have ſailed three-'ſcore leagues further than my determination at my 'departure. I have been in 73 degrees, finding the 'ſea all open, and forty leagues betweene land and 'land. The paſſage is moſt probable, the execution 'eaſie, as at my coming you ſhall fully know (11).' ——But the Spaniſh Invaſion happening the year following, and Secretary Walſingham dying two years after, that deſign was laid aſide, and never again attempted by Mr. Davis (12).

(11) Hakluyt, p. 114.

(12) Ibid. p. 120.

[*I*] *He performed afterwards no leſs than five voyages to the Eaſt-Indies.*] 'He was the firſt Pilot that con-'ducted the Zealanders to that country,' ſays Mr. Prince (13): which may be true of the Zelanders in particular. But the Dutch had been once before to the Eaſt-Indies; namely in the year 1595 (14). And if Mr. Davis ſet out for the Eaſt Indies, firſt in 159$\frac{7}{8}$, as Mr. Prince ſeems to intimate, I do not find how he could poſſibly perform *five voyages*, thither, in that ſpace of time; namely, between 159$\frac{7}{8}$ and 1605.

(13) Ubi ſupra.

(14) Vide *Hug. Grotii Annales & Hiſt. de Rebus Belgicis*, fol. edit. Amſt. 1657, p. 232.

[*K*] *He was author of ſome things in the Naval way.*] I. 'The account of his ſecond voyage, for the diſ-'covery of the North-weſt Paſſage in 1586 (15),' ſeems to be of his compoſition; for he ſpeaks always in it in the firſt perſon. II. There are likewiſe in print two letters of his (16), to Mr. Sanderſon: one dated from Exeter, October 14, 1586; and the other from Sandridge, September 16, 1587. III. Hakluyt hath alſo preſerved (17), 'A Traverſe Booke made by M. 'John Davis in his third voyage for the diſcoverie of 'the North-weſt Paſſage, Anno. 1587.' IV. And moreover it appears, that our author, J. Davis, compoſed a treatiſe, intituled, 'The World's Hydrogra-'phicall Deſcription.' For Hakluyt hath extracted out of it, and publiſhed, 'A report of Maſter John 'Davis, of his three voyages made for the diſcovery 'of the North-weſt Paſſage (18).' V. His voyage to the Eaſt Indies in a Dutch ſhip, in the year 1598, was written alſo by himſelf (19). VI. We are informed, that 'There is a Rutter, [Routier,] or Brief Direc-'tions for ſailing into the Eaſt Indies, digeſted into 'a plain method by this ſame perſon, John Davis of 'Limehouſe, (as he is there called) written upon ex-'periment of his five voyages thither, and home 'again (20).' But, either it was not written by the ſame John Davis, who is the ſubject of this article: or elſe, our John Davis was not ſlain in the Eaſt Indies, as we have ſaid above upon the authority of Purchas, and of thoſe that have copied from him. This point we muſt ſubmit to the curious and inquiſitive reader, not being able to determine it at this great diſtance of time. M.

(15) As publiſhed in Hakluyt, vol. III. p. 103.

(16) Printed in the ſame vol. p. 108. 114.

(17) Ibid. p. 115. &c.

(18) Ibid. p. 119, 120.

(19) See Harris's Collect. ubi. ſupra, p. 49.

(20) Prince, as above. This is printed in J. Harris's Collection of Voyages, vol. I. p. 124.

*** In the Index to the firſt edition of the Biographia, it is obſerved, that there is a defect in the article of John Davis, as it has not mentioned his Quadrant for finding out the Latitude at ſea.

Concerning the progreſs of the attempts for the diſcovery of a Northern Paſſage to India, much may be found in the Life of Captain Cook, inſerted in the fourth volume of our work; and ſtill more in the admirable Introduction to the Captain's laſt voyage, and in the voyage at large, as written by himſelf. K.



ſatisfaction

satisfaction to the Queen his Mistress, and to those with whom he negotiated. He gave them great hopes of the Queen's assistance and support; but, when a sum of money was desired, as absolutely necessary towards providing for their defence, he very readily undertook to procure it upon reasonable security; in consequence of which, a very considerable sum was sent from England, for which all the valuable jewels and fine plate, that had been pledged by Matthias of Austria to the States of Holland, and which were the remains of the magnificence of the house of Burgundy, were transported to England (*e*). These journies, and the success attending them, gave Mr. Davison great reputation at Court, insomuch, that in all matters of a nice and difficult nature, Davison was some way or other continually employed. Thus in 1583, when things were very much embroiled in Scotland, he was sent thither as the Queen's Ambassador, in order to counteract the French Ministers, and to engage the King of Scots, and the people, both to slight the offers made them from that country, and to depend wholly upon assistance from England (*f*) [*A*]. Affairs in the Low-Countries coming at last to a crisis, and the States resolving to depend upon Queen Elizabeth, in the bold design they had formed of defending their freedom by force of arms, and rendering themselves independent, Mr. Davison, at this time Clerk of the Privy Council, was chosen to manage this delicate business, and to conclude with them that alliance which was to be the basis of their future undertakings (*g*). In this, which, without question, was one of the most perplexed transactions in that whole reign, he conducted things with such a happy dexterity, as to merit the strongest acknowledgments on the part of the States, at the same time that he rendered the highest service to the Queen his Mistress, and obtained ample security for those expences which that Princess thought it necessary to be at (*h*), in order to keep danger at a distance, and to entertain the flames of war in the dominions of her enemy, whom, at that juncture, she knew to be meditating how he might transfer them into her own

(*e*) Camden, Ann. Eliz. p. 328. 329.

(*f*) Sir James Melvile's Memoirs, p. 158. Camden, Ann. Eliz. p. 395.

(*g*) Cabala, p. ii pp. 2, 3. 34.

(*h*) Strype's Annals, vol. III. p. 290.

[*A*] *And to depend wholly upon assistance from England.*] The great jealousy Queen Elizabeth had of every thing that passed in Scotland, made her extremely careful in the choice of all such persons as, in the course of her reign, she had occasion to send thither. At this time, not only Mary Queen of Scots was prisoner in England, but her son James VI. was also a prisoner to some of his own subjects in Scotland. It was to facilitate the liberty of both, that the French King sent ambassadors to England in the beginning of the year 1583, with instructions to try whether Queen Elizabeth might not be induced to consent, that Mary Queen of Scots, being released, should return home and govern jointly with her son (1). The Queen seemed not averse to this proposal, in case she had any reasonable security, that the Queen of Scots and her son, would undertake nothing to her prejudice; and, as they were to go into Scotland, to press the same thing there, she took care to join Mr. Davison on her part in the same journey, and with the same commission (2). We have in the memoirs, which of those times and that country are best esteemed, a very extraordinary, though a very short, account of this embassy, which it is necessary the reader should see. 'About this 'time the Lord Burleigh, chief ruler in England, 'caused send in one Mr. Davison, to be an agent 'here, to see what business he could brew, who was 'afterwards made Secretary. For after the decease 'of Walsingham, Secretary Cecil being advanced to 'be Lord Burleigh and Great Treasurer of England, 'two Secretaries were chosen, one called Mr. Smith, 'and this Davison, whose predecessor was a Scots-'man. Upon which consideration, he was thought 'more able to conquer credit here. He had been 'in Scotland before, and was at my house in com-'pany with Sir Henry Killigrew, my old friend, 'when he was resident in Scotland. At which time 'he acknowledged to me that he was come of Scots-'men, and was a Scotsman in his heart, and a fa-'vourer of the King's right and title to the Crown 'of England. He desired me to keep all secret from 'Mr. Killigrew, promising, if he could find the means 'to be employed here, that he would do good office. 'His Majesty was for the time at Falkland, and wrote 'for me to be directed to ride and meet the said 'Davison; whom I was commanded to convey to 'Coupar, there to remain till his Majesty had time 'to give him audience. Afterwards I convoyed him 'to my own house, and from that to Falkland, 'where his Majesty found his commission to small 'avail. But because Walsingham had refused at his 'being here to speak with the Earl of Arran; albeit, 'the said Earl had offered, by me, to give satisfac-'tion to him in all his desires, so that he would con-'fer with him, which Walsingham still refused; 'but Mr. Davison was directed at this time to deal 'with the Earl of Arran, to see what advantage 'might be had at his hand. For my Lord Burleigh 'was not content that Walsingham was so precise; 'therefore Davison entered into familiarity with him, 'and was made his gossip, and heard his frank offers 'and liked well of them. For after that the Lords 'were fled to England and forefalted, the Council of 'England thought they had some ground to build a 'new faction upon, to trouble the King and his 'Estate. And whereas the said Davison had pro-'mised before to shew himself a kind Scotsman, I 'perceived him clean altered, and a perfect practiser 'against the quiet of this state, whereof I advertised 'his Majesty. After his return to England, not to 'have such a fear as it formerly had of the Earl of 'Arran. For there was a meeting drawn on at the 'borders, betwixt the Earl of Hunsdon and the Earl 'of Arran, who had long and privy conference to-'gether, to keep a great friendship betwixt the two 'princes and countries, with a secret plot, that the 'Earl of Arran should keep the King unmarried for 'three years; under this pretext, that there was a 'young maid of the blood in England, who about 'that time would be ready for marriage, whereupon 'the Queen would declare his Majesty second per-'son (3).' This quotation sufficiently shews how little credit is due, even to the best memoirs, when they are plainly written from memory, and not in the strict way of journal; for in all that Sir James has set down, there is very little, if any, truth. All the world knows, that Lord Burleigh was Treasurer long before the death of Sir Francis Walsingham, and that he was Joint Secretary with Mr. Davison, who was not sent by Lord Burleigh, neither did he come after Walsingham, or treat with those with whom Walsingham refused to treat, but almost a year before him (4). The King was in the hands of the Earl of Gowry, when Mr. Davison treated with him: afterwards the King made his escape, prosecuted those who had confined him, and recalled the Earl of Arran, contrary to his promise; to expostulate with him, upon all which, Queen Elizabeth, some months after, sent Sir Francis Walsingham (5): so that there is the strangest confusion in these memoirs, that ever appeared in a book written by a person of so great credit and capacity. It may however be true, that Mr. Davison had at this time altered his sentiments; and there is very little reason to doubt what he says of his extraction, since it was not any evil intention that led him into these mistakes; but the fault was entirely in his memory, which here, and in many other places, betrayed him.

(1) Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 137. 138.

(2) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 395.

(3) Sir James Melvile's Memoirs, pp. 157. 158.

(4) Camd. Ann. Eliz. pp. 395. 397. Spotswood's Hist. of Scotland, pp. 324—327.

(5) Sanderson's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 99.

own [B]. Upon the return of Mr. Davison into England, after the conclusion of this treaty, he was declared of the Privy Council, and appointed one of her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, in conjunction with Sir Francis Walsingham (i); so that, at this time, these offices may be affirmed to have been as well filled as in any period that can be assigned in our history, and yet by persons of very different, or rather opposite dispositions; for Walsingham was a man of great art and intrigue, one who was not displeased that he was thought such a person, and whose capacity was still deeper than those who understood it best apprehended it to be (k). Davison, on the other hand, had a just reputation for wisdom and probity; and, though he had been concerned in many intricate affairs, yet he preserved a character so unspotted, that, to the time he came into this office, he had done nothing that could draw upon him the least imputation (l). It is an opinion countenanced by Camden, and which has met with general acceptance, that he was raised in order to be ruined, and that, when he was made Secretary of State, there was a view of obliging him to go out of his depth in that matter, which brought upon him all his misfortunes (m). This conjecture is very plausible, and yet there is good reason to doubt whether it is well founded. Mr. Davison had attached himself, during the progress of his fortunes, to the potent Earl of Leicester; and it was chiefly to his favour and interest that he stood indebted for this high employment, in which if he was deceived by another great Statesman, it could not be said that he was raised and ruined by the same hands. But there is nothing more probable than that the bringing about such an event by an instrument which his rival had raised, and then removing him, and rendering his parts useless to those who had raised him, gave a double satisfaction to him who managed this design. The tracing the principal steps of this transaction, which was, without doubt, one of the finest strokes of political management in that whole reign, was what chiefly determined us to insert this article. When the resolution was taken, in the beginning of October 1586, to bring the Queen of Scots to a trial, and a commission was issued for that purpose, Secretary Davison's name was inserted in that commission; but it does not appear that he was present when that commission was opened at Fotheringay Castle, on the 11th of October, or that he ever insisted there at all (n). Indeed, the management of that transaction was very wisely left in the hands of those who, with so much address, had conducted the antecedent business for the conviction of Anthony Babington, and his accomplices, upon the truth and justice of which, the proceedings against the Queen of Scots entirely depended (o). On the 25th of October the sentence was declared in the Star Chamber, things proceeding still in the same channel, and nothing particularly done by Secretary Davison (p). On the 29th of the same month the Parliament met, in which Serjeant Puckering was Speaker of the House of Commons; and, upon an application from both Houses, Queen Elizabeth caused the sentence to be published, which, soon after, was notified to the Queen of Scots (q): yet, hitherto, all was transacted by the other Secretary, who was considered, by the nation in general, as the person who had led this prosecution from beginning to end [C]. The true meaning of this long and solemn proceeding was certainly to

(i) Loyd's State Worthies, p. 624.

(k) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, chap. vii.

(l) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 625.

(m) Camd. Annal Eliz. p 544, 545.

(n) Holinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1565. State Trials, Vol. I. p. 145. Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 488.

(o) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 128. Carleton's Thankful Remembrances of God's Mercies, p. 115.

(p) Sanderson's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 116, 117.

(q) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 161.

[B] *How he might transfer them into her own.*] After the taking of Antwerp by the Spaniards, it became absolutely requisite for the Queen to determine what part she would take in the concerns of the Continent, and upon what terms she would agree to assist the Dutch in the defence of their liberties. The eyes of all Europe were then fixed upon her conduct, and many great Princes abroad thought she had better declined than accepted the offers of the States. Some of her own council were of that opinion, and it was the Earl of Leicester and his party who pressed her to this conjunction, that Earl himself intending to go, as he afterwards did, in a very high character to Holland (6). The treaty with the States, was negotiated between their Ministers, and a Committee of the Privy Council here; but the carrying it into execution was entirely remitted to the care of Mr. Davison. The Queen's instructions to him, countersigned by Secretary Walsingham, are still preserved, and consist of nine articles, but they are without date (7). It appears, however, that in September 1585, his negotiation was far advanced; for upon the 5th of that month, the Queen sent him a commission to take possession of Flushing in her behalf, and to put the Brill into the hands of the person whom General Norris should appoint (8). There are also letters extant from him to the Earl of Leicester and Secretary Walsingham, relating to these affairs; as also a very remarkable dispatch from the Commissioners, who had concluded this treaty, to Mr. Davison, dated October the 3d, in which they acquaint him of her Majesty's entire approbation of his conduct, and signify that the discontent which it seems had been already shewn about this treaty, did not in the least regard him, but referred to those who had the administration of affairs in Holland, who are said to have shewn a spirit of over-reaching; and as they were composed of traders and advocates, the former respecting nothing but their profit, and the latter flying naturally to quirks and tricks, there was no better to be expected from them (9). Upon the whole, it appears that no Minister could have greater trust reposed in him, or desire a more ample approbation of his services than he met with. In one thing only he seems to have been a little uneasy, and that was the narrowness of his allowance, which made him very desirous of returning to England, that the rise of his reputation might not be purchased with the ruin of his estate (10). He was not however recalled till after the Earl of Leicester went over thither; and we find the Lord Treasurer Burleigh intreating him to give his advice to his eldest son Mr. Thomas Cecil, appointed Governor of the Brill, at the same time that Sir Philip Sydney succeeded Mr. Davison in the command of Flushing (11).

(6) Strype's Annals, Vol III. p. 290.

(7) Cott. Libr. Titus B. 2.

(8) Cabala, P. ii. P. 34.

(9) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 290. Cabala, P. ii. p. 34.

(10) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 290. Cabala, P. i. p. 2, 3.

(11) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 290.

[C] *Who had led this prosecution from beginning to end.*] Such as are acquainted with the history of those times, know, that the whole of Babington's conspiracy was detected by Sir Francis Walsingham, and that he suffered it to go on for some time after it was discovered, that he might the more effectually come at the bottom of it, and trace out all that were concerned in it (12). Upon this, it was resolved to remove the Queen of Scots, and to continue her closely, either in Hertford Castle, or at Fotheringay. When the last-mentioned place was resolved on, orders were sent to Sir Amias Pawlet, then her keeper, for

(12) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 128. Bishop Carleton's Thankful Remembrances of God's Mercies, p. 115. Udal's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 395.

to remove, as far as poſſible, any reflection upon Queen Elizabeth: and, that it might appear in the moſt conſpicuous manner to the world, that ſhe was urged, and even conſtrained, to take the life of the Queen of Scots, inſtead of ſeeking or deſiring it. This aſſertion is not founded upon conjecture, but is a direct matter of fact: for, in her firſt anſwer to the Parliament, given at Richmond the 12th of November, ſhe complained that the late act had brought her into a great ſtrait, by obliging her to give directions for that Queen's death; and, upon the ſecond application, on the 24th of the ſame month, the Queen enters largely into the conſequences that muſt naturally follow upon her taking that ſtep, and, on the conſideration of them, grounds her returning no definitive reſolution even to this ſecond application (*r*). The delay which followed after the publication of the ſentence, gave an opportunity for the French King, and ſeveral other Princes, to interpoſe, but more eſpecially to King James, whoſe Ambaſſadors, and particularly Sir Robert Melvile, preſſed the Queen very hard (*s*). Camden ſays, that his Ambaſſadors, unſeaſonably mixing threatenings with intreaties, they were not very welcome; ſo that, after a few days, the Ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed, with ſmall hopes of ſucceeding in what they came about (*t*). But we are elſewhere told, that, when Melvile requeſted a reſpite of execution for eight days, ſhe anſwered, *Not an hour* (*u*). This ſeemed to be a plain declaration of her Majeſty's final determination, and ſuch in all probability it was, ſo that her death being reſolved, the only point that remained under debate was, how ſhe ſhould die, that is, whether by the hand of an executioner, or otherwiſe (*w*). In reſpect to this, the two Secretaries ſeem to have been of different ſentiments Mr. Daviſon thought the forms of juſtice ſhould go on, and the end of this melancholy tranſaction correſpond with the reſt of the proceedings (*x*). Upon this Sir Francis Walſingham pretended ſickneſs, and did not come to Court, and by this means the whole buſineſs of drawing and bringing the warrant to the Queen to ſign fell upon Daviſon, who, purſuant to the Queen's directions, went through it (*y*) in the manner that Camden has related [*D*]. But it is very remarkable, that, while theſe judicial ſteps were taking, the other method,

(*r*) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1580.

(*s*) Spotiſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 351, 352, 353.

(*t*) Saunderſon's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 119.

(*u*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 522.

(*w*) See Daviſon's Apology in note [*H*]. Oſborn's Traditional Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, § iv. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 625.

(*x*) See this plainly aſſerted in his Apology.

(*y*) Camd. Ann. Eliz p. 532. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 372.

for her removal, with inſtructions not to give her above two days warning, and not to let her know whither ſhe was going, till after ſhe had been two or three days upon the road. At length, when ſhe was brought to Fotheringay, Queen Elizabeth herſelf thought proper to write, or at leaſt to ſubſcribe with her own hand, the following letter to Sir Amias Pawlet, in gratitude, as Mr. Strype ſays, for his fidelity ſhewn in the management of that removal, which letter was tranſcribed from a copy taken by Michael Hickes, the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh's Secretary (13).

(13) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 361, 362.

To my faithful Amyas.

AMYAS, my moſt careful and faithful ſervant, God reward thee trebleſold in the double, for thy moſt troubleſome charge ſo well diſcharged. If you knew, my Amyas, how kindly, beſides dutifully, my grateful heart accepteth your double labours and faithful actions, your wife orders, and ſafe conduct, performed in ſo dangerous and crafty a charge, it would eaſe your travel [trouble *writ over head*] and rejoice your heart. After which I charge you to carry this moſt juſt thought, that I cannot balance in any weight of my judgement, the value I prize you at; and ſuppoſe no treaſure to countervail ſuch a faith, and condemn myſelf in that fault which I have committed, if I reward not ſuch deſerts. Yea, let me lack, when I have moſt need, if I acknowledge not ſuch a merit with a reward; *non omnibus datum*.

But let your wicked miſtreſs know how, with hearty ſorrow, her vile deſerts compel theſe orders; and bid her from me, aſk God forgiveneſs for her treacherous dealing towards the ſaver of her life many years, to the intolerable peril of her own. And yet, not content with ſo many forgiveneſſes, muſt fall again ſo horribly far paſſing a woman, much more a princeſs. Inſtead of excuſing, whereof not one can ſerve, it being ſo plainly confeſſed by the authors of my guiltleſs death; let repentance take place, and let not the fiend poſſeſs, ſo as her beſt part be loſt. Which I pray, with hands lifted up to him that may both ſave and ſpill, with my loving adieu, and prayer for thy long life,

Your aſſured and loving ſovereign in heart,
by good deſert induced,
ELIZABETH Regina.

[*D*] *In the manner that Camden has related*] When one conſiders the many and great advantages this hiſtorian had, as himſelf declares, and as the papers he refers to prove, one cannot but pay a very high deference to his authority. But at the ſame time it cannot but afford the curious reader a very high pleaſure to compare his accounts of things, with the papers themſelves, from which he promiſes to have drawn them. We have on another occaſion inſerted his extract from Mr. Daviſon's apology (14): in a ſucceeding note we ſhall inſert that ſingular paper as it fell from our author's own hand (15). At preſent let us ſee how he choſe to repreſent the whole of this tranſaction (16), after weighing and conſidering thoſe authentick authorities which were in his poſſeſſion.

(14) Biographia Brit. vol. III. p. 394.

(15) See our Author's Apology in note [*H*].

(16) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 532.

'In the midſt,' ſays he, 'of theſe doubtful and 'perplexing thoughts which ſo troubled and ſtag-'gered the Queen's mind, that ſhe gave herſelf 'wholly over to ſolitarineſs, ſate many times melan-'choly and mute, and frequently ſighing, muttered 'this to herſelf, *Aut fer aut feri*, that is, either bear 'or ſtrike; and out of I know not what emblem, '*Ne feriare feri*, that is, ſtrike leſt thou be ſtricken; 'ſhe delivered a writing to Daviſon, one of her Se-'cretaries, ſigned with her own hand, commanding 'a warrant under the Great Seal of England, to be 'drawn up for the execution, which ſhould lie in 'readineſs if any danger chanced to break forth in 'that time of jealouſy and fear, and commanded 'him to acquaint no man therewith. But the next 'day, while fear ſeemed to be afraid of her own 'counſels and deſigns, her mind changed, and ſhe 'commanded Daviſon, by William Killigrew, that 'the warrant ſhould not be drawn. Daviſon came 'preſently to the Queen, and told her that it was 'drawn and under ſeal already. She was ſomewhat 'moved at it, and blamed him for making ſuch haſte. 'He notwithſtanding acquainted the Council both 'with the warrant and the whole matter, and eaſily 'perſuaded them, who were apt to believe what they 'deſired, that the Queen had commanded it ſhould 'be executed. Hereupon, without any delay, Beale, 'who in reſpect of religion, was of all others, the 'Queen of Scots' moſt bitter adverſary, was ſent 'down with one or two executioners, and a warrant, 'wherein authority was given to the Earls of 'Shrewſbury, Kent, Derby, Cumberland, and 'others, to ſee her executed according to law, and 'this without any knowledge of the Queen at all. 'And though ſhe at that very time told Daviſon, 'that ſhe would take another courſe with the Queen 'of Scots, yet did not he for all that call Beale 'back.'

to which the Queen herſelf ſeemed to incline, proceeded alſo, and Secretary Walſingham, notwithſtanding his ſickneſs, wrote the very day the warrant was ſigned, which was Wedneſday, February 1ſt, 1586-7, to Sir Amias Pawlet and Sir Drew Drury, to put them in mind of the aſſociation, as a thing that might countenance at leaſt, if not juſtify, this other way of removing the Queen of Scots (z). It is true, that Mr. Daviſon ſubſcribed this letter, and wrote another to the ſame perſons two days after; but it appears plainly from the anſwer, that the keepers of the Queen of Scots conſidered the motion as coming from Walſingham. Theſe letters will be found in the notes [*E*]. The warrant being delivered to the Lords of the Council, they ſent it down by Mr. Beale, their Clerk, a man of ſour and ſtubborn temper, and who had always ſhewn a great bitterneſs againſt the Queen of Scots. The day of his departure does not appear; but Queen Mary had notice given her on the Monday to prepare for death on the Wedneſday, which ſhe accordingly ſuffered (*a*). As ſoon as Queen Elizabeth was informed of it, ſhe expreſſed great reſentment againſt her Council, forbad them her preſence, and the Court; and cauſed ſome of them to be examined, as if ſhe intended to call them to an account for the ſhare they had in this tranſaction (*b*). We are not told particularly who theſe Counſellors were, excepting the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh (*c*), who fell into a temporary diſgrace about it, and was actually a witneſs againſt Mr.

(z) See the letters referred to in note [*E*].

(*a*) Gunton's Hiſt. of Peterborough, p. 76. Stowe's Annals, p. 742.
(*b*) Strype's Ann. vol. III. p. 375.
(*c*) Biog. Brit. vol. III. p. 1263.

[*E*] *Theſe letters will be found in the notes.*] Theſe I think were firſt publiſhed by Mr. Hearne, who tells us they were copied by a friend of his in the month of September, 1717, from a manuſcript folio book, containing letters to and from Sir Amias Pawlet, when the Queen of Scots' Governor at Fotheringay (17).

(17) Robert of Glouceſter's Chron. pp. 673. 674, 675, 676.

To Sir Amice Poulet.

AFTER our hearty commendations, we find by ſpeech lately uttered by her Majeſty, that ſhe doth note in you, both a lack of that care and zeal of her ſervice that ſhe looketh for at your hands, in that you have not in all this time, of yourſelves, without other provocation, found out ſome way to ſhorten the life of that Queen; conſidering the great peril ſhe is ſubject unto hourly, ſo long as the ſaid Queen ſhall live. Wherein, beſides a kind of lack of love towards her, ſhe noteth greatly, that you have not that care of your own particular ſafeties, or rather of the preſervation of religion and the publick good, and proſperity of your country, that reaſon and policy commandeth, eſpecially having ſo good a warrant and ground for the ſatisfaction of your conſcience towards God and the diſcharge of your credit and reputation towards the world, as the oath of aſſociation which you both have ſo ſolemnly taken and vowed, and eſpecially the matter wherewith ſhe ſtandeth charged, being ſo clearly and manifeſtly proved againſt her. And therefore ſhe taketh it moſt unkindly, that men profeſſing that love towards her, that you do, ſhould, in any kind of ſort, for lack of the diſcharge of your duties, caſt the burthen upon her; knowing as you do, her indiſpoſition to ſhed blood, eſpecially of one of that ſex and quality, and ſo near to her in blood as the ſaid Queen is. Theſe reſpects we find do greatly trouble her Majeſty, who, we aſſure you, has ſundry times proteſted, that if the regard of this danger of her good ſubjects and faithful ſervants did not more move her than her own peril, ſhe would never be drawn to aſſent to the ſhedding her blood. We thought it very meet to acquaint you with theſe ſpeeches lately paſſed from her Majeſty, referring the ſame to your good judgements, and ſo we commit you to the protection of the Almighty.

At London, Feb. 1, 1586. Your moſt aſſured friends,

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM,
WILLIAM DAVISON.

This letter was received at Fotheringay, the 2d of February, at five in the afternoon.

An abſtract of a letter from Mr. Secretary Daviſon, of the ſaid 1ſt of February, 1586, as followeth.

'I pray let this and the incloſed be committed to 'the fire, which meaſure ſhall be likewiſe meet to 'your anſwer, after it hath been communicated to 'her Majeſty for her ſatisfaction.'

A poſtſcript in a letter from Mr. Secretary Daviſon, of the 3d of February, 1586.

'I intreated you in my laſt, to burn my letters 'ſent unto you, for the argument ſake; which by 'your anſwer to Mr. Secretary (which I have ſeen) 'appeareth not to have been done. I pray you, let 'me intreat you to make heretiques of the one and 'the other, as I mean to uſe yours, after her Ma'jeſty hath ſeen it.'

In the end of the poſtſcript.

'I pray you let me hear what you have done with 'my letters, becauſe they are not fit be kept, that 'I may ſatisfie her Majeſty therein, who might other'wiſe take offence thereat; and if you entreat this 'poſtſcript in the ſame manner, you ſhall not erre a 'whit. '(A. Poulet, D. Drury.)'

A copy of a letter to Sir Francis Walſingham, of the 2d of February, 1586, at 6 in the afternoon, being the anſwer to a letter from him, the ſaid Sir Francis, of the 1ſt of February, 1586, received at Fotheringhay, the 2d day of February, at five in the afternoon.

SIR,

YOUR letters of yeſterday coming to my hands this preſent day at five in the afternoon, I would not fail, according to your directions, to return my anſwer with all poſſible ſpeed, which ſhall deliver unto you, with great grief and bitterneſs of mind in that I am ſo unhappy to have lyven to ſee this unhappy day, in the which I am required, by direction from my moſt gracious ſovereign, to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth. My good livings and life are at her Majeſty's diſpoſition, and am ready to loſe them this next morrow, yf it ſhall ſo pleaſe her; acknowledging that I hold them as of her meer and moſt gracious favour. I do not deſire them, to enjoy them, but with her Highneſſe's good liking: but God forbid that I ſhould make ſo fowle a ſhipwracke of my conſcience, or leave ſo great a blott to my poſteritie, or ſhed blood without law and warrant; truſting that her Majeſty, of her accuſtomed clemency, will take this my dutiful anſwer in good part (and the rather, by your good mediation) as proceeding from one who will never be inferior to any Chriſtian ſubject living, in duty, honour, love, and obedience towards his ſovereign. And thus I commit you to the mercy of the Almightie. From Fotheringhay, the 2d of February, 1586. Your moſt aſſured poore friends,

A. POULET.
D. DRURY.

Your letters coming in the plural number, ſeem to be meant as to Sir Drew Drewrye, as to myſelf; and yet, becauſe he is not named in them, neither the letter directed unto him, he forbeareth to make any anſwer, but ſubſcribeth in heart to my opinion.

Davyſon.

Daviſon. As for the Earl of Leiceſter and Secretary Walſingham, they had prudently withdrawn themſelves at the laſt act of the tragedy, and took care to publiſh ſo much by their letters into Scotland (*d*). As for Secretary Daviſon, upon whom it was reſolved the whole weight of this buſineſs ſhould fall, he was deprived of his office, and ſent priſoner to the Tower, at which nobody ſeems to have been ſo much alarmed as the Lord Treaſurer (*e*), who, though himſelf at that time in diſgrace, wrote thereupon to the Queen in ſtrong terms, and once intended to have written in much ſtronger [*F*]. This application had no effect; for the Queen having ſent her kinſman Mr. Cary, ſon to the Lord Hunſdon, into Scotland, to excuſe the matter to King James, charged with a letter to him, under her own hand, in which ſhe, in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible, aſſerted her own innocence (*f*); there was a neceſſity of doing ſomething, that might carry an air of evidence, in ſupport of the turn ſhe had now given to the death of that Princeſs. On the 28th of March following, Daviſon, after having undergone various examinations, was brought to his trial in the Star Chamber, for the contempt of which he had been guilty, in revealing the Queen's counſels to her Privy Counſellors, and performing what he underſtood to be the duty of his office in quality of her Secretary. We have ſeveral accounts of this trial, which, in a variety of circumſtances, differ from each other [*G*]. In this, however, they all agree, that the Judges, who fined him ten thouſand marks, and impriſonment during the Queen's pleaſure, gave him a very high character, and declared him to be, in their opinions, both an able and an honeſt man (*g*). One thing is very remarkable, that, in the concluſion of this buſineſs, Sir Chriſtopher Wray, Chief Juſtice of the Queen's Bench, told the Court, that, though the Queen had been offended with her Council, and had left them to examination, yet now ſhe forgave them, being ſatisfied that they were miſled by this man's ſuggeſtions (*h*). Sir James Melvile, who wrote at that time, and who ſeems to have had ſome prejudice againſt Daviſon, ſaid very candidly and fairly, upon this occaſion, that he was deceived by the Council (*i*). As ſoon as the proceeding was over, the Queen, to put it out of doubt with the King of Scots, that his mother was put to death without her privity or intention, ſent him the judgement given againſt Daviſon, ſubſcribed by thoſe who had given it, and exemplified under the Great Seal, together with another inſtrument, under the hands of all the Judges of England, that the ſentence againſt his mother could not in the leaſt prejudice his title to the ſucceſſion (*k*). As for Mr. Daviſon, now left to a ſtrange

(*d*) Saunderſon's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, pp. 120. 128.

(*e*) Strype's Ann. vol. III. p. 372.

(*f*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 539.

(*g*) State Trials, vol. VII. p. 20.

(*h*) In the MSS. in the Bodlejan Library, at the cloſe.

(*i*) Memoirs of the remarkable Affairs of State in England and Scotland, p. 172.

(*k*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 547, 548.

[*F*] *And once intended to have written in much ſtronger.*] We have ſhewn in its proper place, what degree of Queen Elizabeth's reſentment fell upon the Lord Treaſurer, who was not only forbidden the Queen's preſence and the court, but examined, when perhaps unwittingly he let fall ſomething, as if what Mr. Daviſon ſaid of the Queen's intention induced him and the reſt of the Council, to ſend the warrant by Beale. This ſeems to have thrown the ſtorm upon Daviſon, and to have occaſioned his being committed to the Tower; the news of which ſo much ſurprized the Treaſurer, that on Monday, February the 13th, he drew up a letter to the Queen, of which, as Mr. Strype aſſures us, the laſt paragraph ran in the following words (18). 'And having ended that concerneth myſelf, I cannot in duty forbear to put your Majeſty in mind, that if Mr. Daviſon be committed to the Tower, who beſt knoweth his own cauſe, the example will be ſorrowful to all your faithful ſervants, and joyful to your enemies. And as I can remember many examples in your father's, your brother's, your ſiſter's, yea your own time, of committing of counſellors either to other men's houſes, or to their own; ſo can I not remember any one example of a a counſellor committed to the Tower, but where they are attainted afterwards of high-treaſon: and what your Majeſty intendeth towards this your ſervant, I know not; but ſure I am, and I preſume to have ſome judgement therein, I know not a man in the land, ſo furniſhed univerſally for the place, and neither know I any that can come near him.'

(18) Strype's Ann. vol. III. p. 372.

Thus it was in the firſt minutes of this Lord's letter concerning Daviſon; but in his review thereof ſent to the Queen, it ran in theſe words with more reſerve.

'I beſeech your Majeſty pardon me, to remember to let you underſtand my opinion of Mr. Daviſon. I never perceived by him, that he thought your Majeſty would have miſliked to have had an end of the late capital enemy. And what your Majeſty minded to him in your diſpleaſure, I hear to my grief. But for a ſervant in that place, I think it hard to find a like qualified perſon. Whom to ruin in your heavy diſpleaſure, ſhall be more your Majeſty's loſs than his.' W. B.

[*G*] *Which, in a variety of circumſtances, differ from each other.*] The learned Camden has given a very ſuccinct and elegant detail of the proceedings (19), beſides which, there is a manuſcript account of the trial in Caius College in Cambridge (20), and a third in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, taken by one William Nutt (21), who was an eye-witneſs. Whoever ſhall compare theſe, will find the truth of what is aſſerted in the text; and that they very ſeldom agree preciſely in any thing, not ſo much as ſetting down in the ſame order the names of the Commiſſioners, a thing in itſelf very material, not only in regard to their precedency, but alſo as to their order in ſpeaking. Theſe commiſſioners were, Sir Chriſtopher Wray, Chief Juſtice of England, who for the time, ſat as Lord Privy Seal; the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Archbiſhop of York, the Earl of Worceſter, the Earl of Cumberland, and the Earl of Lincoln, the Lord Grey, and Lord Lumley, Sir James Croft the Comptroller, Sir Gilbert Gerrard Maſter of the Rolls, the Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, Edmund Anderſon, Sir Roger Manwood the Lord Chief Baron, and Sir Walter Mildway the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Camden aſſerts, that the charge againſt him, by Popham the Attorney General, was, that the Queen from her innate clemency, never intended the Queen of Scots, though condemned, ſhould have been put to death, notwithſtanding which, ſhe ordered the warrant to be drawn up, and committed it to Daviſon's truſt and ſecrecy. Neither of the other trials come up to this, but ſay, only, that ſhe committed the warrant of ſpecial care and truſt, to Mr. Daviſon, that it might be ready on any ſudden occaſion. Mr. Daviſon's defence in the Cambridge manuſcript, differs in ſeveral things from Camden's account of it: the Oxford manuſcript differs from both, eſpecially in this, that it aſſerts, Mr. Daviſon affirmed therein, that when the Queen delivered him the warrant, ſhe did it with this expreſſion, 'Now you have it, let me be troubled no more with it.' It is in all the trials agreed, that the Lord Treaſurer's evidence, and Daviſon's own examinations, were all the proofs inſiſted upon; but that the Queen's Counſel refuſed to read thoſe examinations, as things improper to be divulged; nor is there a ſyllable of them in any of the trials. Yet they are ſtill preſerved, and the curious reader may have recourſe to them if he pleaſes.

(19) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 540.

(20) Claſs A. 1090. 8. p. 267.

(21) Tit. Juridici 7843. 862. p. 235.

reward for his paſt ſervices, a long impriſonment, which brought upon him downright indigence, he comforted himſelf with the thoughts of his innocence; and, to ſecure his memory from being blaſted by that judgement which had withered his fortune, he had long before written an Apology for his own conduct, which he addreſſed to Secretary Walſingham, as the man moſt intereſted in it, and who could beſt teſtify whether what he affirmed was truth or not. In this he gave a very clear and natural detail of the tranſaction which coſt him all his ſufferings [*H*]. It is allowed by all who have written on

[*H*] *Which coſt him all his ſufferings.*] The following paper is ſo curious, and ſo difficult to be met with, that it is preſumed the reader will be very well pleaſed to find it here, as it muſt be eſteemed one of the moſt valuable pieces, which, for the illuſtration of Hiſtory, has been inſerted in this collection (22).

(22) Tranſcribed by Mr. John Urry of Chriſt-church from the Papers of Sir Amias Paulet.

Secretary Daviſon's Apology, addreſſed to Sir Francis Walſingham.

On Wedneſday the 1ſt of this preſent, about ten of the clock, came one of the Grooms of the Chamber to me, to let me underſtand, that her Majeſty had called for me by my Lord Admiral, who was in the Privy Chamber. I found his Lordſhip there, who told me the cauſe of my ſending for. Having firſt ſummarily diſcourſed unto me, ſome ſpeech that had paſſed that morning betwixt her Majeſty and him, touching the execution of the Scottiſh Queen, the concluſion of which was, that ſhe would no longer defer it, and therefore had commanded him to ſend expreſsly for me to bring the warrant unto her; whereupon, returning to my chamber, I took both that and divers other things to be ſigned for her ſervice, and returning back, ſent in Mr. Brook to ſignify my being there to her Majeſty, who immediately called for me. At my coming in, her Majeſty, firſt aſking me, Whether I had been abroad that fair morning, adviſing me to uſe it oftner, and reprehending me for the contrary, finally demanded, What I had in my hands? I anſwered, Divers warrants, and others things, to be ſigned for her Majeſty's ſervice. She enquired, Whether my Lord Admiral had not ſent for me, and whether I had not brought up the warrant for the Scots Queen? I anſwered, Yes, and thereupon calling for it, I delivered it into her hands. After the reading thereof, calling for pen and ink, ſhe ſigned it, and laying it from her, aſked me, Whether I was not heartily ſorry that it was done? Mine anſwer was, That I was ſorry a Lady ſo near in blood to herſelf, and of her place and quality, ſhould ſo far forget her duty to God and her Majeſty, as to give her this cauſe. But ſince this act of her Majeſty was in all mens opinion of that juſtice and neceſſity, that ſhe could not defer it without the manifeſt danger of her perſon and ſtate, I could not be ſorry to ſee her Majeſty take this courſe of removing the cauſe of that danger, which threatened the one and the other; proteſting nevertheleſs, that I was ſo far from thirſting after the blood of that unhappy Lady, that if there had been any other way to preſerve her Majeſty and the State from miſchief, than by taking her life, I could have wiſhed it. But the caſe ſtanding ſo in the opinion of all men, that either her Majeſty or ſhe muſt die, I muſt confeſs freely, that I preferred the death of the guilty before the innocent. After this ſhe commanded me to carry it to the Seal, and to give my Lord Chancellor order from her to uſe it as ſecretly as might be, and, by the way, to ſhow it to Mr. Secretary Walſingham, becauſe ſhe thought the grief thereof would kill him outright, for ſo it pleaſed her Majeſty to ſay of him. This done, ſhe called for the reſt of the warrants, and other things I had to ſign, and diſpatched them all with the beſt diſpoſition and willingneſs that could be. In the mean time, repeating unto me ſome reaſons why ſhe had ſo long deferred the matter, as namely, for her honour's ſake, that the world might ſee that ſhe had not been violently or maliciouſly drawn unto it, ſhe concluded, that ſhe was never ſo ill adviſed as not to ſee and apprehend her own danger, and the neceſſity ſhe had to proceed to this execution; and thereupon, after ſome intermingled ſpeech here and there, ſhe told me, ſhe would have it done as ſecretly as might be, and miſliking that it ſhould be executed in the open Court, or green of the Caſtle, expreſsly willed, that it ſhould be done in the hall; which I take to be a certain argument, both of her meaning it ſhould be done, and in the form preſcribed in the warrant. But after I had gathered up my papers, and was ready to depart, ſhe fell into ſome complaint of Sir Amias Paulet and others, that might have eaſed her of this burthen, wiſhing me yet to deal with Mr. Secretary, and that he would jointly write to Sir Amias and Sir Drury, to ſound their diſpoſitions, aiming ſtill at this, that it might be ſo done, as the blame might be removed from herſelf. And though I had always refuſed before to meddle therein, upon ſundry of her Majeſty's former motions, as a thing I utterly condemned, yet was I content, as I told her for her ſatisfaction, to let Sir Amias underſtand what ſhe expected at his hands; albeit I did beforehand aſſure myſelf it ſhould be ſo much labour loſt, knowing the wiſdom and integrity of the gentleman, who I thought would not do any unlawful act for any reſpect in the world: but finding her Majeſty deſirous to have him ſounded in this behalf, I departed from her Majeſty with promiſe to ſignify ſo much to Mr. Secretary, and that we would both acquaint Sir Amias of her pleaſure. And here repeating to me again, that ſhe would have the matter cloſely handled, becauſe of her danger, I promiſed to uſe it as ſecretly as I could; and ſo, for that time, departed. That afternoon I repaired to my Lord Chancellor, where I procured the warrant to be ſealed, having in my way viſited Mr. Secretary, and agreed with him about the form of the letter which ſhould be written for her Majeſty's ſatisfying to Sir Amias Paulet and Mr. Drury, which, at my returning to my Lord Chancellor, was diſpatched. The next morning I received a letter from Crammer, my ſervant, whom I left at Court, ſignifying unto me her Majeſty's pleaſure, that I ſhould forbear going to my Lord Chancellor's till I had ſpoken with her. And within an hour after came William Killigrew, with the like meſſage from her, whom I returned with this anſwer, that I would be at the Court as ſoon as himſelf, and give her Majeſty an account of what I had done. At my coming to her, ſhe aſked me whether I had been at my my Lord Chancellor's? I anſwered her, Yes; ſhe demanded, What needed that haſt? I anſwered, That I had done no more than ſhe commanded, and thought it no matter to be dallied withal: but, faith ſhe, methinks the beſt and ſafeſt way for me is to have it otherways handled, particularizing a form, that ſhe, as ſhe pretended, liked better, naming unto me ſome that were of that opinion, whoſe judgements ſhe commended. I anſwered, That I took the honourable and juſt way to be the beſt and ſafeſt, if ſhe meant to have it done at all; whereto her Majeſty replying nothing for that time, left me, and went to dinner. Within a day or two after, her Majeſty being in the Privy Camber, called me unto her, and ſmiling told me, how ſhe had been troubled with me that night, upon a dream ſhe had that the Scots Queen was executed, pretending to be ſo troubled with the news, that if ſhe had had a ſword ſhe could have run me through. But this being delivered in a pleaſant and ſmiling manner, I anſwered her Majeſty, That it was good I was not near her ſo long as that humour laſted; but withal, taking hold of her ſpeech, I aſked her Majeſty in great earneſtneſs, What it meant, and whether, having proceeded thus far, ſhe had not a meaning to go forward with the execution? Confirming this with a ſolemn oath, and ſome vehemency, ſhe anſwered, Yes; but ſhe thought it might receive a better form, becauſe, ſaith ſhe, this caſteth the whole burthen upon myſelf; whereto I replied, That the form preſcribed by her warrant was ſuch as the law required, and the only form that was to be kept in honour and juſtice. She anſwered, there were wiſer men than myſelf of another opinion. I told her, I could not anſwer for other men; but this I was ſure of, that I never heard any man give ſound reaſon to prove it either honour-

able

on this ſubject, and more eſpecially by Camden, that he was a very unhappy, though, at the ſame time, a very capable and honeſt man. As ſuch we have ſeen him recommended

able or ſafe for her Majeſty, to take any other courſe than that which ſtandeth with law and juſtice: ſo, without farther replication or ſpeech at that time, her Majeſty roſe up and left me.

The ſame afternoon (as I take it) ſhe aſked me if I had heard from Sir Amias Paulet. I told her no: but within an hour or two after, going to London, I met with letters from him in anſwer to thoſe that were written to him by Mr. Secretary and myſelf. The next morning having acceſs to her Majeſty, upon ſome other occaſion, I told her I had letters from Mr. Paulet, which her Majeſty, deſirous to ſee, took and read; but finding thereby that he was grieved with the motion made unto him, offered his life and all he had to be diſpoſed of by her Majeſty, but abſolutely refuſing to be an inſtrument in any ſuch action as was not warranted in honour or juſtice; her Majeſty falling into ſome terms of offence, complaining of the dainty (as ſhe called it) perjury of him and others, who, contrary to their oath of aſſociation, did caſt the burthen upon herſelf, ſhe roſe up, and, after a turn or two, went into the gallery, whither I followed her: and there renewing her former ſpeech, blaming the niceneſs of thoſe preciſe fellows, who in words would do great things for her ſafety, but in deed perform nothing: and concluded, ſhe would have it well enough done without them; and here, entering into particularities, named unto me, as I remember, one Wingfield, who, ſhe aſſured me, would, with ſome others, undertake it: which gave me occaſion to ſhew unto her Majeſty, how diſhonourable, in my poor opinion, any ſuch courſe would be; how far off ſhe would be from ſhunning the blame and ſtain thereof, which ſhe ſought ſo much to avoid; and here, falling particularly into the caſe of Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drew Drury, told her, that it was a marvellous extremity ſhe would have expoſed theſe two gentlemen unto, for if, in a tender care for her ſecurity, they ſhould have done that which ſhe deſired, ſhe muſt either allow their act or diſallow it: if ſhe allowed it, ſhe took the matter upon herſelf, with her infinite diſhonour; if ſhe diſallowed it, ſhe overthrew thoſe faithful gentlemen, who, ſhe knew, did truly and faithfully love her; and not only themſelves, but their whole eſtate and poſterity; and therefore thought this a moſt dangerous and diſhonourable courſe, both for herſelf and them; and ſo, after ſome particular ſpeech of Mr. Secretary and others, touching ſome matters paſt heretofore, her Majeſty calling to underſtand whether it was time to go to the cloſet, brake off our diſcourſe.

At my next acceſs to her Majeſty, which I take was Tueſday, the day before my coming from Court, I having certain things to be ſigned, her Majeſty entered of herſelf into ſome earneſt diſcourſe of the danger ſhe daily lived in, and how it was more than time this matter was diſpatched, ſwearing a great oath, that it was a ſhame for them all that it was not done; and thereupon ſpake unto me to have a letter written to Mr. Paulet for the diſpatch thereof; becauſe the longer it was deferred, the more her danger increaſed; whereunto (knowing what order had been taken by my Lords in ſending the commiſſion to the Earls) I anſwered, that I thought there was no neceſſity of ſuch a letter, the warrant being ſo general and ſufficient as it was. Her Majeſty replied little elſe, but that ſhe thought Mr. Paulet would look for it. And this, as near as I can poſſibly remember, is a faithful and true report of what hath paſſed betwixt her Majeſty and me, from the day of ſigning the warrant, and the commandment given unto me to carry it unto the Seal, until the hour of my departure from the Court. In all which I muſt proteſt unfeignedly before God, that I neither remember any ſuch commandment given me by her Majeſty as is pretended, neither did ever I conceive ſuch an intent or meaning in her: and that my innocency herein may the better appear, let it be conſidered, firſt, what the commandment is; and next, upon what conſiderations it was granted. The commandment, as I underſtand it, hath two parts; one, that I ſhould conceal it from the reſt of her Majeſty's Council; another, that I ſhould retain it by myſelf until ſome tumultuary time, as a thing her Majeſty meant not otherwiſe to put in execution; both which, I muſt in all duty and humbleneſs, under her moſt gracious favour, abſolutely deny. And, for the firſt, I truſt, her Majeſty, in her princely and honourable nature, will not deny, but that ſhe firſt ſent for me by my Lord Admiral to bring the warrant unto her, which proveth that his Lordſhip was acquainted with her purpoſe: and next, that ſhe gave me expreſs word, both to carry it forthwith to the Seal, with a meſſage to my Lord Chancellor, who conſequently muſt be acquainted with it, and alſo by the way, to impart it to Mr Secretary; ſo that theſe three being made privy to it with her own good liking, and myſelf, as I ſay, not reſtrained from the contrary by any ſuch commandment as is pretended, what reaſon had I to conceal it from my Lord Treaſurer, to whom my Lord Admiral had firſt imparted it, or from my Lord Leiceſter, to whom her Majeſty had ſignified as much; as, likewiſe, to Mr Vice-Chamberlain; and, as they are all well acquainted with the reſt of the whole proceeding, and as far intereſted in the cauſe as myſelf or any of the others, unleſs her Majeſty had a meaning that Mr. Secretary and I ſhould have dealt alone in ſending of it to the Earls, which, for mine own part, I confeſs I never liked, knowing her Majeſty's purpoſe was often to myſelf to remove as much of the burthen as ſhe might from her own ſhoulders upon others, which I knew my own unfit to ſuſtain. Now, ſeeing the end of ſigning and ſealing this warrant, in all reaſonable probability and judgement, was to go forward; withal that the delay thereof did infinitely increaſe her Majeſty's peril, and thereby hazard the whole eſtate; ſeeing it was imparted to ſome by her Majeſty's own order, and no cauſe or poſſibility being ſeaſed to keep it from the reſt, as much intereſted in the cauſe as myſelf; and, finally, ſeeing I could neither, as I take it, in law nor duty of a good ſubject, conceal it from them, the cauſe importing ſo greatly her Majeſty's life as it did, and the diſpoſition both of the time and the ſtate of things at home and abroad being ſuch as it was, I truſt it ſhall ſufficiently appear, that I was both in reaſon, duty, and neceſſity, forced thereunto, unleſs I would have wilfully endangered myſelf, whoſe offence, if aught in the mean time had happened amiſs unto her Majeſty, muſt have been in my own cenſure worthy of a thouſand deaths; and as to my proceeding therein with the reſt of my Lords, after it was reſolved that it was neither fit nor convenient to trouble her Majeſty any farther with it, conſidering that ſhe had done all that the law required at her hands, and that ſhe had both to myſelf and others ſignified, at other times, her indiſpoſition to be acquainted with the particular circumſtances of time, place, &c. and that to detain the warrant, in expectation of any farther directions from herſelf, was both needleſs and dangerous, conſidering the hourly hazards her Majeſty lived in. And, finally, that my Lords knowing her Majeſty's unwillingneſs to bear all the burthen alone, were content moſt reſolutely, honourably, and dutifully, to eaſe her as much as they might; with what reaſon and juſtice ſhould I have hindered the courſe of juſtice, tending ſo greatly to her Majeſty's ſafety, and preſervation of the whole realm? and for the other part of keeping it by me to ſuch ends as is before alledged, I truſt the world doth not hold me ſo undutiful to her Majeſty, or ill adviſed for my particular, as to take ſuch a charge upon me, to the evident peril of her Majeſty's life, ſubverſion of the whole eſtate, and mine own utter overthrow; neither is there cauſe to think, I ſpeak in all reverence, and under her Majeſty's gracious favour, that her Majeſty having proceeded ſo far as ſhe had done, to the trial of that lady's fact, found her guilty, by a moſt honourable jury of her Nobility, aſſembled her Parliament only for that purpoſe, graciouſly heard their petitions, and diſmiſſed them with ſo great hope, publiſhed afterwards the proclamation for her diſablement, rejected the ſuits both of the French and Scottiſh

(*l*) In the letters cited in note [*F.*]

merided to Queen Elizabeth by the Treaſurer Burleigh (*l*), and as ſuch he was ſtrongly recommended by the Earl of Eſſex to King James I. It ſeems, that noble perſon ſtuck faſt by him under his misfortunes, which plainly ſhews the party to which he had always adhered. That Lord loſt no opportunity of ſoliciting the Queen in his favour, and never let ſlip any occaſion of teſtifying for him the warmeſt and the ſincereſt affection (*m*). At length, it ſeems, he was not altogether unſucceſsful; for though, upon the death of Secretary Walſingham, the Queen abſolutely rejected his motion, that Mr. Daviſon ſhould come into his place, yet, afterwards, it ſeems, that ſhe yielded, in ſome degree, as plainly appears by the Earl's letter to King James, which, for that reaſon, is placed in the notes [*I*]. That we are under an incapacity of tracing him farther, is owing to the profound ſilence of the writers of thoſe times, who, while they celebrate the fortunate and great, leave the leſs happy in obſcurity, however virtuous or worthy. But, as it is, we have not only collected the ſcattered materials of his memoirs into a body, and thereby added a conſiderable character to this extenſive collection, but have alſo (which is one of the principal intentions of this work) detected a great deal of falſe hiſtory, which has been long obtruded on the world, to the prejudice of truth, and of this Gentleman's memory, who, by his contemporaries, was eſteemed worthy of all honours. We ſee he came not ſuddenly or ſurpriſingly into his high office, but eaſily, naturally, and gradually, in the very ſame way that his predeceſſors Cecil, Smith, and Walſingham, had done, and with the general approbation of all the Council. We ſee that, as he was no mean or obſcure perſon when called to that high employment, ſo he was not given to ſerve turns at the peril of his life and reputation; and that, notwithſtanding the Star Chamber ſentence, he very well knew how to make his innocence plain, both to that age

(*m*) Cabala, P. i. p. 213.

Kings for her life, and returned their Ambaſſadors hopeleſs; confirmed the impriſonment by her letters to both Princes, (ſome of which it pleaſed her to communicate with myſelf) proteſted many hundred times her neceſſity and reſolution to go through with all, (albeit for ſundry reaſons ſhe had ſo long deferred it) having given her commandment to me many days before, to bring up the warrant unto her, and then voluntarily ſent for it by my Lord Admiral, ſigning it as ſoon as I brought it, her expreſs commandment given me to carry it to the ſeal, and to have it ſecretly handled: and, finally, her particular direction, whilſt ſhe was ſigning other things, at the ſame time to have the execution done in the Hall, miſliking that it ſhould be done in the Green or open Court, with a number of other foregoing and following circumſtances, may ſufficiently teſtify her Majeſty's diſpoſition to have it proceeded in. Albeit ſhe had to myſelf and others declared her unwillingneſs to have been made acquainted with the time, and other circumſtances, having done all that the law required of her, or that in honour was fit and expedient for her to do.

[*I*] *Which for that reaſon is placed in the notes.*] We will, in this note, diſcuſs with as much a brevity as poſſible what relates to the character and fortune of Secretary Daviſon. After his account of his trial in the Star-Chamber, Camden winds up his relation in the following words (23). 'Thus Daviſon, a 'man of good ſenſe, but not at all ſkilled in court-'arts, having, as many thought, been introduced 'upon the ſtage purely to perform his part in this 'tragedy, was obliged to quit his ſtation now it was 'over, and thruſt behind the ſcene, not without 'general compaſſion, into a tedious impriſonment.' It appears plainly, that this was our author's own ſentiments of the matter, tho' introduced by him as the common opinion of the times. But if Daviſon was brought in only to act a part, it may be enquired who it was that recommended him as a fit perſon for ſuch a purpoſe? In the Oxford copy of his trial (24), it is ſaid, that Mr. Daviſon, in his defence, affirms, that he communicated it only to the Treaſurer, and the Treaſurer to the reſt of the Council; that Lord was alſo the only witneſs againſt him, and hence one would imagine, that *he* thought him fit to act his part, if his own letters, which the reader has ſeen, did not ſpeak a very contrary language. We have already ſhewn, that Daviſon was brought into buſineſs by the Earl of Leiceſter and his friends, but he was made Secretary by the Queen herſelf. The Earl of Eſſex in one of his letters to Mr. Daviſon, writes thus (25), 'I told her how 'many friends and well-wiſhers the world did afford 'you, and how for the moſt part, throughout the 'whole realm, her beſt ſubjects did wiſh, that ſhe 'would do herſelf the honour to repair you, and 'reſtore you to that ſtate which ſhe had overthrown. 'Your humble ſuffering of theſe harms, and reve-'rend regard to her Majeſty, muſt needs move a 'princeſs, ſo noble and ſo juſt, to do you right; and 'more I had ſaid, if my gift of ſpeech had been 'any way comparable to my love. Her Majeſty, 'ſeeing her judgment opened by the ſtory of her 'own actions, ſhewed a very feeling compaſſion for 'you: ſhe gave you many praiſes, and amongſt 'the reſt, that which ſhe ſeemed to pleaſe herſelf 'in was, that you were a man of her own choice. 'In truth, ſhe was ſo well pleaſed with thoſe things, 'that ſhe ſpake and heard of you, as I dare, if of 'things future there be any aſſurance, promiſe to 'myſelf, that your peace will be made to your own 'content, and the deſires of your friends, I mean 'in her favour and your own fortune, to a better 'eſtate than, or at leaſt the ſame you had, which 'with all my power I will employ myſelf to effect.' It is not eaſy to make this agree with the ſtory of a man brought upon the ſtage to act a particular part, and then to be ſtripped and neglected. But farther ſtill, upon the death of Sir Francis Walſingham, in 1590 (26), the Earl of Eſſex again repreſented to the Queen, that Mr. Daviſon was the fitteſt perſon to ſucceed him, and that ſhe could not find a perſon in England, that in the ſpace of three or four years would know how to ſettle himſelf, to ſupport ſo great a burthen. How the Queen received this, take in his own words. 'She gave me leave to 'ſpeak, heard me with patience; confeſſed with 'me that none was ſo ſufficient, and could not de-'ny, but that which ſhe lays to your charge was 'done without hope, fear, malice, envy, or any 'reſpect of your own, but merely for her ſafety 'both of ſtate and perſon. In the end, ſhe abſo-'lutely denied to let you enjoy that place; and wil-'led me to reſt ſatisfied, for ſhe was reſolved. 'Thus much I write to let you know, I am more 'honeſt to my friends, than happy in their cauſes. 'What you will have me do for your ſuit, I will as 'far as my credit is any thing worth. I have told 'moſt of the Council of my manner of dealing 'with the Queen. My Lord Chamberlain tells me, 'he hath dealt for you alſo; and they all ſay, they 'wiſh as I do, but in this world that is enough." It may be preſumed, that the principal ground of the Queen's reſolution was the conſequences which ſhe foreſaw muſt attend making Daviſon again Secretary, in reference to the King of Scots; and the apprehenſion of this very probably occaſioned the earl of Eſſex to write the following letter to that monarch (27).

'Moſt excellent King, for him that is already 'bound for many favours, a ſtile of thankfulneſs is 'much

(23) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 544, 545.

(24) See the former reference to that MS.

(25) Cabala, P. i. p. 213.

(26) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 621.

(27) Cabala, P. i. p. 213.

age and to poſterity. Whatever motives thoſe authors might have, who lived near theſe times, to palliate or conceal the circumſtances of that action, which proved the cauſe of Mr. Davyſon's fall, we lie under no temptation, and are as free from any inclination to hide or to throw a ſhade over truth. In removing all ſuch obſtructions, and bringing into open day theſe ſingular and intereſting points, we not only rectify the partial accounts which are contained in private memoirs, and ſupply the neceſſary deficiencies of general hiſtories, but apply to their proper uſe, and bring to the publick view, in an agreeable light, thoſe remains of theſe buſy times, which, otherwiſe, might lie hid in ſtudies, and be at moſt known only to a very few, who, either through indolence or timidity, decline any communication of what, by a long courſe of reading in this way, they have diſcovered.

'much fitter than the humour of ſuing; but ſo it 'falls out, that he, which to his own advantage 'would have ſought nothing in your favour, but 'your favour itſelf; doth now for another, become 'an humble petitioner to your Majeſty. Your 'Majeſty cannot be ſuch a ſtranger to the af'fairs of this country; but as you know what ac'tions are done in this place, ſo you underſtand the 'minds of the men by whom they are done. There'fore I doubt not, but the man for whom I ſpeak, 'is ſomewhat known to your Majeſty, and being 'known, I preſume of greater favour (Mr. Secre'tary Daviſon) being fallen into your Majeſty's diſ'pleaſure and diſgrace, beloved of the beſt and 'moſt religious of this land, doth ſtand as barred 'from any preferment, or reſtoring in his place, ex'cept out of the honour and nobleneſs of your own 'royal heart, your Majeſty will undertake his cauſe. 'To leave the nature of his fault to your Majeſty's 'beſt judgment, and report of your own ſervant; 'and to ſpeak of the man, I muſt ſay truly, that 'his ſufficiency in Council and matters of ſtate, is 'ſuch as the Queen confeſſeth, in her kingdom ſhe 'hath not ſuch another. His virtue, religion, and 'worth, in all degrees, is of the world taken to be 'ſo great, as no man in his good fortune hath had 'more general love than this gentleman in his diſ'grace: and if to a man ſo worthy in himſelf, and 'ſo eſteemed of all men, my words might avail, I 'would aſſure your Majeſty, you would get great 'honour and great love, not only here amongſt us, 'but in all places of Chriſtendom where this gen'tleman is any thing known, if you ſhould now be 'the author of his reſtoring to his place, which in 'effect he now is, but that as a man not acceptable 'to her Majeſty, he doth forbear to attend. I do 'in all humbleneſs, commend this cauſe to your 'Majeſty, having the warrant of a good conſcience, 'that I know to be both honourable and honeſt, 'and your Majeſty to the bleſſed protection of that 'mighty God, to whom will pray, for your Ma'jeſty's happy and proſperous eſtate, he that will 'do your Majeſty all humble ſervice.'

Greenwich, April 18th, 1589. R. ESSEX.

C.

*** [Though our Predeceſſor has highly extolled Davyſon's abilities, and repreſented the influence they had in raiſing him to the office of Secretary of State, it does not appear that he was held in equal eſtimation by all his Contemporaries. Monſ. Fonteney, in a letter to the Queen of Scots, ſpeaks of him with no ſmall Degree of contempt (28). But this, probably, is only to be regarded as the language of prejudice and enmity. It is evident, by the way, from Fonteney's diſpatch, that Davyſon was in Scotland, in 1586.

(28) Murdin's Collection of State Papers, P. 552.

Some communications, which we are in poſſeſſion of, from a reſpectable correſpondent, and which are referred to this place, will, we apprehend, more properly occur in other articles, and eſpecially in thoſe of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leiceſter, and Sir Francis Walſingham.

It is not neceſſary to inform our readers, how much the conduct of Queen Elizabeth, with regard to the Queen of Scotland, and how warmly the character of that accompliſhed and unfortunate Princeſs, have lately been the objects of diſcuſſion. The advocates for Mary have been numerous and powerful, and, we muſt add, in many reſpects ſucceſsful. Even amongſt thoſe of our modern hiſtorians that are the moſt unfavourable to the memory of the Scottiſh Queen, we do not find one of them who does not explicitly acknowledge and deſcribe the abominable diſſimulation of Elizabeth with reſpect to the warrant for Mary's Execution, and the treatment of Davyſon. Nevertheleſs, in this very affair, the Engliſh Queen has recently found a writer who is not convinced of her guilt. We refer to a volume of "Eſſays, Philoſophical, Hiſtorical, and Literary," which has this year (1789) been publiſhed. The concluſion of the third eſſay, which is on the reign and character of Elizabeth, ſo directly belongs to the ſubject of the preſent article, that it cannot be omitted. "The Queen," ſays the ingenious Author, "does "not appear to me by any means ſo culpable in the "affair of Davidſon as ſhe is generally repreſented. "It would require a pamphlet inſtead of a paragraph "to enter into a full diſcuſſion of this queſtion. I "ſhall only ſay, that Davidſon appears to me much "more the dupe of Burleigh than of Elizabeth. It "ſeems evident, that the Secretary, at the ſuggeſtion "of that nobleman, diſpatched the warrant for the "execution of the unfortunate Mary without the "previous knowledge of the Queen, who could not "be brought to a final determination upon the mat"ter.

"That her aſtoniſhment, anger, and indignation, "were real, not aſſumed, appears from ſeveral cir"cumſtances. When the fatal intelligence was "communicated, her countenance, Camden tells us, "changed, her ſpeech faultered, and ſhe ſtood fixed, "for ſome minutes, like a ſtatue, till at length her "paſſion vented itſelf in a violent burſt of tears: if "this was diſſimulation, it muſt be confeſſed ſhe "had made a wonderful proficiency in that ſcience "indeed. Again, it is not pretended, that the "Queen's diſpoſition led her to unneceſſary acts of "injuſtice and cruelty; yet Davidſon was not only "puniſhed with great ſeverity at the time, but he "never could recover, in the ſmalleſt degree, any "ſhare of the Queen's favour and regard, when it "could no longer anſwer any end to keep up the "political farce. Even Burleigh himſelf, Davidſon's "principal adviſer on this occaſion, received ſuch "convincing proofs of the reality of the Queen's "reſentment, that he gave himſelf up for loſt, and "in great conſternation begged permiſſion to reſign "his employments and retire to his eſtate in the "country.

"This plainly proves, that Burleigh's advice to "Davidſon was given, not with any expectation of "making his court to the Queen, to whoſe ſenti"ments he cannot be ſuppoſed a ſtranger; but with "a view to his own intereſt and ſecurity, which he "never could be perfectly aſſured of as long as the "Queen of Scots was in being. We have alſo the "Queen's own ſolemn aſſeveration and appeal to "God, in her letter to King James on the occaſion, "that this tranſaction paſſed without her knowledge "or intention. 'She could never, ſurely,' ſhe af"firms, 'be eſteemed ſo baſe and poor-ſpirited, as "that if ſhe had really given orders for this fatal ex"ecution, ſhe could on any conſideration be induced "to deny them. 'Though ſenſible of the juſtice of "the ſentence, ſhe had determined from motives of "clemency not to carry it into effect, and could not "but highly reſent the temerity of thoſe who had "diſappointed her merciful intentions.' Upon the "whole, it ſeems to me moſt probable, that the "miniſters of Elizabeth, I mean Burleigh, Walſing"ham, and Leiceſter, to whom the death of the "Queen of Scots was 'a conſummation devoutly to "be wiſhed,' not being able to bring Elizabeth to a "firm and ſettled reſolution on that point, ventured "to encourage Davidſon to ſend off the warrant for "execution

" execution without her knowledge; hoping, per-
" haps, that ſhe would in her heart not be much
" diſpleaſed with their preſumption, or, at the worſt,
" in conſequence of the ſnare laid for the unfortu-
" nate Secretary, it was foreſeen that the chief
" weight of the Queen's reſentment would fall upon
" him; and they depended upon their own addreſs,
" and the degree of royal favour they enjoyed, to
" ſcreen them from any violent or laſting effects of
" the Queen's diſpleaſure. If it can be ſuppoſed
" that the Queen herſelf was a party in this plot
" againſt Davidſon, it muſt be allowed, that her
" conduct in this inſtance was in the higheſt degree
" diſgraceful, barbarous, and unjuſt; but ſo far as I
" am able to form a judgement of her diſpoſition,
" ſhe was not capable of ſuch a degree of depravity
" and deceit; nor do I think there is ſufficient ground
" to charge her with ſullying, by an action of ſuch
" complicated baſeneſs, that illuſtrious character to
" which I have paid this willing, but inadequate,
" tribute of applauſe and admiration(29)."

(29) Eſſays, Philoſophical, Hiſtorical, and Literary, p. 72—75.

Various ſtrictures might be made on this paſſage; but we ſhall content ourſelves with obſerving, that it flies in the face of the moſt authentic hiſtory. If the Author had read, or recollected our predeceſſors article, we have no conception that he would have attempted to vindicate Queen Elizabeth with regard to the matter in queſtion. What could he have ſaid to the tranſaction with Sir Amias Pawlet? What could he have ſaid in anſwer to Davyſon's narrative, in his apology? We wiſh not to detract from the juſt praiſes of Elizabeth. None can be more ſenſible of her eminent abilities, her wiſe government, and her numerous excellencies; and we have read with no ſmall degree of pleaſure, the greater part of what the Eſſay-writer has alledged in her favour. But with reſpect to the warrant for Mary's execution, and her treatment of Davyſon, ſhe muſt be conſigned to indignation and abhorrence.

Mr. Whitaker, in his elaborate work, entituled, " Mary Queen of Scots Vindicated," has not forgotten Elizabeth's conduct with regard to Davyſon. In the firſt edition he took proper notice of it, and gave a general account of the unfortunate Secretary's apology. But in the ſecond edition he has inſerted the apology at large, and accompanied it with a number of notes that ſtrongly diſplay the unjuſt and cruel manner in which Davyſon was treated by his royal miſtreſs. The pointed obſervations of Mr. Whitaker's concluding note ſo directly relate to the character of Davyſon, that they cannot with propriety be omitted in this place.

" Let me here, at the end of the apology, remark finally concerning Daviſon, That, though he was not an honeſt man, yet he was ſo nearly one, as to be a very prodigy for the miniſtry of Elizabeth. He refuſed, it appears, to ſign that very bond of aſſociation, which was ſigned by all the nation, and which even the deſpairing Mary offered, on her liberty being granted, to ſign herſelf. Yet *he* refuſed, though Leiceſter puſhed on the aſſociation, and though Elizabeth urged him to ſign it. Among the pleas which he advances for himſelf in his other apology, he particularly ſtates " his former *abſolute* refuſal to ſign the band of " aſſociation, being *earneſtly* preſſed thereunto by her " Majeſty's ſelf," (Robertſon, ii. 483). This indeed is a very ſtrong evidence of a manly virtuouſneſs in him. But he did other things, in the ſame ſpirit of virtue. He declined to act as a commiſſioner on the examination of Babington and his accomplices for their conſpiracy in favour of Mary, and took a journey to Bath in order to ſave himſelf from acting, (Robertſon, ii. 483). He was a means too of preventing the commiſſioners, who were ſent to try Mary at Fotheringay Caſtle, from pronouncing ſentence upon her immediately after the trial, and of obliging them to return firſt to London and report their proceedings to Elizabeth, (Robertſon, ii. 483). We have already ſeen that he kept the warrant for the execution of Mary five or ſix weeks in his hands, without offering to preſent it to Elizabeth for her ſigning. We have equally ſeen that he actually neglected to obey a perſonal command of Elizabeth's for bringing the warrant to her, and that he thus neglected, for " many days," even till the Queen fired at his conduct, and ſent him a peremptory order to bring it. Even then, and even when Paulet's anſwer had been received, and all delay was now at an end for ever, he would not be concerned in ſending away the warrant himſelf, but returned it into the hands from which he had received it, and left Cecil and the council to ſend it. And, as in all the time " *before* her trial, he neither is nor can " be charged, to have had any hand at all in the cauſe " of the ſaid Queen, or done any thing whatſoever " concerning the ſame, directly or indirectly;" ſo, " *after* the return thence of the—commiſſioners, it is " well known to all her council, that *he never was at* " *any deliberation or meeting whatſoever*, in *parliament* or " *council*, concerning the cauſe of the ſaid Queen, till " the ſending down of her Majeſty's warrant unto the " commiſſioners by the lords and others of her coun-" cil," (Robertſon, ii. 481).

" Theſe deeds of honeſty, no doubt, had ſucceſſively marked him out for vengeance to the reſt of the miniſtry, and to the Queen. He was therefore ſelected by Cecil, " with her Majeſty's own privity," to be the Secretary with whom the warrant ſhould be lodged for ſigning, (Robertſon, ii. 481). He was thus expoſed to a train of deciſive trials. It would be ſeen whether he *offered* to preſent the warrant to Elizabeth for her ſignature. Should he *not* offer, a command might be given him by Elizabeth to bring it up. Should he heſitate to obey *this*, a ſharp rebuke and a peremptory order might be ſent him. If he was refractory in all theſe points, then the wrath of Elizabeth would burſt out upon him, and ſweep him away from her preſence for ever. If he complied in any, his farther compliance might be tried in ordering him to the great ſeal with the warrant, and in directing him to uſe the warrant, when ſealed, with ſecreſy. Should he be found pliable in *this* trial, the grand ſcheme of aſſaſſination, the favourite wiſh of Elizabeth's heart, which had repeatedly been talked over by her other miniſters before Elizabeth and him, which they all united to approve, though none of them offered to undertake, and which had been ſo talked over and ſo approved of merely to put Daviſon upon undertaking it, might finally be urged upon Daviſon in private by Elizabeth herſelf. Should he bend to this urgency and engage in the work of aſſaſſination, Elizabeth, *as ſoon as ever the work was done*, would have riſen upon him with an *affected* paſſion, and made his life the forfeit of his compliance. And ſhould he *not* bend, all his preſent, and all his former refractorineſs would be remembered at once againſt him, and unite to draw down the rage of Elizabeth in a ſtorm of *real* reſentment upon him. Either way the man was ſure to be ruined. He complied, though only in part. He brought up the warrant at the *ſecond* order. He carried it to the great ſeal. He even united with Walſingham to mention Elizabeth's propoſal of aſſaſſination to Paulet; but he would go no farther. He actually proteſted to Elizabeth herſelf againſt the propoſal before he mentioned it to Paulet. He proteſted to her againſt every ſcheme of aſſaſſination. And he was therefore ruined at laſt by Elizabeth in a moſt impudent ſtretch of falſhood, for *doing what he did not do*, and in truth and reality for *not doing what he was wanted to do*."

" Thus fell Daviſon a memorable evidence of the cunning, the perfidiouſneſs, and the barbarity of Elizabeth and her Cecil! But he was fully revenged of them both in his fall. He wrote the preſent apology which ſerves ſo greatly to expoſe the characters of both. It is very convincing in itſelf, is even drawn up with the air and addreſs of a fine writer, and is peculiarly valuable to the critical inveſtigators of Elizabeth's conduct. It differs very uſefully from that in Dr. Robertſon's Appendix in being written within the very month of all the main tranſactions recorded in it, and being therefore very full, circumſtantial, and accurate; while that was written many years afterward, is only general and ſhort, and is often inaccurate. It was not, however, as Camden ſays, a " private" apology ſent to " Walſingham," (Orig. i. 465. Tranſ. 392). It was evidently calculated, as I have ſhown before, for the inſpection of Elizabeth herſelf. And, as it would naturally be ſent to his brother-ſecretary for her inſpection, ſo was it a bold challenge to her for the truth and exactneſs of all his averments, and would ſerve only to increaſe the load already deſcending to cruſh him. The other was written, not only when the little particulars had faded off from the mind, when memory had confounded ſome circumſtances that were diſtinct in themſelves, and a regular

narrative, if it could have been given, was no longer of conſequence; but, what is very ſurprizing, when Daviſon had loſt all copy, and even all minutes of this very apology. It was drawn up too when he was no longer afraid of ſhowing his forbearance in the cauſe of Mary, and indeed had reaſon for diſplaying it all at large. He therefore goes back much farther in the ſecond apology than in the firſt, to the return of Mary's judges from Fotheringay, to the moment of her trial, to the examination of Babington, &c. and to the times preceding all. In this whole period he ſhows us his ſecret attachment to Mary, by ſuch a train of incidents as ſeems peculiarly calculated for the eye of Mary's ſon on his acceſſion to the throne of England: Yet Elizabeth muſt have been alive at the writing of it, ſince ſhe is ſpoken of as ſtill Queen: and I therefore ſuppoſe it to be written at the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, when all the nation began to turn their eyes towards Scotland for a ſucceſſor to her; and when Daviſon would naturally endeavour to make that attachment to Mary, for which he had ſuffered ſo ſeverely from Elizabeth, promote his intereſt with James (30)."] K.

(30) Mary Queen of Scots Vindicated, vol. I. p. xiv. p. 176—189. vol. III. p. 544—576.

DAWES (Sir WILLIAM) Archbiſhop of York in the XVIIIth century, was the youngeſt ſon of Sir John Dawes, Baronet [*A*], by Jane his wife, the daughter and only child of Richard Hawkins, of Braintree, in the county of Eſſex, Gent. He was born Sept. 12, 1671, at Lyons, (a ſeat which came by his mother) near Braintree (*a*); and received the firſt rudiments of learning at Merchant-Taylors-School in London, from Mr. John Hartcliffe, and Mr. Ambr. Bonwicke, ſucceſſively maſters of that ſchool; under whoſe care he made great proficiency in the knowledge of the Claſſicks; and was a tolerable maſter of the Hebrew tongue, even before he was fifteen years of age; which was chiefly owing to the additional care that Dr. Kidder, afterwards Biſhop of Bath and Wells, was pleaſed to take of his education (*b*). In Act Term 1687, he became a ſcholar of St. John's College in Oxford, and after his continuance there two years or upwards, was made Fellow (*c*). But his father's title and eſtate deſcending to him, upon the death of his two brothers, which happened about the ſame time [*B*]; he left Oxford, and entering himſelf a Nobleman in Catherine-Hall, Cambridge, lived in his eldeſt brother's chambers; and, as ſoon as he was of fit ſtanding, took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*d*). His intention, from the very firſt, was to enter into holy orders; and therefore to qualify himſelf for that purpoſe, among other introductory works, he ſeems to have made ſome of our late eminent Divines a conſiderable branch of his ſtudy, even before he was eighteen years of age: and he ſhewed always a ſerious and devout temper of mind, and a true ſenſe and love of piety and religion (*e*). After he had taken his Maſter of Arts degree, not being of age to enter into holy orders, he thought it proper to viſit the eſtate he was now become owner of, and to make a ſhort tour into ſome other parts of the kingdom, which he had not yet ſeen. But his intended progreſs was, in ſome meaſure, ſtopped by his happening to meet with Frances, the eldeſt daughter of Sir Thomas Darcy, of Braxſtead-Lodge, in Eſſex, Baronet, a fine and accompliſhed woman, whom he made his addreſſes to, and, not long after, married (*f*). As ſoon as he came to a competent age, he was ordained Deacon and Prieſt by Dr. Compton, Biſhop of London [*C*]. Shortly after, he was created Doctor in Divinity, by a Royal Mandate, in order to be qualified for the Maſterſhip of Catherine-Hall; to which he was unanimouſly elected, in 1696, upon the death of Dr. John Echard (*g*). At his coming thither he found the bare caſe of a new chapel, begun by his predeceſſor; to the finiſhing, and fitting up of which, he contributed very liberally (*h*). And, among other beneficial acts to his College, he obtained, through his intereſt with Queen Anne, and her chief Miniſters, an act of Parliament for annexing the firſt prebend of Norwich, which ſhould become vacant, to the Maſterſhip of Catherine-Hall for ever (*i*). Not long after his election, he became Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, and diſcharged that dignity with univerſal applauſe (*k*). In 1696, he was made one of the Chaplains in ordinary to King William; and, ſhortly after, was preſented by his Majeſty to a Prebend of Wor-

(*a*) Preface to the Works of the moſt Rev. Father in God Sir William Dawes, Bart. in 3 Volumes, 8vo. Lond 1733. p. i. &c.

(*b*) Ibid p. viii, ix. Dr. Kidder was for ſome time Rector of Rayne near Braintree.

(*c*) Wood, Athen. edit. 1721. vol. II. col. 1088.

(*d*) Preface, &c. as above, p. xii, xiii.

(*e*) Ibid. p. xi, xiii.

(*f*) Ibid p. xvi.

(*g*) Ibid. p. xxi.

(*h*) It was conſecrated, Sept. 1. 1704. Ibid. p. xxvi.

(*i*) Ibid. p. xxvi, xxvii, xviii.

(*k*) Ibid. p. xxviii, xxix.

[*A*] *Was the youngeſt ſon of Sir John Dawes, Bart.*] That family was once poſſeſſed of a very large eſtate: and Sir Abraham, our author's great grand-father, was accounted one of the richeſt commoners in his time, and in ſplendour and magnificence of houſe-keeping lived up to the port of any nobleman. But, in the time of the civil wars, the family adhering to the royal cauſe ſuffered great loſſes and depredations in their fortune. An eſtate of theirs, particularly in one county (1), was ſequeſtered to the value of 1500l. *per ann.* and the family ſeat at Roehampton in Surrey, where the furniture amounted to ſeveral thouſand pounds, was plundered. To make the family ſome ſort of amends, K. Charles II. created, in 1663, Sir John (father of Sir William, of whom we are writing) a baronet; in memory of paſt ſervices and ſufferings, and eſpecially as an acknowledgment of the ſeveral conſiderable ſums of money, tranſmitted by him and his father to the royal family, during their exile. Sir John was a perſon of excellent qualities, every way ſuitable to the dignity he was promoted to: but his exaltation to honour would not have ſo well become the depreſſion of his fortune, had it not been his happineſs to marry a lady of a very plentiful one, Jane, the daughter and only child of Richard Hawkins, Gent. as is above mentioned; by whom he had ſeveral children, and among the reſt, three ſons, whereof Sir *William* was the youngeſt (2).

(1) Lincolnſhire.

(2) Preface, &c. as above, p. v, vi, vii, viii.

[*B*] *Upon the death of his two brothers, which happened about the ſame time.*] The elder of the two, Sir Robert, then a nobleman of Catherine-Hall in Cambridge, died unexpectedly of a violent fever; and the younger, whoſe name was John, then a Lieutenant of a ſhip belonging to a ſquadron commanded by Sir John Narborough, was (in waiting on ſome company from on board) much about the ſame time unhappily drowned. Their deaths were in a manner ſo coincident, that one and the ſame poſt brought the news of both (3).

(3) Ibid. p. xii, xiii.

[*C*] *He was ordained Deacon and Prieſt by Dr. Compton, Biſhop of London.*] Upon which occaſion (as we are told) he was often heard to ſay, 'That when he laid 'aſide his lay-habit, (in which he was as elegant, as 'others of the like ſtation,) he did it with the greateſt 'pleaſure in the world, and looked upon Holy Or-'ders as the higheſt honour that could be conferred 'upon him (4).'

(4) Ibid. p. xvii. xviii.

ceſter

ceſter (*l*) [*D*], in which he was inſtalled Auguſt 26, 1698 (*m*). On the 10th of November 1698, he was collated by Archbiſhop Tenniſon to the Rectory, and, the 19th of December following, to the Deanery, of Bocking in Eſſex (*n*): and behaved in that pariſh in a very charitable and exemplary manner [*E*]. After Queen Anne's acceſſion to the throne, he was made one of her Majeſty's Chaplains, and by his excellent behaviour came to be ſo great a favourite with her, that he had a reaſonable expectation of being advanced to ſome of the higheſt dignities in the Church. Accordingly, though he happened accidentally to miſs of the Biſhoprick of Lincoln [*F*], which became vacant in the year 1705; yet her Majeſty, of her own mere motion, named him to the ſee of Cheſter (*o*), in the year 1707, upon the death of Dr. Nicholas Stratford: and he was conſecrated February 8, 1707-8 (*p*). In 1713-4, he was, by the recommendation of his worthy predeceſſor Dr. John Sharp, tranſlated to the archiepiſcopal ſee of York; being elected thereto February 26, and enthronized by proxy the 24th of March following (*q*). He continued above ten years in this eminent ſtation [*G*], honoured and reſpected by all. At length a diarrhœa, to which he had been ſubject ſeveral times before, coming to be attended with a fever, and ending in an inflammation of his bowels, it put a period to his life April 30, 1724, in the fifty-third year of his age (*r*). He was buried in the chapel of Catherine-Hall, Cambridge, near his Lady, who died December 22, 1705, in the 29th year of her age. By her he had ſeven children, William, Francis, William, Thomas, who all died young; and Elizabeth, Jane, and Darcy, that ſurvived him (*s*). He was author of ſeveral things; ſome whereof were publiſhed by himſelf [*H*], and others after his deceaſe under this title, 'The whole Works of the moſt Reverend Father in God, Sir William Dawes, Baronet, late Lord Archbiſhop of York, Primate of England, and Metropolitan. In three Vols. 8*vo*. With a Preface, giving ſome Account of the Life, Writings, and Character of the Author. *Lond.* 1733.' With regard to his perſon and character; the figure of his body was tall, proportionable, and beautiful. There was in his look and geſture ſomething eaſier to be conceived than deſcribed; that gained upon every one in his favour, even before he ſpoke one word. His behaviour was eaſy and courteous to all: his civility free from the formality of rule,

(*l*) Ibid. p. xxi.

(*m*) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq. vol. I. 1727, 4to. p. 674.

(*n*) Repertorium Eccleſiaſticum, &c. by Ric. Newcourt, vol. II. Lond. 1710, pp. 68. 70.

(*o*) Preface, &c. as above, p. xxix, xxx, xxxi.

(*p*) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. as above, p. 338.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 63.

(*r*) Preface, &c. as above, p. xxxii, xxxiii.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 51.

[*D*] *Was preſented by his Majeſty to a prebend of Worceſter.*] In a ſermon, preached at Whitehall, Nov. 5, 1696 (5), he pleaſed the King ſo well, that his Majeſty ſent for him, and without any manner of ſolicitation gave him a Prebend of Worceſter, with this ſhort compliment, 'That the thing indeed was 'but ſmall, and not otherwiſe worth his acceptance, 'but as it was an earneſt of his future favour, and a 'pledge of what he intended to him (6).'

(5) The firſt in his poſthumous Works, 3 vols. 8vo.

(6) Preface, &c. as above, p. 20.

[*E*] *And behaved in that pariſh in a very charitable and exemplary manner.*] The author of the preface to his Sermons informs us, that 'The care of mens 'ſouls was the principal ingredient of his character; 'but what gave an additional luſtre to this, and 'made him indeed the darling of the whole neighbourhood, was the reſpect he likewiſe had to men's 'bodily wants and infirmities, in his kind condeſcenſion and liberality to the poor. For as he was 'a ſtranger to that ſupercilious diſdain, which a 'ſenſe of ſuperiority, either in birth or fortune, is 'apt to create in weak heads, and an utter enemy to 'thoſe little feuds about dues and perquiſites, which 'are often known to embroil whole pariſhes, and 'breed confuſion, wherever they are too rigidly inſiſted on; ſo, to preſerve an harmony and good 'underſtanding with his people, his cuſtom was, '*every ſunday, to invite a certain number of the better 'ſort to dine with him*, when, all the while, ſuch a 'freedom was viſible, as made every one to think 'himſelf at home, and ſuch a plenty withal, as 'ſhewed that his liberality was extended to many 'more than thoſe, who had the honour to ſit at his 'table (7).——He uſed to preach himſelf, conſtantly, while he continued Rector of that pariſh. 'And his uſual method was, to make choice of 'ſome principal paſſage out of the goſpel for the 'day, in the morning, and to preach upon the ſame 'text in the afternoon, by way of repetition and 'improvement. His diſcourſes were uſually plain 'and familiar, and ſuch as were beſt adapted to a 'country audience (8): and yet, under his management and manner of expreſſion, they far ſurpaſſed 'the moſt elaborate compoſitions of other men: for 'ſuch was the comelineſs of his perſon, the melody 'of his voice, the decency of his action, and the 'majeſty of his whole appearance, that he might 'well be pronounced the moſt compleat Pulpit-Orator of his age (9).'

(7) Ibid. p. xxiv, xxv.

(8) Ibid. p. xxiii.

(9) Ibid. p. xxxvi.

[*F*] *Though he happened accidentally to miſs of the Biſhoprick of Lincoln.*] The reaſon of his miſſing of it, was this; being appointed to preach before Queen Anne on the 30th of January, (whilſt that Biſhopric was vacant by the death of Dr. James Gardiner) Sir William was not afraid to utter ſome bold truths, which at that time were not ſo well reliſhed by certain perſons in power, who took occaſion from thence to perſuade the Queen (contrary to her inclination,) to give it to Dr. W. Wake, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury. This, however, made no impreſſion upon Sir William: and therefore when he was told by a certain nobleman, that he loſt a biſhopric by his preaching, his reply was, 'That, as to that he had 'no manner of concern upon him, becauſe his intention was never to gain one by preaching (10).'

(10) Ibid, p. xxxi, xxxi.

[*G*] *He continued above ten years in this eminent ſtation.*] Upon his being promoted thereto, he was made a *Privy Counſellor*. And after Queen Anne's demiſe, he was conſtituted one of the Lord's Juſtices of the kingdom, until the arrival of the late King George, by whom he was called again to his place in the Privy Council (11).

(11) Ibid. p. xxxi,

[*H*] *He was author of ſeveral things; ſome whereof were publiſhed by himſelf.*] Thoſe publiſhed by himſelf, were, I. 'An Anatomy of Atheiſm,' London, 1693, 4to. being a Poem in five ſheets; dedicated to Sir George Darcy, Bart. It has not indeed all the perfections of a poetic compoſition; a luculency of fancy, and pomp of expreſſion may perhaps be thought wanting in it: but then it has this equivalent excellence, that the arguments both for and againſt the exiſtence of a God, are urged and anſwered in a clear method, and eaſy diction, fitted for the comprehenſion of every common reader. This Poem was written by the author, before he was eighteen years of age (12). II. 'The Duties of the 'Cloſet,' &c. written by him before he was twenty-one years of age (13). III. 'The Duty of Communicating Explained and Enforced, &c.' compoſed for the uſe of his pariſh of Bocking, in order to introduce a monthly celebration of the Holy Communion; which uſed to be adminiſtred, before his coming thither, only at the three great feſtivals of the year (14). IV. 'Sermons preached upon ſeveral occaſions before King William and Queen Anne,' London, 1707, 8vo. dedicated to Queen Anne. V. He alſo drew up the Preface to the works of Offspring Blackall, D. D. late Biſhop of Exeter, London, 1723, fol. 2 volumes.

(12) Preface, &c. as above, p. xi.

(13) Ibid. p. xiii. xiv.

(14) Ibid. p. xxiii.

flowing immediately from his good ſenſe: his converſation lively without any tincture of levity, and chearful without betraying the dignity of his high ſtation. He had a genius well fitted for a ſcholar, a lively imagination, a ſtrong memory, and a ſound judgment. He was a kind and loving Huſband, a tender and indulgent Parent, and ſo extraordinary good a Maſter, that he never was obſerved to be in a paſſion; and took care of the ſpiritual as well as the temporal welfare of his domeſticks. In his epiſcopal capacity, he behaved in a moſt worthy and exemplary manner [*I*]: And, in general, was a kind Friend, a generous Patron, a devout Chriſtian, a laborious Prelate, a fine Gentleman, and a worthy Patriot. We ſhall give the reſt of his character in the note [*K*].

[*I*] *In his epiſcopal capacity, he behaved in a moſt worthy and exemplary manner.*] He viſited his large diocele with great diligence and conſtancy, Nottinghamſhire one year, and Yorkſhire another; but every third year he did not hold any viſitation. He performed all the offices of his function with becoming ſerioufneſs and gravity. He took great care and caution, to admit none but ſufficient labourers into the Lord's harveſt; and when admitted, to appoint them ſtipends adequate to their labour. He adminiſtered juſtice to all with an equal and impartial hand; being no reſpecter of perſons, and making no difference between the poor and rich, but eſpouſing all into the intimacy of his boſom, his care, his affability, his proviſion, and his prayers (15).

(15) Preface, &c. p. xliv. xlv.

[*K*] *We ſhall give the reſt of his character in the note.*] So ſtrict an obſerver was he of his *word*, that no conſideration whatever could make him break it; and ſo inviolable in his *friendſhip*, that without the diſcovery of ſome eſſential fault indeed, he never departed from it. A great point of conſcience it was with him, how he made *promiſes* for fear of creating fruitleſs expectances: but when, upon proper conſiderations, he was induced to do it, he always thought himſelf bound to employ his utmoſt intereſt to have the thing effected; and till a convenient opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf, was not unmindful to ſupport the petitioner (if in mean circumſtances) at his own expence: for *charity* indeed was the predominant quality of his ſoul (16).——Both as a Biſhop and Peer of the realm, he conſidered himſelf as reſponſible for the ſouls committed to his charge in one reſpect, and as intruſted with the lives and fortunes of his fellow ſubjects, in the other. If in ſome parliamentary debates (wherein he made a very conſiderable figure), he happened to diſſent from other great men, who might have the ſame common good in view, but ſeemed to purſue it in a method incongruous to his ſentiments; this ought to be accounted his honour, and a proof of his integrity, but cannot, with any colour of juſtice, be deemed party prejudice, or a ſpirit of contradiction in him; becauſe thoſe very men, whom he ſometimes oppoſed, at other times he joined himſelf to, whenever he perceived them in the right. The truth is, all parties he diſclaimed. His opinion was, that whoever enters the Senate-houſe, ſhould always carry his conſcience along with him; that the honour of God, the renown of his prince, and the good of his fellow ſubjects ſhould be, as it were, the Polar-ſtar to guide him; that no multitude, though never ſo numerous; no faction, though never ſo powerful; no arguments, though never ſo ſpecious; no threats, though never ſo frightful; no offers, though never ſo advantageous and alluring; ſhould blind his eyes, or pervert him to give any the leaſt vote, not directly anſwerable to the ſentiments of his own breaſt (17).

(16) Ibid, pp. xxxviii. xxxix.

(17) Ibid. p. xlii. xliii. xliv.

*** [On account of Sir William Dawes's Anatomy of Atheiſm, Mr. Cibber has aſſigned him an article in his Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland. But the worthy prelate had very little title to be ranked in that catalogue. The piety of his work is unqueſtionable, and it is probably not defective in good ſenſe; but it has no claim to poetical excellence, nor has it even the merit of harmonious verſification. This will be apparent from the following lines, which have been produced as no unfavourable ſpecimen of the author's abilities:

" See then our Atheiſt all the world oppoſe,
" And like Drawcanſir make all men his foes.
" See with what ſaucy pride he does pretend,
" His miſer father's notions to amend;
" Huffs Plutarch, Plato, Pliny, Seneca,
" And bids even Cicero himſelf give way.
" Tells all the world, They follow a falſe light,
" And he alone, of all mankind, is right.
" Thus, like a madman, who when all alone,
" Thinks himſelf king, and every chair a throne,
" Drunk with conceit, and fooliſh impudence,
" He finds himſelf in his abounding ſenſe (18)."

(18) Lives of the Poets. vol. IV. p. 82.

From the lords debates it appears, that Archbiſhop Dawes always ſpoke on the tory ſide of the queſtion, and that he was not very favourable to religious liberty. He joined, likewiſe, in a great number of Proteſts of the ſame nature.] K.

*** [DAWES (RICHARD), a learned critic, eſpecially in the Greek tongue, was born in the year 1708 (*a*). A reſpectable family of the name of Dawes had long been ſituated at Stapleton, between Market-Boſworth and Hinckley in Leiceſterſhire, and our critic was probably of the ſame family. But it does not appear, from the regiſter of the pariſh, that he was born at that place. There was a Dr. Dawes, who, early in this century, reſided at Stapleton, and is recollected to have been a great ſcholar, and a ſearcher after the philoſopher's ſtone (*b*) It has been ſuppoſed, that he might be father to the ſubject of the preſent article; but of this fact no deciſive evidence can be produced. All the traditions concerning Richard Dawes are, that the place of his birth was either Market-Boſworth, or the vicinity of that town. Whoever his parents were, or whatever was their condition in life, it is probable that they perceived ſuch marks of capacity in their ſon, as determined them to devote him to a literary profeſſion; and accordingly he was put to the free Grammar School at Boſworth, where he had the happineſs of receiving part of his education under the care of Mr. Anthony Blackwall, an excellent Grammarian, and well known in the world of letters by ſeveral critical publications [*A*].

(*a*) Mr. Burgeſs's Preface to the ſecond Edition of Dawes's Miſcellanea Critica, p. iii.

(*b*) From papers communicated by Mr. Nichols.

Under

[*A*] *Where he had the happineſs of receiving part of his education under the care of Mr. Anthony Blackwall, an excellent grammarian, and well known in the world of letters by ſeveral critical publications.*] We have ſaid, " Part " of his education;" for it was not till 1722, that Mr. Blackwall was appointed Maſter of Boſworth-ſchool, having removed thither from Derby; and we have no information that Mr. Dawes enjoyed the benefit of his inſtructions previouſly to that removal. As we have not given any article of Anthony Blackwall in the former part of our work, it may not be amiſs to take ſome notice of him in this place. He was a native of Derbyſhire, and on the 13th of Sept. 1690, was admitted a Sizar in Emanuel College, Cambridge (1). In 1694, he proceeded Bachelor of Arts, and took his Maſter's Degree in 1698 (2). Sometime after this, he was invited to Derby, where he was appointed Head-Maſter of the Free-ſchool in that town, and Lecturer of All Saints, which is the largeſt pariſh in the place. Here it was that Mr. Blackwall firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the literary world, by his publication, in octavo, of " Theog-

(1) The New Univerſal Dictionary, in 12 vols. 8vo. vol. II. p. 217, ſecond edition.
(2) The Cambridge Catalogus Graduatorum, p. 40.

Under so able an instructor, Mr. Dawes laid the foundation of that exquisite knowledge of the Greek language to which he afterwards attained. In 1725, he was admitted a Sizar

" nidis Magarensis Sententiæ Morales, novâ Latinâ " Versione, Notis et Emendationibus explanatæ et " exornatæ, unà cum variis Lectionibus." This work was published in 1706. Our Author's next Publication, which did not appear till the year 1718, was entitled " An Introduction to the Classics; " containing a short Discourse on their Excellencies, " and Directions how to study them to Advantage; " with an Essay on the nature and use of those em- " phatical and beautiful figures which give strength " and ornament to writing," 12mo. (3). There is great merit in this performance. Mr. Blackwall has displayed the beauties of the admirable Writers of antiquity with no small degree of perspicuity and energy: and, in the second part of his tract, he has illustrated the grand figures of Rhetoric, not only by instances drawn from the ancient classic authors, but by many beautiful passages taken from the best English poets. Forty or fifty years ago the book was in considerable reputation, and was put into the hands of most young students. The present Biographer read it again and again, in early life, with pleasure and improvement; and though it may now be thought to be superseded by more elaborate and philosophical works, it might, nevertheless, still be of service to youth, by inspiring them with a love for classical knowledge, and contributing to form their taste.

(3) Universal Dictionary, ubi supra, pp. 217, 218.

In the year 1722, Mr. Blackwall removed from Derby to Market Bosworth, in Leicestershire, having been appointed Head Master of the Free Grammar-school in that place. As he had sustained the same character at Derby, it may reasonably be concluded, that the change came recommended to him by some superior advantage in point of emolument. In 1725 he published in 4to, the first volume of his most celebrated work, and which, indeed, was the principal work of his life. The title of it is, " The Sacred " Classics defended and illustrated; or, an Essay " humbly offered towards proving the Purity, Pro- " priety, and Eloquence of the Writers of the New " Testament. In two Parts. In the first of which those " Divine Writings are vindicated against the charge of " barbarous language, false greek, and solecisms. In " the second is shewn, that all the excellencies of " style, and sublime beauties of language and ge- " nuine eloquence, do abound in the sacred writers " of the New Testament. With an account of their " style and character, and a representation of their " superiority, in several instances, to the best clas- " sics of Greece and Rome. To which are subjoined " proper indexes." A second edition of this work, in 8vo, was published in 1727. The subsequent volume did not appear till 1731, a year after the Author's decease; but it had been left by him completely ready for the press. It is entituled, " The " Sacred Classics defended and illustrated. The " second and last volume. In three parts. Con- " taining, I. A farther demonstration of the pro- " priety, purity, and sublime eloquence of the " language of the New Testament Writers. II. An " account of the wrong division of chapters and " verses, and faulty translations of the Divine Book, " which weaken its reasonings and spoil its eloquence " and native beauties. III. A discourse on the " various readings of the New Testament. With a " Preface; wherein is shewn the necessity and use- " fulness of a new version of the Sacred Books. To " which is annexed, a copious Index," 8vo. There was prefixed to this volume a portrait of the Author, engraved by Vertue, from an original painting. Such was the reputation of Mr. Blackwall's performance, that the two volumes were translated into Latin, and published in 4to, at Leipsick, in the year 1736, under the following title. " Antonii Black- " walli inclyti Magnæ Britanniæ Philologi Auctores " Sacri Novi Testamenti defensi et illustrati. Chris- " topherus Wollius, M. A. S. T. B. et Concionator " ad D. Nic. Sabbathicus, ex Anglico Latine vertit, " recensuit, variis Observationibus locupletavit, et " Hermeneuticam N. F. Dogmaticam adjunxit (4)."

(4) Ibid. pp. 218, 219.

Mr. Blackwall's vindication of the sacred classics is, in various respects, a work of great merit. It displays a fund of genuine learning, and contains a number of useful and important observations. In many instances it is shewn, that several of the words and phrases in the New Testament which have been condemned as barbarous, are to be found in Greek writers of the best reputation. Nevertheless, it is the opinion of some of the most judicious critics, that our Author has not succeeded in his main design, which is to prove the general purity and elegance of the language in which the Evangelists and Apostles have communicated their instructions to mankind. Of this opinion, in particular, is the learned Dr. George Campbell, who, in the preliminary Dissertations to his excellent Translation of the four Gospels from the Greek, has made the following remarks on the subject.

" It is not to be dissembled, that the sacred pen- " men of the New Testament have, especially in " modern times, had some strenuous advocates, " both among foreigners and amongst our own " countrymen, who have, in my opinion, with more " zeal than judgement, defended their diction, as " being, when judged by the rules of grammar and " rhetoric, and the practice of the most celebrated " writers in Greece, altogether pure and elegant. " They seem to suspect, that to yield, even on the " clearest evidence, a point of this nature, though " regarding ornaments merely human and exterior, " might bring dishonour on inspiration, or render it " questionable. I cannot help thinking that these " people must have very indistinct ideas on this sub- " ject, and may be justly said to incur the reproof " which Peter, on a memorable occasion, received " from his Master—that ' they savour more the " things of men than the things of God.' Are " words of any kind more than arbitrary signs? " And may not the same be said with justice of " phrases and idioms? Is there a natural fitness in " one word or phrase more than in another, for de- " noting the thing signified? Is not the connexion " between sounds and ideas merely artificial—the " result of human, though tacit conventions? With " regard to those rules which constitute purity in " the language of any country, what are they in ef- " fect but the conventions which have happened to " obtain among the natives, particularly those of " the higher ranks?—Vulgarisms and foreign " idioms, which may obtain among strangers and " those of the lower ranks, have no more natural " unfitness to convey the sense which they that use " them intend to convey by them, than the terms " and phrases which, in consequence of the prefer- " ence given by their superiors, may be regarded as " elegancies. It may be as reasonably objected " against our religion, that the persons by whom it " was propagated, were chosen from what men in " high life account the dregs of the people, as that " the Holy spirit should accommodate himself to the " language of those who were actually chosen. Nay, " language as well as dress being in fact no more " than a species of mode, it may with as good rea- " son be maintained, that the ambassadors whom " Christ sent for promulgating his doctrine, should " have been habited like gentlemen and men of " fashion, as that they should have spoken the dialect " of such. Splendid style had no more connection " with the purpose of their mission, than splendid " apparel. The cloth which they wore, how coarse " soever, answered all the essential purposes of " cloathing; the same may be said of the language " which they spoke. And if it be argued, that good " language would create greater respect to their per- " sons, and closer attention to what they said, and " consequently would contribute to its making a " deeper impression; as much may be affirmed with " truth of a genteel appearance both of person and " of dress. Nothing serves more powerfully to " quash curiosity and expectation, and consequently " to destroy attention, than such an external figure " as generally accompanies poverty and ignorance, " and suggests a total want of the advantages of " education, and more especially of that indispensi- " ble advantage which the fashionable world calls, " *seeing good company*.

" But

a Sizar of Emanuel College, in the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he proceeded Bachelor of Arts in 1729. On the 2d of October, 1731, he became a Fellow of the College on the nomination of Sir Wolſton Dixie, Bart. In 1733, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts. The next year he was a candidate for the place of Eſquire Beadle of the Univerſity, but his application was not crowned with ſucceſs (*b*). Whilſt Mr. Dawes was at Cambridge, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſome peculiarities of conduct, which probably aroſe from a daſh of inſanity in his conſtitution; and in his converſation he occaſionally took ſuch liberties on certain topics as gave great offence to thoſe about him. Having indulged himſelf too much, at College, in an indolent ſedentary way of life, he, at length, found it abſolutely neceſſary to have recourſe to ſome kind of exerciſe. In this caſe, being of a ſtrong athletic frame of body, and not over delicate in the choice of his company, he took to the practice of ringing; and, as ſuch a genius could not ſtop at mediocrity, he quickly became the leader of the band, and carried the art to the higheſt perfection (*c*).

(*b*) Cantabrigienſes graduati, p. 112. Dr. Richardſon's Communications.

(*c*) Ibid.

Another circumſtance, though of a very different nature, by which Mr. Dawes rendered himſelf remarkable, was his taking a violent part againſt Dr. Bentley. He even went ſo far as to depreciate that great man's literature. In his Miſcellanea Critica, he endeavours, on ſeveral occaſions, to detract from Dr. Bentley's praiſes; and he did not ſcruple to aſſert, that the Doctor, *nihil in Græcis cognoviſſe, niſi ex Indicibus petitum*, knew nothing relative to Grecian Literature, but what he had drawn from indexes (*d*). It was impoſſible that any thing could be more unjuſt than ſuch an aſſertion; and it

(*d*) Burgeſs's Preface, ubi ſupra, p. 5. Miſ. Crit. pp. 20. 30. 31. 108. 113. 200. 201. 209. 214. 215. 261. 313.

" But theſe very diſadvantages or defects, both " in ſpeech and in outward figure, are aſſigned by " the inſpired writers as the reaſons of God's pre- " ference, whoſe thoughts are not our thoughts, " nor are our ways his ways. Paul argues, that the " ſucceſs of the preachers of the Goſpel, in ſpite of " the abſence of thoſe accompliſhments in language " then ſo highly valued, was an evidence of the di- " vine power and energy with which their miniſtry " was accompanied. He did not addreſs them, he " tells us, 'with the wiſdom of words'—with arti- " ficial periods and a ſtudied elocution, 'leſt the " croſs of Chriſt ſhould be made of none effect'— " leſt to human eloquence that ſucceſs ſhould be aſ- " cribed which ought to be attributed to the divinity " of the doctrine, and the agency of the Spirit, in " the miracles wrought in ſupport of it. There is " hardly any ſentiment which he is at greater pains " to enforce. He 'uſed none of the enticing' or " perſuaſive 'words of man's wiſdom.——Where- " fore?—That their faith might not ſtand in the " wiſdom of men, but in the power of God.' " Should I aſk, What was the reaſon why our Lord " Jeſus Chriſt choſe for the inſtruments of that moſt " amazing revolution in the religious ſyſtems of " mankind, men perfectly illiterate, and taken out " of the loweſt claſs of the people? your anſwer to " this will ſerve equally for an anſwer to that other " queſtion—Why did the Holy Spirit chuſe to de- " liver ſuch important truths in the barbarous idiom " of a few obſcure Galileans, and not in the politer " and more harmonious ſtrains of Grecian eloquence? " I repeat it, the anſwer to both queſtions is the " ſame—That it might appear beyond contradiction, " that the excellency of the power was of God and " not of man.'

" There are ſome collateral purpoſes which Pro- " vidence has effected by the ſame means. One is, " that the writings of the New Teſtament carry, " in the very expreſſion and idiom, an intrinſic and " irreſiſtible evidence of their authenticity. They " are ſuch as, in reſpect to ſtyle, could not have " been written but by Jews, and hardly even by " Jews ſuperior in rank and education to thoſe " whoſe names they bear. And what greatly " ſtrengthens the argument is, that under this " homely garb we find the moſt exalted ſentiments, " the cloſeſt reaſoning, the pureſt morality, and the " ſublimeſt doctrine. The homelineſs of their dic- " tion, when criticiſed by the rules of grammarians, " and rhetoricians, is what all the moſt learned and " judicious of the Greek fathers frankly owned. " And is it modeſt in us petty critics of modern " times to pretend to be nicer judges of purity and " elegance in the Greek language, than Origen and " Chryſoſtom, whoſe native tongue it was; and " who, beſides, were maſters of uncommon ſkill, " as well as fluency, in that language? I have heard " of a French critic who undertook to demonſtrate, " that Ariſtotle did not underſtand Greek, nor " Livy Latin. There is hardly an opinion ſo para- " doxical or abſurd, as not to find ſome admirers. " What wonder then that we ſhould meet with peo- " ple who eſteem a Pſochinius and a Blackwall " better judges of Greek than the greateſt orators " among the Grecians, and maintain that Paul's " ſtyle, in ſpite of his own verdict, is as claſſical as " Plato's. The writings of the ancient Greeks have " been rummaged for the diſcovery of words and " phraſes, which, in the import given them, might " appear to reſemble what has been accounted He- " braiſm or Syriaſm in the New Teſtament. The " ſucceſs of ſuch endeavours has been far from giv- " ing ſatisfaction to readers of diſcernment. It will " readily be acknowledged by the impartial, that ſe- " veral idioms in the New Teſtament have been " miſtaken for Oriental, which may be as truly de- " nominated Grecian. But there remains a much " larger number of thoſe brought under that claſs, " concerning which there can be no reaſonable " doubt (5)."

(5) The four Goſpels tranſlated from the Greek. With preliminary diſſertations, and notes critical and explanatory Vol. p. 13—17.

Theſe obſervations are ſucceeded by ſome particular ſtrictures on Mr. Blackwall's performance, with regard to which we muſt acknowledge, that our ſentiments, in general, concur with thoſe of Dr. Campbell (6).

(6) Ibid. p. 19—22.

Mr. Blackwall, in his ſeminaries at Derby and Boſworth, had the felicity of bringing up a number of excellent ſcholars beſides Mr. Dawes. Among theſe was Sir Henry Atkins, Bart, who, being patron of the church of Clapham in Surry, as a mark of his gratitude and eſteem, preſented our author, on the 12th of October, 1726, to that rectory, which was then ſuppoſed to be worth three hundred pounds a year. The Grammar which Mr. Blackwall made uſe of, for the purpoſe of initiating the young people under his care into the knowledge of the Latin Tongue, was of his own compoſition; and it was conſidered as ſo well adapted to that end, that he was prevailed upon to publiſh it in 1728. Such, however, was his modeſty, that it would not permit him to fix his name to it, becauſe he would not be thought to preſcribe to other inſtructors of youth. The title of it is, " A New Latin Grammar; being " a ſhort, clear, and eaſy Introduction of young " ſcholars to the knowledge of the Latin Tongue; " containing an exact account of the two firſt Parts " of Grammar." It is probable, that Mr. Blackwall's ſituation at Clapham did not altogether ſuit his diſpoſition; for, early in the year 1729, he reſigned the rectory of that place, and retired to Market-Boſworth, where his abilities and convivial turn of mind rendered him generally reſpected. At the School-houſe of this town he died, on the 8th of April, 1730. He left behind him two children, a ſon and a daughter. The ſon was an attorney at Stoke Golding, in the neighbourhood of Boſworth; and the daughter was married to Mr. Cantrell, a bookſeller at Derby (7).

(7) The New Univerſal Dictionary, ubi ſupra, pp. 218, 219.

could

could only proceed from extreme vanity, or perſonal diſlike, or a bigoted attachment to a party. Indeed, the contempt with which writers of diſtinguiſhed abilities ſometimes ſpeak of each other, is a diſgrace to the republic of letters; and it is much to be lamented that a ſpirit ſo contrary to the dictates of juſtice and urbanity, ſhould ſtill continue to prevail among men who would otherwiſe deſerve to be held in eſteem and reputation.

In 1736, Mr. Dawes publiſhed, Propoſals for printing by ſubſcription, "Paradiſi "amiſſi, a cl. Miltono conſcripti, Liber primus, Græcâ Verſione donatus, una cum An- "notationibus." Theſe propoſals were accompanied with a ſpecimen, which may be ſeen in the Great General Dictionary, under the article of Milton (*e*), and in the Preface to the Miſcellanea Critica, where our author explains his reaſons for not proceeding in his undertaking, and very ingenuouſly points out the errors of his own performance (*f*). It was cuſtomary with him, in converſation, humouroufly to expoſe his verſion to ridicule; and, therefore, though he had actually completed his deſign, by tranſlating the whole Firſt Book of the Paradiſe Loſt, it is no wonder that he did not commit it to the preſs. Indeed, every ſcholar muſt be ſenſible, how difficult it is for any modern to write ſuch Greek poetry as ſhall be totally free from animadverſion; and the truth of this remark will be particularly felt by thoſe who recollect the minute inveſtigations which have been the reſult of Mr. Huntingford's Monoſtrophics, and Mr. Glaſs's Tranſlation of the Samſon Agoniſtes. If the labours of theſe gentlemen can afford ſo much ſcope for critical diſcuſſion, it is highly probable that no future candidate for literary fame will ever ſeek for it in Grecian verſification.

(*e*) Vol. vii. p. 587.

(*f*) P. 1—5.

On the 10th of July, 1738, Mr. Dawes was appointed Maſter of the Free Grammar-ſchool in Newcaſtle upon Tyne, in the room of Mr. Edmund Lodge, who had reſigned that office. The commencement of his duty was to take place at the Michaelmas following. In the ſame year, on the 9th of October, he was preferred, by Act of Common Council, to the Maſterſhip of the Hoſpital of the bleſſed Virgin Mary in Newcaſtle (*g*). The Buſineſs of Mr. Dawes's new ſtation did not prevent him from proſecuting his Enquiries into the nature, peculiarities, and elegancies of the Greek tongue; and accordingly, in 1745, he publiſhed his "Miſcellanea Critica." Mr. Hubbard, of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and Dr. Maſon, of Trinity, aſſiſted in the publication. It was Mr. Dawes's deſign in this work, to afford ſuch a ſpecimen of his critical abilities, as ſhould enable the learned world to judge what might be expected from him, in an edition which he had projected of all the Attic poets, as well as of Homer and Pindar (*h*). Though his ſcheme was never carried into execution, he has obtained, by his "Miſcellanea Critica," a very high place among thoſe who have contributed to the promotion of Greek learning in England, and, as ſuch, his name will be tranſmitted with honour to poſterity. Accordingly, the book has been ſpoken of in terms of diſtinguiſhed applauſe, by ſome of the firſt literary characters in Europe [*B*]. A ſecond edition of it, in octavo, was given in 1781, from the Clarendon Preſs, by the Rev. Mr. Burgeſs, of Corpus Chriſti College, Oxford, who has enriched the work with a learned preface, and a number of notes, the value and importance of which will be the beſt underſtood and felt by thoſe who are the moſt capable of entering into the depths of Grecian erudition, and the minute and curious refinements of the Grecian language.

(*g*) From the Common Council books of Newcaſtle.

(*h*) Dawes's Preface, ubi ſupra, pp. 5, 6.

Mr. Dawes's ſituation at Newcaſtle was neither ſo happy nor ſo uſeful as might have been expected. This was, in a great meaſure, owing to the excentricity of his diſpoſition, and, indeed, to his imagination's being in ſome reſpects diſturbed. Hence he fancied that all his friends had ſlighted him or uſed him ill; and of the jealouſy of his tem-

[*B*] *The book has been ſpoken of in terms of diſtinguiſhed applauſe, by ſome of the firſt literary characters in Europe.*] Among theſe are the great Valkener, and his excellent diſciples, Pierſon and Koen. In the Acta Eruditorum for the month of July, 1756, the celebrated Reiſke has expreſſed himſelf concerning the Miſcellanea in the following language: "At ſi verum "tamen et æquum amamus, negari viciſſim nequit "lætique profitemur, præter illa, quæ attigimus "vitia, permulta his chartis ineſſe optimæ frugis, "Anglicano digna ingenio, id eſt, juſtum in rebus "et ſolidum, et profundum, ſubtiliterque exaſci- "atum, ſcrutante: ineſſe digna eruditorum oculis "et plauſu; *mereri Librum, in his Terris oppido rarum, "ut vulgatior eſſet:* Daweſium tandem in Græcis "Auctoribus, ſed vetuſtis præcipue poetis, verſatiſ- "ſimum eſſe, felicemque terſæ auris et emunctæ "Naris Criticum. Plenus eſt Liber bonarum Rerum "a Capite ad Calcem; at ultima tamen, ſive quinta, "Sectio excellit.——Tragici Græci, ſed præcipue "et ex profeſſo Ariſtophanes, in ea pertractantur, "tanto cum fructu, ut qui mellitum Comicum "Atticum verſare velit, *hoc libro cavere nequeat.* "Præteriit quidem permulta Auctor notatu et "emendatu digniſſima Loca Interpretibus adhuc "omiſſa; multa protulit minuta, a quibus neque "dialectus neque ſenſus proficiunt; multa tan- "tummodo Metrum laborant reformare; ſunt et "non paucæ in quibus falſus fuiſſe deprehendatur "Auctor; at monſtrat tamen inſignem Græcæ Lin- "guæ peritiam, raram et ſollicitam ad minima "quæque Attentionem, diuturnam cum Ariſtophane "conſuetudinem, ſagax et ingenium criticum (8)."

But the completeſt view of the peculiar character and merit of the "Miſcellanea Critica," may be ſeen in Mr. Burgeſs's elaborate Preface, from which we ſhall content ourſelves with making a ſhort extract. "In toto autem Libello quamplurima ſunt, rara "Diligentia ſcripta, quæ ad Græcæ linguæ indolem "aperiendam apprime pertinent. Et nonnulla poſt "alios quidem, et ipſe tamen ſola ingenii vi obſer- "vavit; alia vero vel primus vidit, vel aliis rectius "conſtituit; ejuſmodi ſunt Obſervationes de *diverſo "Modorum Optativi et Subjunctivi Uſu:*——de *Analo- "gia futurorum Ionicorum:*——de *Conſilio futurorum "Atticorum ab Jonicis variantium:*——de *Ratione "Atticorum Craſeos:*——de *Proteſtate Vocalium bre- "vium ante tenues et aſpiratas, et ante Medium apud "Comicos:*——de *prima et tertia præteriti apud Atticos:* "——de *Uſu Vocalarum una cum Futuro Indicativi:*— "de *Uſu Optativi et Subjunctivi cum Particulis Interro- "gativis, &c.* quæ Obſervationes diligenter in Indi- "cem relatæ ſunt (9)."

(8) Burgeſs's Preface to the ſecond Edition of the Miſ. Crit. pp. 8—10.

(9) Ibid. pp. 11—13.



per

per he has left a remarkable inſtance, on a very trifling occaſion. His printer, by an unfortunate miſtake, in a paſſage of Terentianus Maurus, which Mr. Dawes had produced in order to correct, had inſerted a comma that deſtroyed the merit of the emendation. In conſequence of this involuntary error, our author, in the Addenda to his Miſcellanea, has expreſſed himſelf with great indignation. He declares, that he could not conjecture what fault he had committed againſt the printer, that he ſhould envy him the honour, whatever it was, that was due to his correction; and he adds, that he knows not how it happened, that, for ſeveral years paſt, he had been ill uſed by thoſe from whom he had deſerved better treatment. With the Corporation of Newcaſtle he got involved in altercations, and he adopted a ſingular method of diſplaying his reſentment, or rather his contempt; for in teaching the boys at ſchool, he made them tranſlate the Greek word for *Aſs* into *Alderman*; which ſome of the lads did ſeriouſly, though otherwiſe well inſtructed. Such being the diſpoſition of his mind, it is not ſurpriſing that his ſcholars were, at length, reduced to a very ſmall number; ſo that it became expedient for him to conſent to quit his ſtation. Accordingly, at Midſummer, 1749, he reſigned the Maſterſhip of the Grammar-ſchool, and the Maſterſhip of St. Mary's Hoſpital; and, in conſideration of theſe ſacrifices, the Mayor and Burgeſſes of Newcaſtle, on the 25th of September following, executed a bond; by which they engaged to grant him an annuity of eighty pounds a year, during life (*i*).

(*i*) From Dr. Richardſon's and Mr. Burgeſs's Communications.

Mr. Dawes, after his reſignation of the above two offices, retired to Heworth-ſhore, about three miles below Newcaſtle, on the South ſide of the Tyne, where his favourite amuſement was the exerciſe of rowing in a boat. In his converſation, he preſerved, to the laſt, his ſplenetic humour; abuſing every thing, and every perſon that he had formerly regarded. He departed this life, at Heworth, on the 21ſt of March, 1766, and, agreeably to his own deſire, was buried in the church-yard of that place; where a common head-ſtone, little ſuited to the juſt reputation of ſo eminent a ſcholar, continues to mark his grave.

(*k*) From Dr. Richardſon's Communications. Brand's Hiſtory and Antiquities of Newcaſtle upon Tyne. Vol. II. p. 97, note.

"In memory of Richard Dawes, late Head-maſter of the Gram*mer* (ſic) School at Newcaſtle; who died the 21ſt of March, 1766. Aged 57 years (*k*)."] K.

*** [DAY (THOMAS, Eſq.) (*l*) an ingenious poetical, political, and miſcellaneous writer, was born in Wellcloſe Square, London, on the twenty-ſecond day of June, 1748. His father, Thomas Day, Eſq; was a collector outwards of the cuſtoms in the port of London, and was twice married. By his firſt wife he had no family. His ſecond lady was Miſs Jane Bonham, the only daughter of Samuel Bonham, Eſq. an eminent merchant in the city. The ſole iſſue of this marriage was the ſubject of the preſent article. When he was no more than thirteen months old his father died, leaving to his infant ſon a very conſiderable fortune, which was chiefly of his own acquiſition. Mrs. Day, in a few years, married Thomas Phillips, Eſq. who had alſo a ſituation in the Cuſtom Houſe, and who departed this life in 1782, at his houſe at Barehill in Berkſhire, where Mrs. Phillips continues to reſide. Her careful and affectionate, but judicious, conduct towards her ſon proved an ample compenſation to him for the premature loſs of his father; for ſhe not only procured him every advantage of education, but taught him heroic fortitude by her own example, and accuſtomed him early to bodily exertions. His writings and his habits of life afterwards diſplayed the importance which he attached to the training up of youth in the labours of the body, and the endurance of the mind.

(*l*) For the materials of the former part of this article, we are indebted to the communications of Mrs. Day, the author's widow, and of her nephew, William Lowndes, Eſq. of the Temple.

For the ſake of her ſon's health, Mrs. Phillips removed out of London to Stoke Newington, where ſhe put him to a child's ſchool until he ſhould attain the age when he might be admiſſible at the Charter Houſe. Accordingly, at the proper time, he became a boarder in Dr. Cruſius's own houſe, a maſter who was diſtinguiſhed for his ability in grammatical and claſſical inſtruction, and for his attention to diſcipline in the management of his ſcholars. At the Charter Houſe Mr. Day continued from about the age of nine to his ſixteenth year, when he was ſent to complete his ſtudies at Oxford, where he was entered as a gentleman commoner at Corpus Chriſti College. He ſtayed at the Univerſity three years; but having no view to literary honours or promotions, he did not think it of importance to obtain any degree.

While Mr. Day reſided at Oxford, he formed an intimacy with Mr. Jones, now Sir William Jones, one of the Supreme Court at Fort William in the Eaſt Indies, whoſe eminent abilities and writings, and whoſe deep and curious reſearches into oriental literature, are ſo univerſally known. Mr. Day's friendſhip with this gentleman was preſerved through life. Another of his univerſity friends was Richard Warburton Lytton, Eſq. of North Church in Hertfordſhire, to whoſe ſolid and extenſive learning thoſe who have the happineſs of being perſonally acquainted with him are no ſtrangers, and who is exceeded by no man in virtuous ſentiment, benevolent character, and exemplary manners. Mr. Lytton has ever teſtified, with exultation, his fraternal attachment to Mr. Day, and a veneration of his uncommon abilities, and yet rarer virtues.

But of all Mr. Day's early connections, the cloſeſt and moſt intimate was with James Bicknell, jun. Eſq. afterwards an ingenious barriſter at law, who died in younger life.

This gentleman, whom we ſhall again have occaſion to mention, was, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, the friend and companion of his youth.

As ſoon as Mr. Day came of age, his conduct and property devolved on himſelf. At an early period of life he manifeſted a particular fondneſs for ſcrutinizing the human character, and, in the year 1766, had taken a journey from Oxford into Wales, on foot, for that purpoſe. He judged, that by the manly exerciſe of walking he could have the eaſieſt and moſt intimate intercourſe with that claſs of men who, as ſtill treading the unimproved paths of nature, might be preſumed to have the qualities of the mind pure and unſophiſticated by art. In purſuit, therefore, of his favourite inclination to inveſtigate men and manners, he determined, on becoming maſter of himſelf, immediately to go abroad. One winter was ſpent by him at Paris, another at Avignon, and a third at Lyons. He paſſed one ſummer in the Auſtrian Netherlands, and another in Holland, always returning to devote the reſt of the year to his friends in England. Wherever he went he was diſtinguiſhed by his ſingular humanity and generoſity. His extraordinary liberality at Lyons made his departure thence long regretted by the lower claſſes of the people, as ſeveral gentlemen have ſince declared, who have viſited that city. It will not be unamuſing here to remark, that a large body of ſuch as he had relieved aſſembled together at his quitting Lyons, taking the characteriſtic precaution, whilſt they lamented, very pathetically, the grievous loſſes both of him and his bounty, to recommend ſtrongly, that he would leave a ſum of money behind, as a prudent ſupply for their future wants; and forgetting that he had already, by his paſt favours, far exceeded the reſt of his generous countrymen.

Not long after Mr. Day left college, he contracted an intimacy with Mr. Edgworth, an Iriſh gentleman of family and fortune, and a man of great ingenuity and knowledge, eſpecially in mechanical ſcience. With this gentleman he maintained an uninterrupted friendſhip and correſpondence for more than twenty years; and ſuch is the value which Mr. Edgworth has for his friend's letters, and his ſenſe of their excellence, that he intends to lay a ſelection of them before the public. Among other obligations which Mr. Day owed to Mr. Edgworth, one was, his being introduced by him to the acquaintance of Dr. Small, an ingenious and amiable phyſician, who was then ſettled at Birmingham. It was no hindrance to this connection, that Mr. Day was much younger, for the maturity and ſtrength of his underſtanding were far beyond his years. The reſpect and regard which he often expreſſed for Dr. Small's memory, prove, almoſt without a doubt, that his friendſhip for him was the cloſeſt and moſt affectionate that he ever entertained for any gentleman. The doctor was a man of great talents and learning, but poſſeſſed a gloom of mind, which, at that time, was not totally uncongenial to Mr. Day's own diſpoſition: for from his early life he had accuſtomed himſelf to reflect ſo deeply on human things, and eſpecially on the miſeries that were ſuffered by his fellow-creatures and inferior animals, as thence to derive a tincture of melancholy; which, however, the exertions of his underſtanding enabled him ſo entirely to get the better of, that at length he acquired a permanent and uncommon chearfulneſs of temper. His friendſhip with Dr. Small, which probably had not been a little ſtrengthened by their mutual ſympathetic feelings, was diſſolved by the death of that gentleman in the year 1775.

There were two other gentlemen to whoſe acquaintance Mr. Day was introduced by Mr. Edgworth. Theſe were Dr. Darwin, then of Lichfield, but now of Derby; and Mr. Keir, who reſided near Birmingham. Of the former we need not ſay how eminently he is diſtinguiſhed as a phyſician, a botaniſt, and a natural philoſopher in general; and how delightfully he has diſplayed his genius in a new and beautiful ſpecies of poetry: and the great abilities of the latter, eſpecially in chemical ſcience, are known to all the philoſophical world. Before this article will be publiſhed, Mr. Keir's affection and eſteem for Mr. Day will be ſeen in his becoming the biographer of his friend. Thus honourable were Mr. Day's youthful connections and friendſhips, which were continued to the end of life with unabated regard. According to the common acceptation of the word, he had various other friends, ſome of whom were of literary eminence.

So early as the twelfth of February, 1765, Mr. Day had been admitted of the Middle Temple; but he was not called to the bar until the fourteenth of May, 1779. Though he went through this ceremony, and his name was continued on the books of the ſociety till his deceaſe, he never appears to have entertained any poſitive ideas of entering ſeriouſly into the buſineſs of the profeſſion. Sometimes, indeed, he would amuſe himſelf with talking of this mode of life as one reſource from want that would be left to him, if ever he ſhould ſpend his fortune; but, though he was well acquainted with the general principles of Engliſh law, he had never acquired that knowledge of the forms and drudgery of it, which would have enabled him to be ſucceſsful in any branch of legal practice.

On the tenth of Auguſt, 1778, Mr. Gay married Miſs Eſther Milnes, of Wakefield in Yorkſhire; a lady whoſe cultivated underſtanding, liberal ſentiments, and congenial diſpoſition, rendered the connection happy and endearing in the higheſt degree. The ceremony was performed at Bath. After their marriage, the firſt place of their ſtated reſidence was Stapleford Albots, in Eſſex; but the adjacent country being very wet,

and Mr. Day having a desire to occupy a larger extent of farm than he there possessed, he withdrew from that county, and settled at Anningsley, near Chertsey, in Surrey. From Anningsley he frequently went to London, but this was only at irregular intervals, and for a short space of time.

The singular retirement of Anningsley, which had been his chief inducement to fix there, was remarked by all his acquaintance. There was a wildness in the scene which gave him pleasure, as the heath, contrasted with the inclosures, afforded a flattering proof of the industry of man, and of his importance in the creation. Mr. Day's internal resources prevented the place of his residence from being dreary to the friends by whom he was visited.

Like many ingenious men, Mr. Day had a fondness for experiment. His neighbours, of the lowest class, being as rough and as wild as the commons on which they dwelt, he tried if by mutual attrition he could not polish both; and, though the event fell short of his expectation, he was not wholly unsuccessful. Many of the peasants he took to work on his farm; and in his selection of them it was always his object to accommodate those who could not find employment elsewhere, until they could meet with some fresh job. But so fond were they of their new master, that they wanted frequently to be reminded, that their stay was only intended to be temporary. During the winter season they were so numerous, that it was scarcely in the power of a farm of more than two hundred acres, of a family on the spot, and of the contiguous neighbourhood, to raise for them a shadow of employment from day to day. Mr. Day, whenever he walked out, usually conversed with them in the fields, and questioned them concerning their families. To most of them, in their turn, he sent blankets, corn, and butchers meat. He gave advice and medicines to the sick, and occasionally brought them into his kitchen to have their meals for a few weeks among the servants. Once or twice he took them into his service in the house, on the sole account of their bad health, a circumstance which by many persons would have been deemed an ample cause for dismission. When the cases of sickness which came before him were difficult and critical, he frequently applied to London for regular advice; but good diet was often found more salutary than all the Materia Medica. Mrs. Day aided the benevolent exertions of her husband, by employing the neighbouring poor in knitting stockings, which were occasionally distributed amongst the labourers.

Mr. Day's modes and habits of life were such as the monotony of a rural retirement naturally brings upon a man of ingenuity and literary taste. To his farm he gave a personal attention, from the fondness which he had for agriculture, and from its being a source to him of health and amusement. It was an additional pleasure to him, that hence was derived employment for the poor. He had so high an opinion of the salutary effects of taking exercise on horse-back, that he erected a riding-house for the purpose of using that exercise in the roughest weather. Though he commonly resided in the country during the whole of the winter season, and was fond of shooting as an art, he for many years totally abstained from field sports, apprehending them to be cruel; but, at last, from the same motive of humanity, he resumed the gun. He rose about eight, and walked out into his grounds soon after breakfast. But much of the morning, and still more of the afternoon, were usually passed at his studies, or in literary conversations when he was visited by his friends. These conversations were not a little enlivened by the animated explanations which he gave of his political or religious sentiments, and the observations he made on men and manners. The usual sitting room of his house was converted by him into a library, that he might have his books always at hand; and he never thought of reading in any more private manner than with the family talking about him. This capacity of pursuing their customary studies with success, amidst domestic converse, is not, we believe, the general talent of learned men. Dr. Priestley is master of it in an eminent degree, with regard to writing as well as reading; and perhaps some others might be mentioned who have acquired the same attainment, which may justly be considered as the indication of a mind that has arrived to no small proportion of perspicuity, composure, and self-possession.

That a life, so eminently amiable, respectable, and useful as that of Mr. Day's, should long be continued, must have appeared, in every human view of it, extremely desirable. But in the supreme disposition of events it was otherwise determined. On Monday the twenty-eighth of September, 1789, as he was returning from Anningsley to his mother's at Barchill, where he had left Mrs. Day, he was killed by a fall from his horse, in the forty-second year of his age. The place of his interment was Wargrave, Berks, in a vault which had been built for the family.

Mr. Day's short life was one uniform system of exertions in the cause of humanity. He thought nothing mis-spent or ill-bestowed, which contributed, in any degree, to the general sum of happiness. In his pursuit of knowledge, though he deemed it highly valuable as a private and personal acquisition, he had a particular view to the application of it to the purposes of philanthropy. It was to be able to do good to others, as well as to gratify the ardent curiosity and activity of his own mind, that he became an ingenious mechanic, a well-informed chemist, a learned theoretical physician, and an ex-

pert

pert conſtitutional lawyer. But though his comprehenſive genius embraced almoſt the whole range of literature, the ſubjects to which he was the moſt attached, and which he regarded as the moſt eminently uſeful, were thoſe that are comprehended in hiſtorical and ethical ſcience. Indeed, every thing was important in his eyes, not merely as it tended to advance the individual, but in proportion to its ability in diſcloſing the powers, and improving the general intereſts, of the human ſpecies.

The political character of Mr. Day may be ſeen in his writings, hereafter to be mentioned. But it is proper here to obſerve, that though he wrote with warmth and energy, his ſentiments were tempered with a moderation dictated by humanity. To adopt his own words, he was unwilling to "make the great ſtate machine ſtand ſtill, for the mere experiment of greaſing its wheels." It was with horror that he heard of the coolneſs with which perſons ſometimes talked of civil wars, as if they imagined that every the leaſt profaneneſs at the ſhrine of Liberty was to be purged by ſtreams of innocent blood, and the overthrow of the conſtitution. Partly from the notions he had imbibed from Rouſſeau of the dignity of man, but ſtill more perhaps from the jealouſy with which he thought the ſacred temple of Freedom ought ever to be watched by its own prieſts, he declared, "that he never would, either by himſelf or agents, aſk for the vote of an elector in any part of the kingdom." From the ſame refined watchfulneſs over his own independence, as in the former inſtance over that of others, he withdrew from more than one overture to bring him into the public ſervice, though ſuch overtures were made in a very honourable manner. The pointed ſcrutiny with which he was accuſtomed to examine things threw a thouſand obſtacles in the way of his union with a party: and as he deſpiſed the proſpects of ordinary ambition, and ſought neither titles nor emolument, he perceived the more diſtinctly the ineſtimable privilege of retaining the good opinion of all mankind in the homely ſtation of an honeſt man.

In private life, Mr. Day was a faithful and tender huſband, an affectionate ſon, and a generous and ſympathiſing friend. Indeed, the unuſual patience with which he commonly liſtened to the accounts any in his company gave of their ſituation and circumſtances, and the earneſt advice, as well as ready pecuniary aſſiſtance, which he afforded them, made many ſuppoſe him to be more intereſted for their individual welfare, than from their relative connections, and his regards for the reſt of mankind, there could be juſt reaſon to expect. Benevolent as he was, he knew that both friendſhip and property have their limits.

Mr. Day was remarkably plain in his dreſs, and even negligent in that reſpect; but then it was only in ſuch points as he thought to be unconnected with health. In the choice of his food he was far from being nice and delicate; not, however, from the want of a very diſcriminating taſte, but becauſe he had obſerved that a faſtidiouſneſs of appetite is often productive of evil conſequences. His mode of travelling was as ſimple and unexpenſive as poſſible; the reaſon he aſſigned for which, was, that the leſs he ſpent upon himſelf, the more he could afford for the wants of his fellow-creatures. In fact, he not only applied great part of his income, but alſo ſome portion of his principal fortune to the calls and purpoſes of others. In conſequence of the wide range of his charity, and the unoſtentatious manner in which it was beſtowed, many of his beneficent actions are now totally unknown; and others it would not be proper to mention, as the objects of them are ſtill living. Few returned from him empty-handed; for he ſaid, "that he loved to give." It was a beautiful part of his character, that he would often ſeek for excuſes, why he might beſtow ſomething even on profligate poverty. The relief that might accrue to the families of unworthy perſons, the diſtance the petitioners came from, or other reaſons, were aſſigned by Mr. Day as apologies for the exerciſe of his generoſity. Indeed, human benevolence would be too much limited, if the extenſion of it were ſolely confined to moral excellence. There may be much compaſſionable diſtreſs, much diſtreſs that ought to be relieved, where there are great defects in point of character.

It has been thought that Mr. Day was reſerved in his manners to thoſe of his own degree in life; but this was not the caſe where he particularly eſteemed people for their moral qualities, whether he knew them by experience or report. His countenance and behaviour were then expreſſive of the natural openneſs and cordiality of his temper. The perſons he was moſt diſpoſed to treat with coldneſs and diſtance, were thoſe, who, preſuming upon their rank, faſhion, or fortune, ſeemed to lay claim to the univerſal homage of mankind. Such vain and empty pretenſions he undoubtedly regarded with ſupreme contempt. He enjoyed rational ſociety, and had very great talents for converſation; but he had a diſlike to mixed companies, and eſpecially thoſe which conſtitute what are commonly called the polite circles.

To merit, though unattended with ſhining talents, Mr. Day was much attached; nor was he unwilling to have the company of any orderly perſons of the lower ranks. Common farmers were frequently admitted to his table, and he converſed with them with the utmoſt freedom. It was a pleaſure to him to promote the chearfulneſs and happineſs of ſome part of that claſs of men, who, though overlooked in a country of opulence and luxury, may be conſidered as the centre pillar of the great fabric of ſociety,

and who at this day are an emblem, more perhaps than any other ſet of people in the kingdom, of the old Engliſh character.

In his temper, Mr. Day was open and mild to an uncommon degree. Nevertheleſs, the rigour with which, at an early period, he had diſciplined his own conduct, induced him ſometimes to expreſs his indignation with harſhneſs, when perſons talked in a manner very inconſiſtent with what might juſtly be expected from their age, ſituation, or character. He deſpiſed the French for their effeminacy and affectation; but a delicate Engliſhman he regarded as doubly contemptible. Had he lived to ſee the progreſs of the late grand revolution in France, he would probably have adopted other ſentiments, and made uſe of different language concerning that nation.

Mr. Day ſpoke very indulgently of the failings of mankind, and maintained, that miſconduct aroſe more from inconſiderate folly than deliberate wickedneſs. The latter term he thought to be rarely applicable to the characters of men. His opinion of the preſent age was, that it was diſſipated and trifling; and he believed, that even the middling claſſes were in their full career to ruin: the great cauſe of which he aſcribed to the want of good advice and example. He hoped, however, that from ſowing the ſeeds of morality early, a new ſyſtem might ſtill ſpring up, if the reſpectable characters of the kingdom did but foſter their growth with genial care, until they had raiſed them above the reach of thoſe weeds with which French foppery and faſhionable folly have over-run the land.

We ſhall conclude our account of Mr. Day's private life with an extract from a letter with which Mrs. Day has favoured the writer of the preſent article. "I may, I hope, "without impropriety, freely expreſs my ſenſe of that merit, which, in *my eſtimation*, "was unequalled. The undeviating firmneſs, independance, and diſintereſtedneſs of "Mr. Day's character, in an age of ſuch venality, corruption, and effeminacy as the "preſent, might ſurely be conſidered as a ſingular phænomenon. As I, of all human "beings, was the moſt intimately acquainted with the extraordinary and invariable ſim-"plicity of his life and manners, I do not ſcruple to ſay, that this, united to his patriotic "ſpirit (with the opinion I entertained of his eloquence and abilities,) continually re-"minded me of thoſe great and virtuous characters of ancient times, who, deſpiſing the "common objects of ambition, cultivated their farms, and yet were ever ready, when "occaſion called, to exert themſelves in defence of the rights and liberties of their "country. My huſband's conduct was in a great meaſure conformable to that ſentiment "of Rouſſeau: "Whilſt there is *one* of our fellow-creatures who wants the neceſſaries "of life, what virtuous man will riot in its ſuperfluities?"

A character ſo excellent, uncommon, and uſeful as that of Mr. Day would have well deſerved to be recorded in a work which is conſecrated to diſtinguiſhed merit of every kind, had he never appeared before the public in the capacity of a writer. However, in that capacity he will be found entitled to very commendable notice in the Biographia Britannica. It is obſervable, with regard to his writings, that they did not reſult from the vain ambition of figuring in the world as an author, but ſprang entirely from the benevolence of his diſpoſition, and his deſire to promote the moſt important intereſts of his country and mankind. This will be apparent from all his compoſitions, whether poetical, political, or miſcellaneous. The firſt publication in which he was concerned, was "The Dying Negro." We ſay the firſt publication in which he was *concerned*, for Mr. Day was not the ſole author of it, the piece having been written in conjunction with his intimate friend, James Bicknell, jun. Eſq; before mentioned [*A*]. The event that

[*A*] *The piece having been written in conjunction with his intimate friend James Bicknell, jun. Eſq.*] If any of our readers ſhould be deſirous of knowing what particular parts of the poem were of Mr. Day's compoſition, we are enabled, by the favour of Mrs. Day, to gratify their curioſity in this reſpect. In the firſt page the two laſt lines are of his writing, and the third and fourth, the ſeventh and eighth, the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth lines of the ſecond page. In the fifth page two lines are Mr. Day's, the third and the fourth. From the third verſe of the eighth page, to the fourth verſe of the thirteenth page, the whole is our Author's, two lines excepted in the tenth page. Two lines more in the thirteenth page are his, being the thirteenth and fourteenth. In the next page he has eight lines, from the third to the tenth. At the two laſt verſes of the ſame page he commences again, and carries on the poem to the ſecond line of the eighteenth page. From the four concluding verſes of the nineteenth page to the end of the poem, the whole is Mr. Day's, with the exception of two paſſages and a ſingle line. The firſt paſſage is in the twentieth page, from the eleventh to the ſixteenth verſe. The other paſſage begins with the fifteenth line of the twenty-ſecond, and ends with the fourth line of the twenty-third page.

That our readers may be able to judge of the general merit of the poem, and of the comparative excellence of the writers of it, we ſhall inſert two ſpecimens, the firſt by Mr. Bicknell, the ſecond by Mr. Day.

By Mr. Bicknell.

And thou (1), whoſe impious avarice and pride
The holy Croſs to my ſad brows deny'd,
Forbade me Nature's common rights to claim,
Or ſhare with thee a Chriſtian's ſacred name;
Thou too farewell!—for not beyond the grave
Extends thy pow'r, nor is my duſt thy ſlave.
In vain Heav'n ſpread ſo wide the ſwelling ſea,
Vaſt wat'ry barrier, 'twixt thy world and me;
Swift round the globe, by earth nor heav'n controul'd
Fly ſtern oppreſſion, and dire luſt of gold.
Where'er the hell-hounds mark their bloody way,
Still Nature groans, and man becomes their prey.
In the wild waſtes of Afric's ſandy plain,
Where roars the lion thro' his drear domain,
To curb the ſavage monarch in the chace,
There too Heav'n planted Man's majeſtic race;

(1) The maſter of the unhappy negro.

that gave riſe to the poem, which was printed in 4to, in 1773, is explained in the advertiſement prefixed to the later editions. It is as follows: "The following poem was "occaſioned by a fact which had recently happened at the time of its firſt publication. "—A negro, belonging to the captain of a Weſt Indiaman, having agreed to marry a "white woman, his fellow-ſervant, in order to effect his purpoſe, had left his maſter's "houſe, and procured himſelf to be baptized: but being detected and taken, he was "ſent on board the captain's veſſel then lying in the river; where, finding no chance "of eſcaping, and preferring death to another voyage to America, he took an opportunity of ſhooting himſelf. As ſoon as his determination is fixed, he is ſuppoſed to "write this epiſtle to his intended wife."

"On this foundation," ſay the Monthly Reviewers, "a generous ſon of Apollo has paid the tribute of humanity, and feelingly lamented the miſery of a fellow-creature, in ſtrains which are truly pathetic and harmonious. He expreſſes the higheſt ſenſe of human liberty, and vigorouſly aſſerts the natural and univerſal rights of mankind; in vindicating which, he, of courſe, condemns and execrates our Weſt Indian planters, &c. whoſe tyranny over their unhappy ſlaves, will, we are afraid, in many inſtances, but too amply juſtify the ſeverity of his muſe.——The fiery paſſion, and deſperate reſolution, which ſo ſtrongly mark the negro's general character, are well expreſſed in this epiſtle; the ſpirit and numbers of which equally manifeſt the philanthropy, and the poetical abilities of the writer *(a)*." We ſhall only add to this juſt account of the poem, that there is prefixed to it a dedication of conſiderable length, to Jean Jaques Rouſſeau; written with all the ardour of young men, warm in the cauſe of liberty, humanity, and virtue. So favourable was the reception which the "Dying Negro" met with from the public, that it paſſed through ſeveral editions.

(a) Monthly Review, vol. XLIX. p. 63.

Mr. Day's next production was, "The Devoted Legions," publiſhed in 1776, in 4to, and addreſſed to Lord George Germaine, and the commanders of the forces againſt America. This poem is founded on the ſtory of Atteius, the Roman Tribune; who, having in vain oppoſed the unjuſt war againſt the Parthians, placed himſelf at the gate of the city through which Craſſus led the troops, and there (arrayed in the veſtments uſed in the dreadful ceremonies of the *Auſpices*, and ſcattering incenſe from a fire which he had prepared in one of the ſacred veſſels,) he ſolemnly execrated the expedition, and devoted the army to deſtruction. Though no mention is made in the body of our Author's performance of the American conteſt, the intended application was too obvious to be miſtaken. "The poem," obſerved the Monthly Reviewers, "is nervous, harmonious, and pathetic:—but we hope the Britiſh Atteius, though a ſpirited poet, will not prove, as the Roman did, a true prophet *(b)*." On this occaſion, however, Mr. Day did truly unite in himſelf the double characters of the *Vates*, as was afterwards fully evinced in the captures of the two armies of General Burgoyne and Lord Cornwallis. A ſecond edition of the "Devoted Legions" was publiſhed ſoon after the appearance of the firſt.

(b) Ib. vol. LIV. p. 242.

Mr. Day's laſt poetical production, which was printed in 1777, in 4to, was entituled, "The Deſolation of America." Two characters are principally introduced in it; the firſt that of a mother, and the ſecond that of a father, each of them lamenting the

Bade reaſon's ſons with nobler titles riſe,
Lift high their brow ſublime, and ſcan the ſkies.
What tho' the ſun in his meridian blaze
Dart on their naked limbs his ſcorching rays?
What tho' no roſy tints adorn their face,
No ſilken treſſes ſhine with flowing grace;
Yet of ethereal temper are their ſouls,
And in their veins the tide of honour rolls;
And valour kindles there the hero's flame,
Contempt of death, and thirſt of martial fame;
And pity melts the ſympathiſing breaſt,
Ah! fatal virtue!—for the brave diſtreſt (1).

(1) The Dying Negro, p. 8. Edition of 1787.

By Mr. Day.

—And I have lov'd thee with as pure a fire,
As man e'er felt, or woman could inſpire:
No pangs like theſe my pallid tyrants know,
Not ſuch their tranſports, and not ſuch their woe.
Their ſofter frames a feeble ſoul conceal,
A ſoul unus'd to pity or to feel;
Damp'd by baſe lucre, and repell'd by fear,
Each nobler paſſion faintly blazes here.
Not ſuch the mortals burning Afric breeds,
Mother of virtues and heroic deeds!
Deſcended from yon radiant orb, they claim
Sublimer courage, and a fiercer flame.
Nature has there, unchill'd by art, impreſt
Her awful majeſty on ev'ry breaſt.
Where'er ſhe leads, impatient of controul,
The dauntleſs Negro ruſhes to the goal:
Firm in his love, reſiſtleſs in his hate,
His arm is conqueſt, and his frown is fate.

What fond affection in my boſom reigns!
What ſoft emotions mingle with my pains!
Still as thy form before my mind appears,
My haggard eyes are bath'd in guſhing tears;
Thy lov'd idea ruſhes to my heart,
And ſtern deſpair ſuſpends the lifted dart——
O could I burſt theſe fetters which reſtrain
My ſtruggling limbs, and waft thee o'er the main,
To ſome far diſtant ſhore, where Ocean roars
In horrid tempeſts round the gloomy ſhores;
To ſome wild mountain's ſolitary ſhade,
Where never European faith betray'd;
How joyful could I, of thy love ſecure,
Meet ev'ry danger, ev'ry toil endure!
For thee I'd climb the rock, explore the flood,
And tame the famiſh'd ſavage of the wood;
When ſcorching ſummer drinks the ſhrinking ſtreams,
My care ſhould ſcreen thee from its ſultry beams;
At noon I'd crown thee with the faireſt flowers,
At eve I'd lead thee to the ſafeſt bowers;
And when bleak winter howl'd around the cave,
For thee his horrors and his ſtorms I'd brave;
Nor ſnows nor raging winds ſhould damp my ſoul,
Nor ſuch a night as ſhrowds the duſky pole;
O'er the dark waves my bounding ſkiff I'd guide,
To pierce each mightier monſter of the tide;
Thro' frozen foreſts force my dreadful way,
In their own dens to rouze the beaſts of prey;
Nor other bleſſing aſk, if this might prove
How fix'd my paſſion, and how fond my love (2).

(2) Ib. p. 15—27.

calamities of their country. The difference of the two characters is well ſuſtained; and we think that the abilities of our Author, as a poet, appear to great advantage in this performance. He was ſtrongly animated by his awful theme, and has united pity and terror in no inconſiderable degree. As, from the local and temporary nature of the ſubject, and the changes of events, it is poſſible that the poem may not hereafter excite peculiar attention as a ſeparate publication, we ſhall give a few ſpecimens of it below [*B*].

Hitherto Mr. Day had appeared only in the world as a poet, and in each caſe without his name; ſo that he continued to maintain that privacy of life and character which was the moſt agreeable to his taſte and inclinations. But in the year 1780 he was called to act on a more public ſcene. This was occaſioned by the diviſions which at that time ſubſiſted in the kingdom with regard to the American war. What were Mr. Day's ſentiments concerning the principles and conduct of that war we need not mention, after what has been ſaid of the "Devoted Legions," and the "Deſolation of America." In conſequence of the ill ſucceſs which had attended the conteſt, and eſpecially the immenſe expences with which it was accompanied, a great part of the nation took the alarm, and meetings were held in a number of towns and counties with the view of drawing up petitions, (3)

[*B*] *We ſhall give a few ſpecimens of it below.*] The poem opens in the following manner:

Through the dim ſhades by frantic terror led,
From ſcenes of blood a hoary parent fled;
A tender virgin breathleſs with her fears,
Hung on his arm, and bath'd him with her tears:
With wearied ſteps, and with diſtracted air,
Fol ow'd the faithful partner of his care.
Through the lone ſhadows of ſurrounding night
Trembling they fled, for death purſued their flight.
And oft they ſtopp'd, and oft they turned their eyes,
Where a vaſt flame ſhot raging to the ſkies,
While ev'ry gale that mov'd the duſky air,
Pierc'd their ſad ears with accents of deſpair.
Here horrid ſhouts of barbarous triumph flow,
Blended with groans, and mingling ſhrieks of woe:
There feebler wails and dying accents riſe,
And rage remorſeleſs thunders to the ſkies.—
Now ſilent had they reach'd a mountain's ſide,
Whoſe paths unviolated foreſts hide:
There paus'd awhile their ſteps, while each ſurvey'd
The diſtant ruin, from the friendly ſhade.—
At length the wretched mother thus began,
While down her cheeks the liquid ſorrows ran.
And art thou, miſerable daughter, preſt
Once more to thy afflicted parent's breaſt?
And do theſe cloſing eyes thy form behold;
Theſe tears bedew thee, and theſe arms infold?
Yet ah! what pangs, what horrors ſeize my mind.
Ruin and death purſuing cloſe behind!
I ſee, I ſee ſwift burſting thro' the ſhade,
The cruel ſoldier, and the reeking blade.

After a few lines ſhe proceeds thus:

Yet, yet a moment, the fell ſteel reſtrain;
Muſt Nature's ſacred ties all plead in vain?
Ah! while your kindred blood remains unſpilt,
And Heaven allows an awful pauſe from guilt,
Suſpend the war, and recognize the bands,
Againſt whoſe lives you arm your impious hands!—
Not theſe, the boaſt of Gallia's proud domains,
Nor the ſcorch'd ſquadrons of Iberian plains:
Unhappy men! no foreign war you wage,
In your own blood you glut your frantic rage;
And while you follow where Oppreſſion leads,
At ev'ry ſtep, a friend, or brother bleeds.—

The mother purſues her lamentation through a variety of affecting topics, after which ſhe thus exclaims:

Then, hope, farewell!—e'en now the fiends prevail,
And ſounds of horror ſadden ev'ry gale.
Lo! where the ſacrilegious flames ariſe,
And deſolation blazes to the ſkies!
Farewell, lov'd ſeats, whoſe ruins ſtrike my ear,
For ever ſacred, and for ever dear!
Where'er around I turn my mournful eyes,
Sad ſcenes of human miſeries ariſe.
Triumphant rage, revenge, and death are there,
And all the vanquiſh'd feel, and all the victors dare.

She afterwards goes on as follows:

Farewell the hearth, farewell the chearful board!
The humble roof with every comfort ſtor'd!
With all that bounteous Heav'n beſtow'd in vain,
To ſweeten being, and alleviate pain!
There, the wild rage of conflagration preys,
Wide-darting through the gloom it's angry rays.
Stern as the foe of nature in his walks,
Amid the wreck the horrid ſoldier ſtalks.
His unrelenting hand the wound prepares
For thoſe, whom e'en the fiery deluge ſpares:
Inſpires new fury to the ſinking flame;
Or ſtabs the ſuppliant babe, and calls it fame!

One paſſage more, which ſtrongly ſhews how capable Mr. Day was of pathetic deſcription, ſhall conclude our extracts from the mother's lamentation.

In vain, for food, the dying infant cries;
With ghaſtly viſage, and beſeeching eyes:—
The pious mother doom'd to certain death,
For his dear ſake, retains the fleeting breath;
But while, with fatal tenderneſs, ſhe drains
The milky treaſures, and exhauſts her veins;
She ſees her breaſt deny it's balmy flood,
And fills his guiltleſs mouth with ſtreaming blood.
Then with a burſting heart from pain retires,
Looks up to Heaven, and on her babe expires.

From the father's lamentation, which is carried on with equal energy and ſpirit, we ſhall only take ſome lines at the beginning.

She ceas'd, and ſunk upon her daughter's breaſt,
For grief unutterable choak'd the reſt;
When with ſuperior dignity of woes,
And more compos'd deſpair, the father roſe.
Thrice on the dreadful ſcene he turn'd his eyes,
Then thus with arms extended to the ſkies.
—Not that the victim of revenge and hate,
I periſh by an undiſtinguiſh'd fate,
Shall fear appal, or paſſion ſhake my mind;
For all the hopes and joys I leave behind.
Be witneſs, Heav'n! that my firm breaſt diſdains
To feel a ſorrow for its private pains.—
I ſee the horrors which around me wait;
Nor aſk nor hope to deprecate my fate.—
Caught in the ſweeping toil which covers all,
Alike unpitied, and unmark'd I fall.
My foot already trembles on the verge—
I hear from far the daſhing of the ſurge,
But ſtrive in vain to fly—ſo vaſt, ſo wide;
Deſtruction rolling on, impels it's waſteful tide.—
But oh! my country, when I turn my eyes
Upon thy fall, and view thy miſeries;
Thy ſlaughter'd warriors, and thy captive dames,
Thy roofs polluted, and thy towers in flames;
Thy ſacred walls by impious ſlaughter ſtain'd,
Thy rights invaded, and thy ſhrines prophan'd;
By tides of grief, and ſhame, and fury toſt,
The boaſted firmneſs of my ſoul is loſt:
Unmanly ſighs from my ſwoln boſom break,
And tears of anguiſh tremble on my cheek.— (3)

(3) Deſolation of America, pp. 1, 2, 3. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. 13, 14.

petitions, or forming reſolutions for the redreſs of public grievances. At this criſis, Mr. Day, who, as we have ſeen, had already manifeſted how much he deteſted the whole proceedings of Adminiſtration in the American buſineſs, thought it his duty to come forward. Accordingly he attended various meetings in different parts of the kingdom, and, to uſe his own language, delivered ſuch ſentiments as became *him* to ſpeak, and free-born men to hear. The places at which he appears more particularly to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf, were Cambridge and Chelmsford: at leaſt, the ſpeeches which he made there are the only ones that have fallen within the compaſs of our knowledge. They are preſerved among the tracts publiſhed by the Society for Conſtitutional Information. The firſt of them was ſpoken on the twenty-fifth of March, 1780, at a general meeting of the freeholders of the County of Cambridge; and the ſecond on the twenty-fifth of April following, at a general meeting of the freeholders of the County of Eſſex. The expreſs purpoſe of theſe meetings was, to petition for a reform in the public expenditure: but this did not ſatisfy the active patriotic mind of Mr. Day, who was for laying the axe to the root of national abuſes, by a renewal of the conſtitution. The grievances of the kingdom, he contended, could be effectually redreſſed in no other way than by ſhortening the duration of parliaments, and introducing a more equal repreſentation. "When "theſe points," ſays he, "have been obtained, the nation will be enabled to exert all "the wiſdom, valour, and reſolution it poſſeſſes in its own defence; and if we fail "then, we deſerve to fall for ever. Till then every inferior reformation is leſs than "nothing: it is ſhutting the gates when the enemy are in poſſeſſion of the walls, "or ſtopping a chink in the public mounds, when the tide of ſhame and ruin is pouring "in at a thouſand breaches." In conformity to theſe ſentiments, he concluded his ſpeech to the freeholders of the County of Eſſex, with the following motions: 1. "It "is reſolved by this meeting, that annual parliaments, and an equal repreſentation, are "the undoubted conſtitutional rights of the Engliſh people. 2. It is reſolved by this "meeting, that they will not ſupport any candidate to repreſent them who will not "publicly ſubſcribe to the following teſt: 'I, A. B. do hereby expreſs my full and "perfect approbation of annual parliaments, and an equal repreſentation, as the un-"doubted conſtitutional rights of the Engliſh people: and I do hereby voluntarily en-"gage myſelf, by every tie of honour, to promote, to the utmoſt of my power, influ-"ence, and abilities, the reſtoration of theſe fundamental rights to the Engliſh people." Even thoſe perſons, who leaſt of all agreed in opinion with Mr. Day, muſt have been ſenſible of the manly eloquence with which he ſupported his propoſitions; and they muſt have been equally ſenſible of the integrity of the views by which he was actuated: nor were there wanting many reſpectable and enlightened citizens, who approved of the wiſdom, as well as of the integrity of his principles. What he ſaid concerning himſelf in particular, at the cloſe of his ſpeech, affords ſo juſt a delineation of his character, that we ſhall preſent it to our readers. "After," ſays he, "having ſo boldly delivered "my ſentiments of others, it may perhaps be permitted me to ſay ſomething of my-"ſelf. The motives which have impelled me to the dangerous ſervice I have this day "choſen, are equally unmixed with intereſt or ambition. The uniform tenor of my "former life, voluntarily devoted to leiſure, ſtudy, and retirement, the independence "of my fortune, and the contempt I have always ſhewn for the pageantry of the world, "ought to be a ſufficient evidence of my ſincerity. All that is farther in my power, is "publicly to declare the reſolution which I long have taken; that under no pretext "whatever will I ſtoop to ſolicit favours from any party, or even to accept of wages "from my country; and when I ſhall be convicted of attempting to evade theſe pro-"feſſions, I will ſubmit, without appeal, to all the infamy I ſhall deſerve. A man that "acts upon principles like theſe, can have nothing to hope, even from the ampleſt ſuc-"ceſs, beyond the happineſs of his country, and the conſciouſneſs of having diſcharged "his duty. And this conſciouſneſs, whatever elſe be my fate, I truſt I ſhall bear with "me into retirement.——Amidſt the wrecks of public liberty, and the ruin of this na-"tion, there is little chance that I ſhall ever be deprived of at leaſt a competence; and "he that poſſeſſes that is a welcome gueſt in every land.—He may with impunity deſert "the falling fortunes of his country; and there is an aſylum now opened in the Weſt, "which will gather together the brave, the wiſe, the good, from all the winds of "Heaven. But it is you, my countrymen, with your children and your families, who "are chained down to the ſpot which you now inhabit, that will be bruiſed beneath "the iron hand of power, if you throw away your only remaining means of ſafety. "And if you ſuffer another Houſe of Commons to be elected without an expreſs ſtipu-"lation for your liberties, *actum eſt de Republica*, the commonwealth is loſt, the peo-"ple enſlaved for ever.—You ought to conſider yourſelves as deſperate gameſters, that "are playing for their laſt ſtake.—Manage it wiſely, defend it bravely, and may the "event be fortunate to yourſelves, and ſalutary to your country!" Should it be thought that the language of the latter part of this paragraph is too ſtrong, it ought to be remembered, that, when the ſpeech was delivered, the kingdom was in a very melancholy and dangerous ſituation; and that it was a fixed principle with Mr. Day, that real political freedom neither did, nor could ſubſiſt, without a ſhorter duration of parliaments, and a more equal repreſentation of the people.

Though Mr. Day was not ſucceſsful in the points which he had ſo greatly at heart, and which he had ſupported with ſo much ability, his ardour was not hence ſlackened in endeavouring to promote the welfare of his country. The fatal effects of the American war lay heavy on his mind, and he was anxious to contribute all that lay in his power to avert them. For this purpoſe he publiſhed, in 1782, in 8vo, a tract, entituled, "Reflections upon the preſent State of England, and the Independence of America." This is an admirable performance; and if, in delineating the character of it, we borrow, in part, the language of a periodical critic, it is becauſe we cannot find better words wherein to expreſs our own ideas. Our Author began with a ſtriking picture of the critical ſituation of public affairs at that time; and after having reprobated, in a ſtrain of keen indignation, the unhappy and miſerable policy which had reduced the Engliſh grandeur nearly to annihilation, he proceeded to enquire into the moſt effectual and ſpeedy means for terminating the American war, and producing that peace which was become abſolutely neceſſary for the national ſalvation. Having illuſtrated with great power of argument the inflexible ſpirit of the Americans, and their determined reſolution to be free, he gave it as his opinion, that America ought to be declared independent. Great advantages, he conceived, would reſult from the meaſure; and his reaſonings in favour of it were ſolid and well ſupported. From the conſideration, that American independence was properly the object for which the nations of Europe were ſolicitous, he was induced to affirm, that England ought to yield with magnanimity what it could not with-hold by arms. Mr. Day ſupported his general argument for peace with great ingenuity, by ſtating the real condition of the confederacy which had been formed againſt us: after which he deſcribed the probable conſequences which the declaration of its unlimited independence would produce in America. As our Author looked towards a ſpeedy peace as the only means that could reſtore the fallen majeſty of England; ſo, from the prolongation of the war, he prognoſticated the moſt certain ruin. His remarks on this head were ſucceeded by an examination of the treaty of alliance between France and America; from which he was led to confirm his opinion, that the granting of American independence was a neceſſary preliminary of peace. He likewiſe added ſtrength to his argument by many additional and important conſiderations; and exhibited, in particular, with much ſpirit, juſtice, and accuracy, the thoughts and views of the friends of America. Mr. Day then apologized for having given way to the impulſe he felt for laying his Reflections before the public; and concluded by explaining, with becoming fortitude, the motives which compelled him to deteſt the American war. On the whole, the Reviewers declared it to be their opinion, (and it is an opinion in which we entirely concur with them), that our Author's reaſonings were cloſe, his manner keen without indiſcretion, and his language forcible (*c*). A remark is added, ſo honourable to Mr. Day's character and conduct, and ſo uſeful in itſelf, that it ſhall be given in the note [*C*].

(*c*) Monthly Review, vol LXVII. p. 321—27.

How well the tract we are ſpeaking of was received, will be apparent to our readers, when they are informed, that it went through four editions in little more than a year's time. The ſentiments advanced in it were ſpeedily embraced by the greater part of the public; and it is probable that the *Reflections* contributed to the event which followed, the acknowledgment of the independence of America. It cannot be ſuppoſed that the noble Lord, who negotiated the proviſional treaty with the United States, could be a ſtranger to Mr. Day's publication. With regard to the wiſdom of the meaſure ſo warmly contended for by our Author, we may ſafely aſſert, that it will not now be called in queſtion; ſince the experience of a number of years hath evinced, that it has not been productive of the evil conſequences which many apprehended. On the contrary, Great Britain hath maintained her commerce in a moſt eminent degree, and hath ſuſtained all her former rank in the ſcale of empire: and we truſt, that, under the influence of wiſe and prudent, as well as manly counſels, ſhe will long continue to preſerve her proſperity and glory.

[*C*] *A remark is added that ſhall be given in the note.*] "There is one obſervation," ſay the Reviewers, "which the example of Mr. Day has ſuggeſted to us, "and which we beg to throw out in the preſent "ſituation of affairs. The corruption of miniſters "has, of late years, been ſo great, that they have "bribed almoſt every man of letters into their ſer-"vice, and have diſcovered an extreme ſolicitude "to deceive the public by their venal publications. "Hence it has naturally followed, that anonymous "pamphlets have ſunk into ſo much diſcredit, that "they are ſeldom read, and that no faith or truſt "is repoſed in them. Unlike to ſuch writers, and "unawed by the terrors of power, the Author, "whoſe *Reflections* are now before us, gives his name "to the world, and ſtands forward to avow the ſen-"timents he has publiſhed. It were to be wiſhed "that all political writers would imitate his diſin-"tereſtedneſs. The liberty of the preſs would then "appear in its brighteſt glory. Motives of pru-"dence would then repreſs the unprincipled inſo-"lence of hired rhetoricians; and miniſters would "not dare to affect a contempt of the cenſures of "reſpectable men and incorrupt citizens. The fer-"vour of the people would be kept alive: they "would be exactly informed of their due and pro-"per importance, and be able to ſound thoſe "alarms which give inſtructions to kings. They "would be taught to deſpiſe and to puniſh thoſe "abominable ſtateſmen, who are eager to exerciſe "their rapacity and not their virtues; whoſe ſelf-"iſhneſs is their only idol; and who, diſregard-"ing the fortunes of the nation which they are "called to govern, are contented with the conſe-"quence and gratifications that are afforded by "the pride of office and the trappings of great-"neſs (4)."

(4) Ibid. pp. 327, 328.

Mr. Day's next political publication, which appeared in 1784, in 8vo. was entituled, "The Letters of Marius: or, Reflections upon the Peace, the Eaſt India Bill, and the preſent Criſis." Theſe letters were originally intended for the news-papers; but, before our Author had finiſhed the ſixth of the ſeries, the bulk was ſo far increaſed beyond his expectation, that he determined to lay them before the public in the form of a pamphlet, though the variety of their ſubjects rendered it impoſſible for him to give them the uniformity of a continued eſſay. The letters are eight in number; and the three former of them are addreſſed to Dr. John Jebb. In the firſt, he pays a high and juſt tribute of applauſe to the Doctor for his zeal and exertions in the cauſe of the public; and in the ſecond and third he vindicates the rights of the people to a voice in every free government, and urges the expediency of a parliamentary reform. The fourth and fifth letters are addreſſed to the Earl of Stair, who is attacked with ſpirit on account of the gloomy forebodings which appeared in his political writings, and particularly for his wiſh, that the *Euthenaſia* of the Engliſh Conſtitution might be a mild deſpotiſm. His Lordſhip is farther cenſured as a ſcoffer at public meaſures, a railer againſt public characters, and a ſecret friend to arbitrary government. In the ſixth letter, which is to the Earl of Shelburne, Mr. Day vindicates, with great ability, that nobleman's peace, without uſing the language of flattery. The ſubject of the ſeventh and eighth letters, which are addreſſed to Mr. Burke, is Mr. Fox's India Bill. With regard to this famous bill, our Author particularly inſiſts on the inconſiſtency and injuſtice of attempting to ſeize upon the rights of the India Company, after a renewal of their charter had been granted in 1781; ſince the allegations againſt them were for mal-adminiſtration prior to that period. In the eighth letter, the character of Mr. Haſtings is touched with a very maſterly hand. If, upon the whole, the "Letters of Marius" ſhould not be deemed equal to the treatiſe on the independence of America, it ſhould be remembered, that the circumſtances of the times called for their ſpeedy publication, and that they contain many ingenious, ſpirited, and important obſervations. They diſplay, likewiſe, the writer's inflexible ingenuity, which could not be drawn into the vortex of any party (*d*).

(*d*) Letters of Marius *paſſim*. Monthly Review, P. 435—440.

A few weeks after the appearance of this work, Mr. Day publiſhed, in 8vo, the "Fragment of an original Letter on the Slavery of the Negroes." The letter had been written in the year 1776, at the requeſt of an American gentleman, who had deſired to know our Author's ſentiments upon the ſubject, and profeſſed his intention of reſtoring all his own ſlaves to liberty, could he be convinced that duty required the ſacrifice. Mr. Day did not chuſe to produce the eſſay during the progreſs of the American conteſt. But, after that diſaſtrous war was happily terminated, having ſhewn it to ſome particular friends, they ſolicited him to conſent to its publication. "After reflecting," ſays he, "upon the ſubject, I have choſen to comply with their wiſhes, and preſent this fragment to the public; becauſe, whatever diſcredit it brings upon my head, it may contribute to eſtabliſh the ſincerity of my heart; and if a ſingle human being ſhould by my means be reſtored to happineſs, it is an ample recompence for all the dangers I may incur as an author. Should this eſſay ever reach America, it may perhaps diſpleaſe thoſe who have not learned to diſcern friends from flatterers, and to diſtinguiſh between the language of truth and calumny. Thoſe, on the contrary, who are enlightened by a more extenſive knowledge of human nature, may perhaps reſpect an Engliſhman, who, after daring to aſſert their cauſe through all the varied events of the late revolution, dares now with equal intrepidity aſſert the cauſe of truth and juſtice, and of that part of the human ſpecies whoſe wrongs are yet unredreſſed, and almoſt unpitied (*e*)." We need not ſay with what energy and ſpirit Mr. Day would write upon ſuch a ſubject. "With what face, Sir," ſays he to his correſpondent, "can he, who has never reſpected the rights of nature in another, pretend to claim them in his own favour? How dare the inhabitants of the ſouthern colonies ſpeak of privileges and juſtice? Is money of ſo much more importance than life? Or have the Americans ſhared the diſpenſing power of St. Peter's ſucceſſors, to excuſe their own obſervance of thoſe rules which they impoſe on others? If there be an object truly ridiculous in nature, it is an American patriot, ſigning reſolutions of independence with the one hand, and with the other brandiſhing a whip over his affrighted ſlaves (*f*)."

(*e*) Advertiſement prefixed to the Fragment.

(*f*) Fragment, p. 33.

Another political tract publiſhed by our Author in 1784, but which, on account of its coming out at the cloſe of the year, was, according to the cuſtom of bookſellers, dated in the title page 1785, was, "A Dialogue between a Juſtice of Peace and a Farmer," in 8vo. The two grand objects of this performance were to evince the neceſſity of a more equal repreſentation of the people, and to vindicate the rights of juries in matters of libels. Under the firſt of theſe heads, Mr. Day took occaſion to expoſe, with ſpirit, and with ſome degree of ſeverity, the poſitions advanced by Mr. Soame Jenyns, in his "Thoughts on a Parliamentary Reform," and in his "Diſquiſitions." He has likewiſe defended Mr. Locke's principles of government againſt the objections of Dean Tucker. On the ſecond head, our Author maintains, with his uſual ability, that it is the duty of a jury to inveſtigate the nature and tendency of the publication before them, that they may fulfil their oaths, and do juſtice to the accuſed; and that they ought to find a *general verdict*, unleſs ſomething ariſes which involves them in irreſiſtible doubt.

This,

This, however, he does not think to be a caſe which will oftener occur in the conſideration of libels, than in that of any other crime. A third edition of the Dialogue was publiſhed in 1786.

Mr. Day's laſt political publication, which appeared in 1788, was a Letter to Arthur Young, Eſq; on the bill then depending in Parliament to prevent the exportation of wool. Mr. Young, in his Annals of Agriculture, had ſtrongly diſplayed the evil tendency of this bill; and Mr. Day took up the pen on the ſame ſide of the queſtion. The act propoſed he conſidered as replete with miſchief and danger, and was of opinion, that it might ſafely challenge the moſt oppreſſive regulations of the moſt deſpotic countries, without fearing to ſee its own merit impaired by the compariſon (*g*). Such having been his ſentiments concerning it, it is no wonder that he wrote againſt it with peculiar animation. If we miſtake not, the efforts of Sir Joſeph Banks and other gentlemen, and the light diffuſed by various publications, were ſo far ſucceſsful, that the bill which actually paſſed was in a great meaſure deprived of the original malignity of its nature.

(*g*) Letter to Arthur Young, Eſq. p. 2.

We now advert to the character of Mr. Day as a miſcellaneous writer, or, to ſpeak more properly, as a writer on the ſubject of education. This was a ſubject in which his heart was deeply engaged, and the right management of which he was very ſolicitous to promote. He had a particular diſlike to the faſhionable modes of education that prevail in this country. Youth, he thought, ſhould be inſpired with a hardy ſpirit, both of paſſive and active virtue, and led to form ſuch habits of induſtry and fortitude as would produce a manly independence of character, and a mind ſuperior to the enticements of luxurious indulgence. With this view he wrote "The Hiſtory of Sandford and Merton," in 12mo: a work intended for the uſe of children; and the firſt volume of which appeared in 1783. In this volume he relates a variety of tales chiefly drawn from former ſources, but arranged and expreſſed in his own manner. Theſe narratives he has interwoven with a ſtory, in which two children and their tutor are the principal characters. The language is elegant without departing from the ſimplicity which was neceſſary to render it intelligible to children; and the incidents are both well diverſified, and extremely pleaſing and inſtructive. In this work the method of teaching by experience is diſplayed in ſeveral ſtriking inſtances, and adopted with good effect (*b*). It has been thought that our Author has inſiſted too much on the utility of employing children, even in the higher ranks of life, in manual operations. This object did not occur to us in reading the performance. The ſtory is hence rendered more intereſting and uſeful; and it muſt be acknowledged, that the bringing up of young perſons to the ability of doing as much as poſſible for themſelves, may be of ſingular ſervice in the varied courſe of human events. In a converſation between Mr. Merton, ſen. and the tutor, there are ſome obſervations concerning the excellency of the Chriſtian Religion as adapted to the inſtruction and comfort of the poor, which we ſhould have inſerted with peculiar pleaſure, had not the book been ſo well known, and of ſuch eaſy acceſs.

(*b*) Monthly Review, vol. LXX. pp. 126, 127.

The ſecond volume of "The Hiſtory of Sandford and Merton" appeared in 1786. In this volume, Mr. Day added to the reputation he had gained by the former one; and it will be the fault of young perſons if they do not receive from it much improvement. "The ſenſible and ingenious author," ſay the Monthly Reviewers, "poſſeſſes in great "perfection the happy art of conveying uſeful information, juſt and manly ſentiments, "and important precepts, in the form of dialogue and ſtory. Excellent leſſons of "hardy temperance, activity, humanity, generoſity, and piety; rational views of ſoci-"ety; and, withal, many articles of inſtruction in ſcience; are, in this little volume, "agreeably wrought up into the form of a narration (*i*)." We cannot help mentioning, that the account of young Merton's viſit at his father's houſe, of the influence of polite company upon him, and of his ill uſage of his friend Sandford, is admirably written, and exhibits a fine picture of the ſentiments and manners that too much prevail in faſhionable life. The fourth edition of the firſt volume of Sandford and Merton was publiſhed in 1787, and the ſecond edition of the ſecond volume in 1788.

(*i*) Ibid. vol. LXXV. p. 361.

Mr. Day's next production was "The Hiſtory of Little Jack," which was inſerted in "The Children's Miſcellany," printed for Mr. Stockdale; and the preface to which was drawn up by our Author, with his uſual good ſenſe and ſolicitude for the welfare of the riſing generation. Soon after (in 1788) "Little Jack" was ſeparately given to the public, in a ſmall volume, embelliſhed with twenty-two wooden cuts. The moral of the ſtory, which is entertaining, and diſplays the good effects of activity, induſtry, ſobriety, and honeſty, is, "that it is of very little conſequence how a man comes into the world, provided he behaves well, and diſcharges his duty when he is in it (*k*)."

(*k*) Hiſtory of Little Jack, p. 112.

In 1789, a few weeks before Mr. Day's deceaſe, was publiſhed the third volume of "The Hiſtory of Sandford and Merton;" with regard to which it is ſufficient to ſay, that the ſtory is carried on with the ſame ability, variety, entertainment, and inſtruction, that were diſplayed in the preceding volumes. The reconciliation between Sandford and Merton is begun and compleated in a moment; the bad habits of the latter are corrected; and he returns to his father's houſe with this concluſion, that he had been taught, and particularly by Sandford's example, "how much better it is to be uſeful than rich or fine; how "much more amiable to be good than to be great."

If

If Mr. Day's life had been continued, he would undoubtedly have exerted his talents in farther productions for the benefit of mankind. Perhaps he might have resumed "The History of Sandford and Merton," and have conducted them up to years of manhood. But though his premature death must ever be regretted, his surviving friends will have the consolation of reflecting, that he lived long enough to exhibit a pattern of disinterested virtue, and ardent philanthropy, which, it is hoped, cannot be useless to the world.] K.

DEE (John) a person famous in the XVIth century for his extensive learning, more especially in the Mathematical Sciences; but withal extremely credulous, extravagantly vain, and a most deluded enthusiast. He was descended from an ancient family of that name in Radnorshire (*a*): his father's name was Rowland Dee, a person in good circumstances, and, as Mr. Wood tells us, a Vintner in Londer (*b*). He was born July 13th, 1527 (*c*), at London, and, after some time spent at school there, and at Chelmsford in Essex, he was, in the year 1542, sent to St. John's College at Cambridge, where he applied himself, as he assures us, with wonderful diligence to his studies (*d*) [*A*]. In the month of May 1547, he went into the Low-Countries, on purpose to converse with Gemma Frisius, Gerardus Mercator, Gasper à Mirica, Antonius Gogava, *&c.*; and, either at the close of that year, or the beginning of the next, returned to Cambridge (*e*), where, upon the erecting of Trinity College by King Henry the VIIIth, he was chosen one of the Fellows (*f*), and entered the new College with great applause; which fair reputation he held not long [*B*]. In 1548 he had the degree of Master of Arts (*g*); but being possessed with a roving disposition, disturbed with the injurious reports that were spread of him, or desirous of making the Mathematical Knowledge he had acquired, by indefatigable diligence, more conspicuous, he again left England the same year, and went to the University of Louvain, where he distinguished himself extremely, so that he was visited by the Duke of Mantua, by Don Lewis de la Cerda, afterwards Duke of Medinaceli, and other persons of great rank (*b*). While he remained there, Sir William Pickering was his pupil (*i*); and in this University, it is probable, he had the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred upon him, though it does not certainly appear. July 15th, 1550, he went from thence to Paris, where, in the College of Rheims, he

(*a*) Vita Joannis Dee, Mathematici Angli, Thom. Smitho scriptore, p. 43.

(*b*) Athen. Oxon, Vol. II. col. 142.

(*c*) Compendious Rehearsall of John Dee, *&c.* chap. i.

(*d*) Athen. Oxon. Vol II. col. 142. Compendious Rehearsall, ch. i.

(*e*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 4.

(*f*) Compend. Rehearsall, ch. i.

(*g*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 5.

(*b*) Compend. Rehearsall, ch. ii.

(*i*) The same who was afterwards so great a favourite with Queen Eliz.

[*A*] *With wonderful diligence to his studies*]. We have the life of this extraordinary person written in several languages and by various hands, which shews, that, notwithstanding all his errors and follies, it was thought a point of consequence, not to our own only, but to the literary history of all Europe, that a just account of his life and labours should be preserved (1). This may apologize for the pains taken in this article, which we dare assure the reader, is both fuller and more correct than any thing that has been yet published concerning him; but, at the same time we must readily acknowledge, that the greatest part of it is founded on that excellent Latin life of this author, published by Dr. Thomas Smith, compared, however, throughout with many other writers of our own and other nations, and with Mr. Dee's own writings. He appears from them, as from every thing else that relates to him, to have been a man vain and conceited in the highest degree, of which it will be judged no small proof, that he drew and exhibited to his friends an ample scheme of his pedigree, which he pretended to deduce from Roderick the Great, Prince of Wales. Anthony Wood says, that his father Rowland Dee was a Vintner, as is mentioned in the text. Dr. Smith, who was much better informed, contents himself with observing, and that, perhaps, from conjecture only, this Rowland Dee was a man in good circumstances; but we are elsewhere told, which is probably the truth, that his father was a menial servant to King Henry VIII, and that some way or other he had been indifferently treated at Court, which recommended his family in a peculiar manner to the descendants of this Monarch (2). A very learned person, who was acquainted with our Author's person and family, tells us, that he was descended from the Dees of Nanty Groes, and that the name was originally written Du, which in the British language signifies black (3). It appears from some of our Author's correspondences, that he was sometimes stiled by others, and perhaps wrote himself, Dey instead of Dee. As to the life he led at Cambridge, take it in his own words (4): '*Anno* 1542, I was sent 'by my father Rowland Dee to the universitie of 'Cambridge, there to begin with Logick, and so to 'proceed in the learning of good arts and sciences, 'for I had before been meetly well furnished with un-'derstanding of the Latin tongue, I being then some-'what above fifteen years old. In the years 1543, '1544, 1545, I was so vehemently bent to studie, 'that for those years I did inviolably keep this order, 'only to sleep four hours every night; to allow to 'meat and drink, and some refreshing after, two hours 'every day; and of the other eighteen hours, all, 'except the time of going to, and being at, the divine 'service, was spent in my studies and learning.'

[*B*] *Which fair reputation he held not long.*] He brought over with him from the Low Countries several mathematical instruments, made by the direction of Gemma Frisius, together with a pair of great globes made by Gerard Mercator, with other things of considerable value; of all which he not only freely granted the use to his fellow students, but made a present of them to his college at his departure (5). However, his assiduity in making astronomical observations, which, in those days, were always understood as connected with the desire of penetrating into futurity, brought some suspicion upon him, which was so far increased by a very singular accident that befel him, as to draw the imputation of a Conjurer, which he could never shake off in the space of threescore years after. As to this accident, it happened soon after his removal from St. John's, and being chosen one of the Fellows of Trinity, and he relates it thus (6): 'I was out of St. 'John's College, chosen to be one of the Fellows of 'Trinity College, at the first erection thereof by King 'Henry VIII. I was also assigned there to be the 'Under Reader of the Greek tongue, Mr. Pember being 'the Chief Greek Reader then in Trinity College. 'Hereupon, I did set forth, and it was seen of the 'university, a Greek Comedy of Aristophanes, named 'in Greek Εἰρήνη, in Latin *Pax*, with the performance 'of the Scarabœus, or beetle, his flying up to Jupiter's 'palace with a man and his basket of victuals on her 'back, whereat was great wondering, and many vain 'reports spread abroad, of the means how that was 'effected.'——He adds—— 'In that college also, by 'my advice and my endeavours divers ways used with 'all the other colleges, was their Christmas Magistrate, 'first named and confirmed an Emperor. The first 'was one Mr. Thomas Don, a very goodly man of 'person, stature, and complexion, and well learned 'also. They which yet live, and were hearers and 'beholders then, can testify more than is meet here to 'be written of these my boyish attempts, and exploits 'scholastical.'

(1) Vita Joannis Dee, Mathemat. Angli, Scriptore Thoma Smitho, S. T. D. Niceron Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Hommes Illustres, Vol. I. p. 345. Histoire de la Philosophie Hermetique, p. 310. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 142. Ashmole's Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, p. 478.

(2) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 353.

(3) Jo Day. Rhesus in Cambro Britanniæ Linguæ institutionibus, &c. Lond. 1592, fo. p. 60.

(4) Compend. Rehearsall, ch. i.

(5) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 4.

(6) Compend. Rehearsall, ch. i.

read

read lectures upon *Euclid's Elements*, with prodigious applauſe; and very great offers were made him in caſe he would have accepted a Profeſſorſhip in that Univerſity; which, however, he refuſed (*k*). In 1551 he returned into England, was well received by Sir John Cheke, introduced to Mr. Secretary Cecil, and even to King Edward himſelf, from whom he firſt received a penſion of one hundred crowns a year, which was afterwards exchanged for a grant of the Rectory of Upton upon Severne, his Majeſty's preſentation to which he received May 9th, 1553 (*l*). In the next reign he was, for ſome time, very kindly treated, as having, in his youth, been fellow-ſtudent with ſome of Queen Mary's principal Miniſters; but, however, it was not long that he continued in this ſituation, a charge being brought againſt him, of a very high nature, upon which he was committed to ſafe cuſtody, and in very great danger of his life (*m*) [*C*]. At length, however, through the juſtice and clemency of King Philip and Queen Mary, he obtained his liberty, and preſented a memorial to Queen Mary, for preſerving ancient writings and monuments (*n*), and for recovering ſuch as were in danger of periſhing; which, aſſuredly, was a very good deſign, and would have been attended with conſequences very favourable to literature, if it had taken effect. By what accident it was hindered we have not any account: yet, that Mr. Dee was a perſon well qualified to execute what he propoſed, and ſupported his requeſt by very weighty and rational arguments, the reader may perceive by his Memorial, which is inſerted in the notes [*D*]. Upon the acceſſion of

(*k*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 7.

(*l*) Compend. Rehearſ. ch. iii.

(*m*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 8.

(*n*) See this Memorial in note [*D*].

[*C*] *And in very great danger of his life.*] At the very entrance of Queen Mary's reign, Mr. Dee entered into ſome correſpondence with ſeveral of the Lady Elizabeth's principal ſervants, while ſhe was at Woodſtock and at Milton, which being obſerved, and the nature of his correſpondence not known, two informers, whoſe names were Ferrys and Prideaux, charged him with practiſing againſt the Queen's life by inchantments, upon which he was ſeized at Hampton-Court, while his lodgings in London were ſearched and ſealed, and, after being ſome time in confinement, he was examined upon four articles by Sir John Bourne, then Secretary of State; afterwards upon eighteen more, before the Privy Council; next he was transferred to London, and underwent an examination before the Lord Chief-Juſtice Brooke of the Common-Pleas, which did not prevent his being brought into the Star-Chamber, where, after a trial, being diſcharged of all ſuſpicion of treaſon, he was turned over to Biſhop Bonner, to ſee if he could find any hereſy in him. In the Biſhop of London's priſon he was bedfellow to Barthlet Green who was burned for his firm adherence to the Proteſtant faith. As to Mr. Dee, his religious notions did not lead him to burning; ſo that after this tedious perſecution, Auguſt 19, 1555, he was, by an order of Council, reſtored to his liberty; entering into a recognizance, however, to appear the firſt and laſt days in the enſuing term, and for his good behaviour (7).

(7) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 8.

[*D*] *By his memorial, which is inſerted in the notes.*] The reaſons which may juſtify our inſerting the following paper are mentioned in the text, to which we will add here, that, if our author may be relied upon, that famous treatiſe of Cicero, the loſs of which is ſo much regretted by the learned world, was once extant in this kingdom, which is a fact not generally known. In this our author Dee followed the example of the celebrated John Leland, who was very zealous and active for the ſame purpoſe: neither is poſterity barely indebted to them for their good intentions, but owes them likewiſe much in their private capacities, for preſerving many valuable manuſcripts, that have come down even to our time. But to return to the point.

A ſupplication to Queen Mary by John Dee, for the recovery and preſervation of antient writers and monuments. Dated the fifteenth of January, 1556 (8).

(8) In the Cotton Library, Vitellius, c. vii.

To the Queen's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

IN moſt humble wiſe complaining, beſeecheth your Highneſs, your faithful and loving ſubject John Dee, Gent. to have in remembrance how, that among the exceeding many moſt lamentable diſpleaſures that have of late happened unto this realm, through the ſubverting of religious houſes, and the diſſolution of other aſſemblies of godly and learned men, it hath been, and for ever, among all learned ſtudents, ſhall be, judged not for the leaſt calamity, the ſpoil and deſtruction of ſo many and ſo notable libraries, wherein lay the treaſure of all antiquity, and the everlaſting ſeeds of continual excellency, within this your Grace's realm. But albeit that in thoſe days, many a precious jewel, and antient monument, did utterly periſh, as at Canterbury did that wonderful work of the ſage and eloquent Cicero, *de Republica*; and in many other places the like: yet if in time great and ſpeedy diligence be ſhewed, the remanents of ſuch incredible ſtore, as well of writers theological, as in all other liberal ſciences, might be ſaved and recovered, which now, in your Grace's realm, being diſperſed and ſcattered, yea, and many of them, in the unlearned men's hands, do ſtill yet in this time of reconciliation daily periſh, and perchance of purpoſe by ſome envious perſon encloſed in walls, or buried in the ground, to the great injury of the famous and worthy authors, and the pitiful hindrance of the learned in this your Highneſs's realm, whoſe travailes, watchings, and pains, might greatly be relieved and eaſed, for that ſuch doubts and points of learning as much cumber and vex their heads, are moſt pithily, in ſuch old monuments, debated and diſcuſſed. Therefore your ſaid ſuppliant maketh moſt humble petition unto your Majeſty, that it might ſtand with your good-will and pleaſure, ſuch order and means to take place, as your ſaid ſuppliant hath deviſed, for the recovery and continual preſervation of all ſuch worthy monuments as are yet extant, either in this your Grace's realm of England, or elſewhere in the moſt part of all Chriſtendome. Whereby your Highneſs ſhall have a moſt notable library, learning wonderfully be advanced, the paſſing excellent works of our fore-fathers from rot and worms preſerved, and alſo hereafter, continually, the whole realm may, through your Grace's goodneſs, uſe and enjoy the whole incomparable treaſure ſo preſerved, where now no one ſtudent, no, nor any one college, hath half a dozen of thoſe excellent jewels; but the whole ſtock and ſtore thereof drawing nigh to utter deſtruction and extinguiſhing, will here and there, by private men's negligence, and ſometimes malice, many a famous and excellent author's book is rent, burnt, or ſuffered to rot and decay. And your ſaid ſuppliant is ſo much the more willing to move this ſuit unto your Highneſs, for that by his ſaid device, your Grace's ſaid library might, in very few years, moſt plentifully be furniſhed, and that without any one penny charge unto your Majeſty, or doing injury to any creature. Finally, in the erecting of this your Library Royal, your Grace ſhall follow the footſteps of all the famous and godly princes of old time, and alſo do like the worthy Governors of Chriſtendom at theſe days, but far ſurmounting them all, both in the ſtore of rare monuments, and likewiſe in the incredible fruit, which of this your Highneſs's act, will follow ere it be long. The merit whereof ſhall redound to your Majeſty's honourable and everlaſting fame here on earth, and undoubtedly in Heaven be highly rewarded, as knoweth God, whom your ſaid ſuppliant moſt heartily beſeecheth, long to preſerve your Grace in all proſperity. Amen.

*Imprimis*, The Queen's Majeſty's commiſſion to be granted for the ſeeing and peruſing of all places within this her Grace's realm, where any notable or excellent monu-

of Queen Elizabeth, at the desire of Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, he delivered somewhat upon the principles of the ancient Astrologers, about the election of a fit day for the coronation of the Queen (*o*); and, as strange and ridiculous as this may seem in our times, yet it is very certain, that, by these notions, he recommended himself to the potent favourite before mentioned, and to several others of the Nobility, nay, and to the Queen herself, in such a degree, that she promised to be kinder to him than her brother King Edward had been, and actually afforded some very extraordinary marks of her notice and favour [*E*]. He was, by this time, become an author; but, as the learned author of his life very well observes, a little unluckily; for his books were such as scarcely any pretended to understand; and though he tells us himself, that Queen Elizabeth condescended to be his scholar (*p*), and to receive his instructions, as to the concealed sense of them, yet it does not appear that she reaped any great benefit from this assiduity. As his talent lay, in a great measure, in treating mysterious subjects in so obscure manner, that his words seem scarcely to convey any meaning, so the rewards that were bestowed upon him proved of the like nature, the Queen making him a promise of the Deanery of Gloucester, which was, notwithstanding, conferred upon Mr. Man, when he was sent Ambassador to Spain; and other gifts, of the like kind, to Mr. Dee proved of no service to him, though it is likely that, from time to time, he had presents made him in ready money (*q*). In the spring of the year 1564, he went abroad again, to present the book which he dedicated to the then Emperor Maximilian, and returned into England in the summer (*r*); in the course of which journey he was so serviceable to the Marchioness of Northampton, that she remained his constant patroness ever after. In 1568, by the advice, as he says, of Secretary Cecil, he engaged the Earl of Pembroke to present the Queen with his *Propædumata Aphoristica* (*s*), which was graciously received; and, on his presenting one to the Earl himself, he gave him twenty pounds (*t*). In 1570 Sir Henry Billingsley's translation of Euclid appeared, with our author's preface before it, and enriched throughout with his notes, which did him much more honour than all his other performances, as they furnished incontestible proofs of a more than ordinary skill in the Mathematicks (*u*). In 1571 we find him in Lorrain, where falling grievously sick, and in great danger of death, the Queen was graciously pleased to send him two Physicians, and to afford him other marks of royal beneficence (*w*). After his return to England, he settled himself in his house at Mortlake, where he continued to prosecute his studies with extraordinary diligence; and with great industry, and at a large expence, collected a noble library, consisting of the most curious books in all sciences, and a very numerous and valuable collec-

(*o*) Compend. Rehearsall, c. v.

(*p*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 11.

(*q*) Comp. Rehearsall, ch. iv.

(*r*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 12.

(*s*) See the catalogue in note [*P*]. No. 1.

(*t*) Compend. Rehearsall. ch. iv.

(*u*) See the catalogue, No. v, vi.

(*w*) Comp. Rehearsall, ch. iv.

monument may be found, or is known to be. And the said monument, or monuments, so found and had by the said Commissioner, then of the former possessor in the Queen's Majesty's name to be borrowed, and so, nevertheless, to be restorable to the said former possessor, after such convenient time, wherein, of every such monument, one fair copy may be written, if the said former possessor be disposed to have his said monument or monuments again: and thereupon, either he or his assigns, do, at the said library, the place whereof is by the Queen's Grace to be appointed, demand the said monument or monuments by bill assigned with the hand of the said Commissioner, wherein both the name or names of the said monument or monuments, is, or are, particularly expressed; and also the convenient time for the said restitution prescribed.

That it may be referred to my Lord Cardinal's Grace, and the next Synod, to conclude an order for the allowance of all necessary charges, as well toward the riding and journeying for the recovery of the said worthy monuments, as also for the copying out of the same, and framing of necessary stalls, desks, and presses, meet for the preservation and use of the said monuments, in the Queen's Majesty's library aforesaid.

That the said commission be with speed dispatched, for three causes especially: First, lest after this motion made, the spreading of it abroad might cause many of them to hide, and convey their good and antient writers, which, nevertheless, were very ungodly done, and a certain token that such are not sincere lovers of good learning. Secondly, that by the travel of these three months, February, March, and April next, going before the Synod in May next appointed, the said Synod may have good proof, whereby to conjecture how this matter will take success. And thirdly, upon the said trial of three months, the proportion of the charges in riding and writing, may the better be weighed what they will in manner amount unto.

A meet place to be forthwith appointed for the said monuments to be sent unto, until the said library may be made apt in all points necessary; and that, in this said place, before, or at, the said Synod time, the said monuments may be viewed and perused, according to the pleasure of my Lord Cardinal's Grace, and the said next Synod.

Finally, that by farther device of your said suppliant John Dee, God granting him his life and health, all the famous and worthy monuments that are in the notablest libraries beyond the sea, (as in the Vatican at Rome, S. Marci at Venice, and the like at Bononia, Florence, Vienna, &c.) shall be procured unto the said library of our Sovereign Lady and Queen, the charges thereof, beside the journeying, to stand in the copying of them out and the carriage into this realm only. And as concerning all other authors printed, that they likewise shall be gotten, in wonderful abundance, their carriage only into this realm to be chargeable.

[*E*] *Some very extraordinary marks of her notice and favour.*] That account which our author has given us of his own life, very justly claims entire credit, for reasons that will appear hereafter. In this he affirms, that William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, and Lord Robert Dudley, carried him to Queen Elizabeth at Whitehall before her coronation, when she took him to her service, and promised that where her brother had given him a crown she would give him a noble. Her Majesty also gave directions to Dr. Matthew Parker Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, to grant Mr. Dee a dispensation for enjoying the rectories of Upton and Long Lednam for ten years, as well as any other that he should obtain within that term. The Queen also promised him the Mastership of St. Catherine's, upon the removal or death of Dr. Mallet who was then possessed of it, notwithstanding which, however, it was afterwards given to Dr. Wilson. One may hence collect, that he had frequent employment given him, upon which these pretensions were founded, but that, notwithstanding, his credit at Court was not sufficient to overcome the publick odium he lay under, and which was the true cause of his missing these and other greater preferments (9).

(9) Comp. Rehearsall, ch. iv.

tion of manuſcripts, moſt of which were afterwards diſperſed and loſt (*x*) [*F*]. In 1572 the appearance of a new ſtar, occaſioned, according to the humour of that age, many ſtrange, and ſome very ſuperſtitious ſpeculations, the true principles of Aſtronomy being but indifferently underſtood. We need not wonder, when ſo fair an opportunity offered, that our author ſhould make a diſplay of his abilities among the reſt (*y*); but it certainly deſerves to be remembered to his honour, that the learned Camden, taking notice, in his hiſtory of this phænomenon, was pleaſed, at the ſame time, to ſpeak of Mr. Dee with great reſpect (*z*) [*G*]. On the 16th of March, 1575, the Queen, attended by many of her Nobility, went to Mr. Dee's houſe, in order to have ſeen his library; but being informed, that his wife had been buried but a few hours before, ſhe declined going into the houſe, yet deſired him, however, to bring out a glaſs, but of what kind we find no where expreſſed, which had occaſioned much diſcourſe; which he accordingly did; ſhewed her the properties of it, and explained to her Majeſty their cauſes, in order to wipe off the aſperſion under which he had ſo long laboured, of being a Magician (*a*). In 1577 a comet appeared, which ſtruck weak minds with great apprehenſions, and made way for many wild and groundleſs predictions, which met with much more notice than they deſerved. Upon this occaſion Queen Elizabeth ſent for Mr. Dee to Windſor, where, for three days together, according as ſhe had leiſure, ſhe heard his diſcourſes upon that ſubject (*b*). He made many obſervations of this comet, and intended to have publiſhed the reſult of them, but his papers are loſt, and Dr. Smith very truly obſerves, that Aſtronomy will not much ſuffer by their miſcarriage (*c*); for, with all his learning, he was certainly one of the moſt ſuperſtitious and credulous men that age produced. The Queen, however, was ſo well pleaſed with the pains he took upon this occaſion, that ſhe gave him her promiſe he ſhould not be interrupted in his lucubrations, and that, notwithſtanding the vulgar reports to his prejudice, he might depend upon her royal protection in the proſecution of his ſtudies (*d*). In the ſucceeding year her Majeſty, being greatly indiſpoſed, he was ſent abroad to confer with the German Phyſicians, and upon this and other occaſions, received, as he has left inconteſtible evidence to prove, ſome very memorable tokens of the Queen's affording countenance to his endeavours; though certainly they were none of the wiſeſt, and could be excuſed only by the honeſty of his intention (*e*) [*H*]. In reſpect to

(*x*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 143.

(*y*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 5, 6.

(*z*) Annal. Eliz. p. 272.

(*a*) Comp. Rehearſall, ch. ix.

(*b*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 18.

(*c*) This comet was obſerved by Tycho Brahe very exactly.

(*d*) Comp. Rehearſall, ch. v.

(*e*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 13.

[*F*] *Moſt of which were afterwards diſperſed and loſt.*] This library of his conſiſted of four thouſand books, of which above a fourth part were manuſcripts. He had ſpent nearly forty years in collecting them, and they had been valued by thoſe who were good judges at two thouſand pounds (10). Amongſt his inſtruments there was a quadrant made by the famous Richard Chancellor, of five foot ſemidiameter; two globes of Mercator's, a loadſtone of great value, a very curious clock, a great collection of original Iriſh records, the like collection of Welſh records, grants, donations, and pedigrees; a box full of ſeals, and other curioſities of the ſame kind. A great part of theſe he ſays he took out of the corner of a church, where many of them had been ſpoiled and rotted, by the falling of the rain continually upon them through the decayed roof. He does not tell us what church this was, but I have reaſon to believe that it was Wigmore chapel, becauſe I find that he applied himſelf to Sir William Cecil afterwards Lord Burleigh, for an order to Mr. Harley, Keeper of the Records in that chapel, to be allowed the liberty of examining and tranſcribing them (11). He had likewiſe a large chemical laboratory, the materials of which coſt him upwards of two hundred pounds. It was upon his leaving the kingdom in 1583, as is afterwards related in the text, that the populace, who always believed him to be a conjurer, and one who dealt with the devil, broke into his houſe at Mortlake, where they tore and deſtroyed many things, and diſperſed the reſt, part of which, with great difficulty, and by the help of publick authority, he recovered, but the reſt were totally loſt, at leaſt to him. We may judge from the expence he was at in making and procuring this collection, that he obtained occaſionally, very conſiderable bounties from the Queen, or from her Miniſters, ſince it does not appear that any great fortune was left him by his father, and he was beſides, as might be very eaſily proved, a very expenſive man (12).

(10) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 17. Compend. Rehearſall, ch. vii.

(11) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 354.

(12) Hooke's Poſthumous Works, p. 206.

[*G*] *Was pleaſed at the ſame time to ſpeak of Mr. Dee with great reſpect.*] This paſſage in Camden, being both ſingular and ſhort, the reader will perhaps be pleaſed to ſee, as it gives us ſome light into our author's notions as an aſtronomer (13). 'I know not whether 'it be worth while, ſays he, to mention that which all 'Hiſtoriographers of our time have recorded, viz. 'That in November, a new Star appeared in Caſſiopea's Chair, which, as myſelf obſerved, in brightneſs 'exceeded Jupiter in the perigee of his excentrick 'and epicycle. It continued in the ſame place full 'ſixteen months, being carried about with the diurnal 'motion of the Heaven. Thomas Diggs and John 'Dee, two famous mathematicians amongſt us, have 'learnedly proved, by the doctrine of parallaxes, that 'it was in the celeſtial, not in the elementary region, 'and were of opinion, that it diſappeared by a little 'and little, by aſcending. 'Tis certain, that after 'eight months, all men perceived it to grow leſs 'and leſs. Theodore Beza, wittily applied it to the 'ſtar which appeared at the birth of Chriſt, and the 'ſlaughter of the infants under Herod, and admoniſhed 'Charles IX, King of France, who had acknowledged 'himſelf author of the maſſacre of Paris, to beware in 'this verſe,

'Tu vero, Herodes ſanguinolente, time.

'Nor was he out in his conjecture. For in the 5th 'month after the diſappearing of this ſtar, after long 'and horrible pains, he died of exceſſive bleeding.'

(13) Camden, Annal. Eliz. p. 272.

[*H*] *By the honeſty of his intention.*] It is certain, that, according as manners and cuſtoms vary in ſeveral ages, people are apt to change the notions of things, which muſt be an excuſe for our venturing to cenſure that ſingular reſpect which was paid to our author by Queen Elizabeth, and the principal perſons of her court. To juſtify theſe cenſures, we muſt have recourſe to his own pen, where ſpeaking, or rather writing, of what he did in the year 1577, and the next year, he delivers himſelf thus (14). 'My careful and faith-'ful endeavour was with great ſpeed required, as by 'divers meſſages ſent to me one after another in one 'morning, to prevent the miſchief which divers of her 'Majeſty's Privy-Council ſuſpected to be intended a-'gainſt her Majeſty's perſon, by means of a certain 'image of wax, with a great pin ſtuck into it, about 'the breaſt of it, found in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, &c. 'wherein I did ſatisfie her Majeſty's deſire, and the 'Lords of the honourable Privy-Council within few 'hours, in godly and artificial manner, as the honour-'able Mr. Secretary Wilſon, whom at the leaſt I re-'quired to have by me a witneſs of the proceedings, 'which his Honour, before me, declared to her Ma-'jeſty, then ſitting without the Privy Park, by the 'landing place at Richmond, the honourable Earl of 'Leiceſter being alſo by.

(14) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. v.

'My

to this, the Queen muſt have been very thoroughly ſatisfied; and, as ſhe was a very wiſe Princeſs, and could judge perfectly of the diſpoſitions of men, ſhe knew how to diſpoſe them to her ſervice, of what kind ſoever they were; and of this it may be, that few better inſtances can be given than in our author, whoſe parts, learning, and application were equally extraordinary, and might have performed great things, if under the direction of a ſound and ſolid judgment. This, certainly, the Queen ſometimes laboured to ſupply; for September 17, 1580, as ſhe came from Richmond to London in her coach, ſhe took Mortlake in the way, and ſeeing Mr. Dee at his door, beckoned him to come to her, and, when he was at the coach-ſide, pulled off her glove, gave him her hand to kiſs, deſired him to come oftener to Court, and to let her know, by ſome of her Privy-Chamber, that he was there (*f*). At this time it is highly probable that ſhe gave him a hint of her deſire to be thoroughly informed as to her title to countries diſcovered in different parts of the globe, by ſubjects of England, or perſons employed in the ſervice of any of her predeceſſors; to which the indefatigable Mr. Dee applied himſelf with ſuch vigour, that, on the 3d of October following, he preſented to the Queen, in her garden at Richmond, two large rolls, in which thoſe countries were geographically deſcribed, and hiſtorically explained; with the addition of all the teſtimonies and authorities neceſſary to ſupport them from records, and other authentick vouchers. Theſe the Queen very graciouſly received, and, after dinner, the ſame day, conferred with Mr. Dee about them in the preſence of ſome of the Privy Council, and of the Lord Treaſurer eſpecially (*g*). That wiſe man ſeemed not to have an high opinion of them, but the Queen directed him to peruſe and examine them, which he did, and then returned them to Mr. Dee, on the 10th of the ſame month; and the ſame day, about five in the afternoon, the Queen came to our author's houſe, called for him, and told him, that the Treaſurer highly approved of the pains he had taken, and of what he had performed in this reſpect for her ſervice (*h*). This work of his, for a copy of which, he aſſures us, he was offered one hundred pounds, but refuſed it, as a thing improper for him to grant, is ſtill preſerved in the Cotton Library (*i*). His next employment, of conſequence enough to be remembered, was about the reformation of the Calendar, which, though it never took effect, yet was one of the beſt of his performances, did him the moſt credit with thoſe who were the beſt judges (*k*), and procured him the honour of many converſations with the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, who not only vouchſafed to read his book very carefully, but alſo wrote his ſentiments upon it to his ſon Sir Robert Cecil (*l*), who likewiſe made notes upon it; and, though it was never publiſhed, yet it has paſſed through the hands of ſeveral of our moſt eminent Mathematicians with ſingular approbation, conſidering the time in which it was compoſed [*I*].

(*f*) Compendious Rehearſall, ch. iv.

(*g*) See the catalogue of his Works, No. 3. Vita Joannis Dee, p. 19.

(*h*) Compendious Rehearſall, ch. iv.

(*i*) Sub Auguſto.

(*k*) See this fully proved in note [*I*].

(*l*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. pp. 354, 355.

We

'My dutiful ſervice was done in the diligent conference, which, by her Majeſty's commandment, I had with Mr. Dr. Bayley, her Majeſty's phyſician, about her Majeſty's grievous pangs and pains, by reaſon of tooth-ache, and the rheume, &c. A. 1578, October.

'My very painful and winter journey, about a thouſand five hundred miles by ſea and land, was undertaken and performed, to conſult with the learned phyſicians and philoſophers beyond the ſeas, for her Majeſty's health recovering and preſerving, having by the Right Honourable Earl of Leiceſter, and Mr. Secretary Walſingham, but one hundred days allowed unto me to go and come again in, A. 1578. My paſſport may ſomewhat give evidence, and the journal little book of every day's journey or abode for thoſe hundred days account may ſuffice.' It is not at all impoſſible, that Mr. Dee might render other, and thoſe too, more conſiderable ſervices than any of theſe which he has mentioned, and which he might have his reaſons for not inſerting. Such as are acquainted with Leiceſter's Common-Wealth, and other ſecret hiſtories of thoſe times, will eaſily allow this to be credible, and may perhaps form a ſhrewd gueſs at the nature of thoſe ſervices (15).

(15) Leiceſter's Common-wealth, p. 31.

[*I*] *Conſidering the time in which it was compoſed.*] The reader will find the title of this, amongſt the reſt of the works of Mr. Dee, in a ſubſequent note. It was addreſſed to the Lord Burleigh, but without any epiſtle dedicatory or apology whatever. At the end of it there was a petition to the Queen, that this reformation of his might receive the ſanction of publick authority; to facilitate which, there is added a ſcheme of the year, 1583, as it would have ſtood, if, as our author flattered himſelf, his propoſal had taken place (16). We know not by what means this learned treatiſe came into the hands of Mr. Thomas Allen of Glouceſter-Hall, but very probably it might be by gift, ſince Mr. Dee was his particular friend, and both of them favourites with the Earl of Leiceſter. He diſpoſed of it by will to Sir Kenelm Digby, who, notwithſtanding he gave a large number of manuſcripts to the Bodleian Library, kept this nevertheleſs in his own hands, till in the year 1635 he beſtowed it upon Mr. John Barber, from whom it was purchaſed by Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; and remains ſtill amongſt the manuſcripts beſtowed by him on the Univerſity of Oxford (17). At the time it was compoſed and preſented to the Lord Treaſurer, it was referred by the Privy-Council to the peruſal and examination of three of the beſt Mathematicians in the kingdom; and their report, as it is a curioſity, the reader will perhaps be glad to ſee. It runs thus (18).

(16) See the catalogue of his Works, No. 38.

(17) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 20.

'It was agreed by Mr. Digges, Mr. Savile, and Mr. Chambers, that upon their ſeveral peruſal of the book written by Mr. Dee, as a diſcourſe upon the Reformation of the Vulgar Calendar for the Civil Year, that they do allow of his opinion; that whereas in the late Roman Calendar reformed, there are ten days cut off to reduce the Civil Year to the ſtate it was eſtabliſhed in at the Council of Nice; the better reformation had been to have cut off eleven days, and to have reduced the Civil Year according to the ſtate it was in at the Birth of Chriſt. And ſo they all agree, that ſuch a reformation had been more agreeable to the account of Chriſt. And ſo they do alſo aſſent, that having agreed to the Council of Nice, the ſubſtraction of ten days is agreeable to truth: And therefore, the better to agree with all countries adjacent, that have received their reformation of ſubſtracting ten days only, they think it may be aſſented unto without any manifeſt error; having regard to obſerve certain rules hereafter, for omitting ſome leap-years. And for the ſubſtracting of ten days, Mr. Dee has compiled a form of a calendar, beginning at May and ending at Auguſt, wherein every of theſe four months, May, June, July Auguſt, ſhall have in the ends of them ſome days taken away, without changing of any feaſt of holiday, moveable or fixed, or without altering the courſes of Trinity Term,

(18) Smith's Manuſcript Collections, Vol. XC. p. 139.

'that

We come now to that period of Mr. Dee's life, by which he has been moſt known to the world, though for matters which have rendered him very juſtly leaſt to be regarded, inaſmuch as they ſhew, that he had not only a boundleſs curioſity, but likewiſe a depraved judgment. His ambition to ſurpaſs all men in knowledge, carried him, at length, into a deſire of knowing beyond the bounds of human faculties, and, in order thereto, of having recourſe to methods equally contrary to the laws of God, and to the rules of right reaſon (*m*). In ſhort, he ſuffered himſelf to be deluded into a firm opinion, that, by certain invocations, an intercourſe of communication with ſpirits might he obtained, whence he flattered himſelf he might gain great inſight into thoſe which are ſtiled occult ſciences, and which, in truth, are no ſciences at all. He found, very unluckily for him, a young man, who had dipped more deeply into the practice of theſe follies than himſelf, one Edward Kelley, a native of Worceſterſhire, and who readily undertook to be his inſtrument in theſe matters, for which he was to give him fifty pounds a year (*n*). December 2, 1581, they began their incantations; in conſequence of which Edward Kelley was, by the inſpection of a certain table, conſecrated for that purpoſe, with many ſuperſtitious ceremonies, enabled to acquaint Mr. Dee with what the ſpirits thought fit to ſhew and diſcover. Theſe conferences were continued for about two years, during which ſpace he ſeems to have totally deſerted his former ſtudies, and to have addicted himſelf entirely to theſe ſpecious and deluſive arts, to which, though ſome inſinuate that he was invited and encouraged by Edward Kelley, yet there ſeems to be no clear proof of this, but rather the contrary; for Mr. Dee ſeems to have ſought out Kelley for his purpoſe, retained him long afterwards when he was deſirous of leaving him, and had recourſe to the ſame methods ſome years after Kelley and he were parted (*o*). The ſubjects of theſe converſations he committed to writing, and they are ſtill preſerved, though they were never publiſhed [*K*]. In the mean time there came over hither a Poliſh Lord, one Albert

(*m*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 46.

(*n*) Aſhmole's Theatrum Chemicum, p. 479.

(*o*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 23. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 143.

' that is to ſay, May to conſiſt of twenty-eight days, ' taking from it three days; June to have twenty-' nine days, taking from it but one day; July to ' conſiſt of twenty eight days, taking from it three ' days; Auguſt to conſiſt of twenty eight days, tak-' ing from it three days; all which days ſubſtracted, ' make ten days. In the which four months, no ' feſtival day is changed, but remain upon the ac-' cuſtomed days of their months. And becauſe the ' Roman Calendar hath joined to it a great company ' of rules, of which only are capable the ſkilful com-' putiſts of aſtronomers, it is thought good to make ' a ſhort table, like an Ephemerides, to continue ' the certainty of all the feaſts movable, depending ' only upon Eaſter, and agreeing with the Roman ' Calendar, which may ſerve for an hundred or two ' hundred years, and ſo eaſily renewed as we ſee yearly ' almanacks are, if the ſins of the world do not haſten ' a diſſolution.

' Whereupon her Majeſty may pleaſe, upon re-' port to commit it to conſideration of counſel, whe-' ther ſhe will have this reformation publiſhed, ' which if ſhe will, it were expedient that it were ' done by proclamation from her Majeſty, as there-' unto adviſed and allowed by the Archbiſhops ' and Biſhops, to whoſe office it has always be-' longed to determine and eſtabliſh the cauſes be-' longing to eccleſiaſtical government. March 25, ' 1583.'

I intended to have added here the ſentiments of the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh upon Mr Dee's project, which not only ſhew the great opinion that able ſtateſman had of our author's learning; but do alſo much honour to that Miniſter's memory, as they clearly demonſtrate how much attention he ſhewed to whatever came before him, and had any tendency to the publick benefit (19). But conſidering that this life has already ſwelled beyond the bounds which I deſigned it, I ſhall content myſelf with pointing out where the papers of Lord Burleigh, and of his ſon Sir Robert Cecil, may be ſtill found by the inquiſitive reader. I think myſelf, however, obliged to add, that whenever this matter has been in later times brought upon the carpet, we never fail of finding Mr. Dee's opinion mentioned, and his treatiſe upon this ſubject conſulted. As for inſtance, when this matter was propoſed at Oxford in 1645, the celebrated Mr. John Greaves, then the ableſt man in theſe matters, conſidered and commended what John Dee had written; and in 1699, when moſt people expected that ſomething of this kind would have been done, the very judicious Dr. Wallis, though he was againſt any alteration, and actually hindered it, yet approved clearly of what our author had delivered (20). This abundantly ſhews, that with all his whims and weakneſſes, Mr. Dee was a man of learning and ſenſe, and that there is no reaſon for burying his memory or his writings in oblivion. Yet as impartiality and truth ought ever to appear in collections of this kind, it is but juſt this note ſhould be concluded with an intimation that poſſibly Mr. Dee himſelf might derive great aſſiſtance from a treatiſe written long before by the incomparable Roger Bacon (21) upon this ſubject.

(19) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. P. 355.

(20) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 257. § 4.

(21) Biog. Brit. Vol. I. p. 429.

[*K*] *Though they were never publiſhed.*] We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to mention the collections ſent abroad by the learned Meric Caſaubon, out of the Cottonian Library, which begin in the month of May, 1583. At preſent we are to take notice of what are ſtill preſerved, though not publiſhed (22). Theſe conſiſt of the firſt five books of Dr. Dee's tranſactions with ſpirits, all written with his own hand, with as much care and exactneſs as poſſible. They begin with what was performed upon the 22d of December, 1581, and have an appendix, in which the hiſtory is continued to the 23d of May, 1583; and as Caſaubon's book begins with the 28th of the the ſame month, there is nothing more evident than that the entire hiſtory of what paſſed while Dee and Kelley were together, is yet in being. This firſt part was very near being burnt in the cheſt which contained it, in the great fire of London, in 1666; but being preſerved by accident, and without any body's knowing what the contents of that cheſt were, the diſcovery of them, when they came to be opened, made ſo much noiſe, as reached the ears of Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; a great collector of curious papers, and indeed of ſingularities of every kind. By him they were purchaſed, cleanſed, digeſted into their proper order, and, together with many more valuable monuments of the knowledge and induſtry of our anceſtors, are repoſited in his noble Muſeum (23). The reaſon of my being thus particular, in which however I follow the example of Dr. Smith, is this: there has been, as the reader will be informed hereafter, a very ſtrong ſuſpicion (though, for my own part, I muſt confeſs I think there is little ground for it) that this regular hiſtory of Mr. Dee's interconrſe with ſpirits is a mere mummery; that we are the dupes, not he; and that the whole ought to be conſidered as a journal of private intelligence, which he received and tranſmitted to the Court of Queen Elizabeth, in the ſpace of between ſix and ſeven years, that he continued in thoſe parts. Now if any ingenious and inquiſitive perſon ſhould ever be able to make this out, or ſo much as ſhew it to be probable, it would become a matter of great conſequence to know where the unprinted part of theſe tranſactions is, and to what period of time it extends, a due ſenſe of which gave occaſion to this note.

(22) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 23.

(23) In the 3d Vol. of Papers written by, and relating to, Mr. Dee.

Laſki, Palatine of Siradia, a perſon diſtinguiſhed by his great parts and extenſive learning, no leſs than by his high birth, and the honourable ſtation he held in his own country. He was very kindly received, treated with the utmoſt reſpect, and, in a very extraordinary degree, careſſed by perſons of the firſt rank during his ſtay in England, and, amongſt the reſt, by Robert Earl of Leiceſter, the Queen's great favourite, and our Author's chief patron (*p*). To contribute more effectually to this foreigner's ſatisfaction, that Earl ſent for Mr. Dee to Court, July 31, 1583, and told him, that, in two days time, he would bring that Poliſh Lord to dine with him, which obliged Mr. Dee to diſcloſe his circumſtances plainly to the Earl, importing no leſs than that, without ſelling his plate, he was not able to provide them with a dinner; which declaration procured him, that very day, upon the Queen's coming to Sion from Greenwich, a preſent of forty angels in gold (*q*). This foreigner being once introduced, became a conſtant viſitant to Mr. Dee, and, having himſelf a biaſs to thoſe ſuperſtitious arts that, in thoſe times, were but in too much credit in almoſt all the Courts in Europe, he became wonderfully taken with the company of one whom he eſteemed to be ſo great a man, in poſſeſſion of ſuch high and valuable ſecrets, and who, as he perſuaded himſelf, had a conſtant communication with the Angels and ſpiritual Beings (*r*). After much intreaty, he was received, by Mr. Dee, into their company, and into a participation of their ſecrets (*s*). But, within a ſhort ſpace of time, all their affairs running into great diſorder, the Palatine of Siradia propoſed that they ſhould accompany him, with their families, into his own country; to which, upon aſſurance of being provided for there, Mr. Dee and Mr. Kelley yielded; and accordingly, September the 21ſt, in the ſame year, they went all privately away from Mortlake, in order to embark for Holland (*t*)[*L*]. After running great hazards at ſea, they landed at the Brill, and thence travelled by land through Germany into Poland, where, February 3, 1584, they arrived at the principal caſtle belonging to Albert Laſki (*u*), whom, together with all his family, they miſerably abuſed with their fanatical pretences to a converſation with ſpirits. But, at length, wearied with theſe deluſions, the Palatine of Siradia found means to engage them to leave that country, to go and pay a viſit to the Emperor Rodolph the IId, at the city of Prague, the capital of his kingdom of Bohemia, which they accordingly did; and, in the month of Auguſt, the ſame year (*w*), by the recommendation of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, Mr. Dee had an audience of that Prince, who was thought to ſpend too much of his time with chemiſts, and ſuch ſort of people, and to allow them a greater meaſure of reſpect than they deſerved (*x*). It is no wonder, therefore, that Rodolph was inclined to hear what a man, who had made ſo much noiſe over Europe, had to offer; the rather, as he pleaded the protection of his father, the Emperor Maximilian, to whom he had dedicated one of his books (*y*); but Dee entered into ſuch a tedious diſplay of his own importance, and ſuch extravagant ſtories of the chryſtal that was brought him by an angel (*z*), that he was quickly diſgulted, and declined all farther interviews (*a*). Upon this Mr. Dee, who had made a tour into Poland (*b*), and brought away his wife and family from thence, finding himſelf in deep diſtreſs, and not knowing how to ſubſiſt, applied himſelf to his old patron Albert Laſki (*c*), whom he prevailed upon to introduce him to Stephen King of Poland; which accordingly he did, April 17, 1585, at Cracow (*d*). But that Prince, after hearing what he had to propoſe, detected his deluſions ſo clearly, that, deſparing of making any great figure in that Court, he reſolved, in a few months, to return to Prague (*e*), his pride being ſuch, that he could not bear ſtaying long in a place, where thoſe honours were refuſed, which he had the vanity to think were due even from the greateſt Potentates, to a perſon of his extraordinary merit. He did not remain long in that high credit he ſo much affected, on his return to the Emperor's Court; for the Pope's Nuncio interfering,

(*p*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 400.

(*q*) Compend. Rehearſall, ch. iv.

(*r*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 143.

(*s*) Relations of Dr. Dee's Actions with Spirits, pp. 20. 22. 25.

(*t*) Aſhmole's Theatrum Chemicum, p. 481. from Mr. Dee's Diary. Relation of Dr. Dee's Actions with Spirits, p. 33.

(*u*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 27.

(*w*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 143.

(*x*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 28, 29.

(*y*) Relation of Dr. Dee's Actions with Spirits, pp. 230, 231.

(*z*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 143.

(*a*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 30. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 143.

(*b*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 31.

(*c*) Relation of Dr. Dee's Actions with Spirits, p. 379.

(*d*) Vita Joannis Dee, p 33.

(*e*) Relation of Dr. Dee's Actions with Spirits, pp. 403. 408.

[*L*] *In order to embark for Holland.*] In this note I ſhall endeavour to give ſome particulars, as to the ſtate and condition of the ſeveral perſons in this company, as being very neceſſary for the better apprehending the facts ſtated in the text. Albert Laſki was a learned man, middle-aged, well-ſhaped, of a graceful appearance, and who wore a very long beard. He had been received with all imaginable reſpect here in England, and feaſted and careſſed by the Univerſity of Oxford; but after ſtaying about four months in this kingdom, he privately withdrew, ſays the hiſtorian, being got deeply into debt (24). It is not at all improbable, that he might have been drawn into theſe bad circumſtances through his acquaintance with Dee and his family; for, as we have ſeen, they were in extreme want when this Poliſh gentleman arrived. That they flattered him in a high degree is very apparent, ſince it is owned that they promiſed him the kingdom of Poland, with the addition of Moldavia, and deviſed a pedigree for him, as if he had deſcended from the noble Houſe of Lacy, allied, by their intermarriages with the Mortimers, to the Blood-royal of England (25). As for John Dee, he was now in the fifty ſeventh year of his age, and on the 5th of February, 1578, had married Jane Fromond, his ſecond wife, who had formerly lived in the family of the Lady Howard, wife to the Lord High-Admiral. His ſon Arthur was then in the fourth year of his age, and beſides, he had two or three other children (26). Edward Kelley was in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and had lately married a wife, by whom he had no children. They went in boats down to Graveſend, where they embarked on board a Daniſh ſhip bound for Holland, their houſhold-ſtuff and effects being on board another ſhip; but meeting with very tempeſtuous weather, they were obliged to go on ſhore again at Queenborough in Kent, and in their paſſage from the ſhip, were in the utmoſt danger of periſhing. On the 3d of October, they ſet out from the Brill for Rotterdam; on the 17th of the ſame month they came to Emden; and on the 26th to Bremen, where they ſtaid for ſome time. On the 7th of November they came to Lubeck, and on the 14th of December to Roſtock, from thence on Chriſtmas-day to Stetin in Pomerania, and on the 3d of February, 1584, to the town of Laſki (27).

(24) Camden. Annal. p. 400.

(25) See the beginning of the relation of Dr. Dee's Actions with Spirits, publiſhed by Dr. Caſaubon.

(26) Vita Joannis Dee, pp. 22. 26.

(27) Theſe dates are collected from Dee's own Diary.

fering, and giving the Emperor to understand how scandalous it appeared to the Christian world, that he should entertain two such notorious magicians as Dee and Kelley, his Imperial Majesty, at last, resolved to banish them his dominions (*f*), which he accordingly did; but, notwithstanding this, William Count of Rosenbergh, a young nobleman, who had great power, and a vast estate in Bohemia, one of their pupils, gave them shelter in the castle of Trebona (*g*), which belonged to him, and where they not only remained in safety, but lived in splendour, Kelley having, in his possession, (as is reported) that philosophical powder of projection, by which they were furnished with money, not competently only but profusely (*h*) [*M*]. While they were in this situation, Mr. Dee was still very earnest in the prosecution of their commerce with spirits, notwithstanding that Kelley, from time to time, expressed great reluctancy, gave him frequently to understand that he was in a miserable state of delusion, and that those which he took for angels were evil spirits, and from the profligate actions, and scandalous impurities, which, by their suggestions, (if the whole are not downright romances) they were drawn into manifestly appeared (*i*). But Kelley, in the mean time, made frequent journies to different places, once into Poland, and often elsewhere, to confer with the most famous chemists, of which there were many at that time in Germany; and from them it is thought he learned many things about the powder (*k*) which they brought out of England, that he did not communicate to his friend Mr. Dee. This seems to be certain, that there were great quarrels and disputes between them, and such jealousids and heart-burnings in their families, as brought on, at length, an absolute rupture. But, in this transaction, Kelley seemed to have acted a much wiser part than his companion, since it appears, from an entry in Mr. Dee's Diary, that he was so far intimidated, as to deliver up to Kelley, January 4, 1589, the powder, the books, the glass, with some other things; and thereupon received his discharge in writing, under his hand and seal (*l*). This transaction, of which no footsteps remain but what is contained in the entry before-mentioned, there is good reason to believe, proved the foundation of Kelley's future fortunes, and the source of Dee's subsequent miseries (*m*). The noise that their adventures made in the world, if not some secret and more material reason, induced Queen Elizabeth and her Ministers to invite Mr. Dee home, to which he was at length persuaded; and on the 1st of May, 1589 (*n*), he set out from Trebona in his way to England. On the 9th of April he arrived at Breame, where he received a letter of compliment from the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, to whom, in return, he made a present of twelve Hungarian horses. November the 16th he came to Staden, where he met with Mr, afterwards Sir Edward Dyer, who was going as the Queen's Ambassador to Denmark, and who had been sent the year before to him from the Court. Besides all this, he was attended by a guard of horse (*o*), whom he paid very liberally, and, besides waggons for his goods, had no less than three coaches for the use of his family; so that the whole of his charges, in this short journey, as he stated it to the Queen's Commissioners, fell short only by four of the sum of eight hundred pounds (*p*). Upon the 23d of November following he landed at Gravesend, and, on the 9th of December, presented himself to the Queen at Rich-

(*f*) Vita Joannis Dee, pp. 35, 36.

(*g*) Relation of Dr. Dee's Actions with Spirits, p. 444.

(*h*) Ashmole's Theatrum Chemicum, p. 481. Dr. Dee's Diary.

(*i*) Relation of Dr. Dee's Actions with Spirits. P. ii. pp. 16, 17, 19, 20.

(*k*) Ashmole's Theatrum Chemicum, p. 482.

(*l*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 53. Theatrum Chemicum, p. 482.

(*m*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 144.

(*n*) Theatrum Chemicum, p. 482.

(*o*) Compendious Rehearsall, ch. ix. Vita Joannis Dee, p. 39.

(*p*) Comp. Rehearsall, ch. ix.

[*M*] *Not competently only, but profusely.*] It is very remarkable that in all Dr. Dee's book of Transactions with Spirits, though there is mention more than once of the powder, and of Kelley's finding it in the earth, yet there is not the least circumstance of their making projection. But from the time of their coming to Trebona we find no more lamentations for want of money, and that before his departure Mr. Dee delivered up the powder to Kelley; yet, perhaps, not without some small reserve, as we shall see hereafter reason to believe. Mr. Ashmole found in Dee's private diary some hints as if Kelley (28) had communicated the great secret to him, of which, however, there is not the least probability. Anthony Wood tells us, that at this time Arthur Dee, who was about eight years old, played at quoits with pieces of gold made by projection, as the young Count Rosenbergh did with pieces of silver. This is very certain, that Sir Edward Dyer, Queen Elizabeth's Minister, firmly believed that Kelley had the powder at least, if not the secret, and made Queen Elizabeth, and even the Lord Treasurer Burleigh believe it, which cost Sir Edward a short confinement at Prague; and Kelley, who was then become a Baron by the Emperor's parent, his life. Sir Thomas Brown, the famous physician of Norwich, gave the following account in a letter to Anthony Wood, of what he had learned from the mouth of Dr. Arthur Dee, son to John Dee, upon this subject (29).

(28) Theatrum Chemicum, p. 432.

(29) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 142.

'That he, the said Arthur, hath affirmed to him 'with an oath, that he had seen projection made by 'his father and Kelley, and transmutation of pewter 'dishes and flaggons into silver, which the gold-'smiths of Prague bought of them.—That the said 'transmutation was made by a small powder they 'had found in some old place, and a book lying by 'it containing nothing but Hieroglyphicks, which 'book his father bestowed much time upon, but he 'could not hear that he could make it out. He 'said also, that Kelley dealt not justly with his fa-'ther, and that he went away with the greatest part 'of the powder, and was afterwards imprisoned 'by the Emperor in a certain castle, from whence 'attempting an escape, he fell and broke his leg, 'and was imprisoned again: That his father, Dr. 'John Dee, presented Queen Elizabeth with a little 'part of the powder, who, having made trial thereof, 'she attempted to get Kelley out of prison, and sent 'certain persons for that purpose, who, giving opium-'drink to the keepers, laid them so fast a sleep that 'Kelley found an opportunity to attempt an escape, 'and there were horses ready to carry him away, 'but the business unhappily succeeded. Arthur Dee 'was a youth when he saw the projection made in 'Bohemia, with which he was so inflamed, that he 'fell wholly upon that study, and read not much 'all his life but books of that subject.—Two years 'before his death he contracted with John Huni-'ades, or Hans Hungar, in London, to be his ope-'rator. This Hans Hungar having lived long in 'London, and growing in years, he resolved to re-'turn to Hungary; whereupon going first to Am-'sterdam, he had orders given him to remain there 'till Dr. Arthur Dee came to him.—The Doctor, 'to my knowledge, was serious in this matter, and 'had provided all things in readiness to go, but sud-'denly he heard that Hans Hungar was dead, and 'so desisted, &c.'

mond, and was very graciouſly received (*q*). He retired ſoon after to his own houſe at Mortlake, which he found in a very ſad condition, and, by the aſſiſtance of perſons in power, began to collect together the ſcattered remains of his library, and the furniture belonging to it; in which he was more ſucceſsful than he could well expect, ſince he recovered about three-fourths of his books, and did not eſtimate his whole loſs at full four hundred pounds (*r*). It is amazing to find how ſoon he was in wants again, of which the Queen had quickly notice, as well as of the vexations he ſuffered on account of the averſion the common people had conceived againſt him (*s*). To diſpel the former, the Queen, in 1590, promiſed to give him two hundred angels to keep his Chriſtmas; one half of which ſum he received, and gives a broad hint, that the Queen and himſelf were cheated of the other (*t*). To quiet his apprehenſions as to the latter, ſhe ſent him a meſſage by Thomas Cavendiſh, Eſq; that he might freely purſue his ſtudies, and depend upon her protection and favour; of which indeed he received, from time to time, continual proofs (*u*) [*N*]. He yet retained as much credit as ever with ſuch of his old friends as were living (*w*); for as to the Earl of Leiceſter, and many other of his former patrons, they were taken away by death during his abſence. Of thoſe that were left he received frequent viſits, ſome preſents, and very kind offers, particularly from Sir Thomas Jones (*x*), who would have given him his caſtle of Emlin in Wales, with all neceſſary accommodations to live in; which, however, he did not think fit to accept, as depending upon far greater helps from the Queen (*y*). At length, however, after meeting with many diſappointments, his creditors growing impatient, and ſome of his friends leſs ready to grant him their aſſiſtance than he had formerly found them, he took a reſolution of applying in ſuch a manner to the Queen as might, at laſt, procure him ſome ſettled ſubſiſtence. Accordingly, November 9th, 1592, he ſent the Queen a memorial by the Counteſs of Warwick (*z*), in which he very earneſtly preſſed, that commiſſioners might be appointed to hear his pretenſions, to ſee and examine the teſtimonies he was able to exhibit in ſupport of his ſeveral claims, to receive a juſt ſtate of his affairs, to know what would relieve, and give him ſatisfaction, and, finally, to report all theſe to her Majeſty. This had a good effect: for, upon the 22d of the ſame month, Mr Wolley, who was the Queen's Secretary for the Latin tongue, and Sir Thomas Gorge, went, by her Majeſty's command, to Mortlake (*a*), where Mr Dee exhibited a book, containing a diſtinct account of all the memorable tranſactions of his life, thoſe which occurred in his laſt journey abroad only excepted; and as he read this hiſtorical narration, he produced all the letters, grants and other evidences requiſite to confirm them, and, where theſe were wanting, named living witneſſes (*b*). This original book falling into the hands of the learned Dr Thomas Smith, induced him to write his Latin life of our author (*c*); and, though theſe memoirs are but uncouthly drawn up, as from the quotations the reader will ſufficiently diſcern, yet there ſeems to be no juſt ground to queſtion the truth of the matters of fact which they contain [*O*]. The point he chiefly laboured to carry, by this appli-

(*q*) Athen. Oxon Vol. II. col. 144. Theatrum Chemicum, p. 483.

(*r*) Compend. Rehearſal, ch. viii.

(*s*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 39.

(*t*) Compend. Rehearſal, ch. iv.

(*u*) Theatrum Chemicum, p. 483.

(*w*) Comp. Rehearſal, ch. x.

(*x*) Theatrum Chemicum, p. 483.

(*y*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 39.

(*z*) See that Memorial at the beginning of the Compendious Rehearſal.

(*a*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 439.

(*b*) All this appears from the Compendious Rehearſal, which is the book mentioned.

(*c*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 40.

[*N*] *He received from time to time continual proofs:*] The Queen graciouſly recommended Mr Dee to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, deſiring that ſome proviſion might be made for him, and ſignified to him at the ſame time that Mr Dee's laſt journey abroad was not without her alliance (30), which is a point worthy of remark, becauſe the contrary ſeems apparent from all who have written any thing about him. In conſequence of this there was a grant made to Dr Aubrey, Maſter of Requeſts, of five advowſons of rectories in the dioceſe of St David's, to the amount in the whole of near one hundred pounds *per Annum*, in truſt for Mr Dee, which Grant ſerved only to raiſe a clamour againſt him as if he had received vaſt things from the Crown, and yet this Grant, like the reſt, never produced him a ſingle penny, though he obſerves that he paid all the fees that were uſually paid for paſſing it (31). It was the Archbiſhop alſo that thought of the Hoſpital of St Croſſe, affirming that it was a fit living for him, and Mr. Dee a fit man to have it. This induced our author to apply himſelf to the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, November 6, 1592, in hopes of having his aſſiſtance, who uſed him very civilly, and told him, That if he could procure any other friend to move it to her Majeſty, he would do as much as in him lay to ſupport his demand with the Queen, which was all he could deſire; and upon theſe motives he reſolved to petition the Queen for this Maſterſhip of St Croſſe, which the Queen herſelf had once before promiſed him, and ſhe had even given him room to hope that he ſhould be made Provoſt of Eaton (32).

(30) See the letter printed at the end of Dr Caſaubon's Preface.

(31) Compend Rehearſal, ch. iv.

(32) Idem, ibid.

[*O*] *To queſtion the truth of the matters of fact which they contain.*] The title of this work which he read to the Commiſſioners, the original of which ſtill remains in the Cotton Library (33), and a tranſcript of it amongſt Dr Smith's written collections, runs thus:

'The Compendious Rehearſal of John Dee, his du-
'tiful Declaration and Proof of the Courſe and Race
'of his ſtudious Life for the Space of half an hundred
'Years, now by God's Favour and Help fully ſpent,
'and of the very great Injuries, Damages, and In-
'dignities, which for theſe laſt nine Years he hath in
'England ſuſtained, contrary to her Majeſty's very
'gracious Will and expreſs Commandment made unto
'the two honourable Commiſſioners by her moſt Ex-
'cellent Majeſty thereto aſſigned, according to the In-
'tent of the moſt humble Supplication of the ſaid
'John, exhibited to her moſt Gracious Majeſty at
'Hampton-Court, *Ann.* 1592, Nov. 9.

(33) Vitellius C. VII.

This book is divided into fourteen chapters, with an appendix, which brings it down to the year 1593. In theſe he ſets forth the ſeveral facts that had been recited in the text; the offers made to him by the Univerſity of Oxford, and various foreign Univerſities, to have engaged him to have accepted of a Profeſſor's Chair; Letters upon particular occaſions from her Majeſty, the Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Leiceſter, the Lord Chancellor Hatton, the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, Sir Henry Sidney, Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and many others. He ſhews in what manner he had been injured; the ways he had ſubſiſted for ſeveral years, receiving in gifts five hundred pounds, and having run into debt to the amount of three hundred and three; the conſtant ſervices he had rendered the Queen; the many diſappointments he had met with, in which, to the preferments before mentioned, he adds the Wardenſhip of Wincheſter College and the Maſterſhip of Sherborne; nor does he forget what offers had been made him by Princes beyond the ſea, which, as a ſpecimen of this ſingular memorial of his own merit, be pleaſed to take in his own words (34).

'It may ſuffice me, a poor ſtudious gentleman, for
'my foreign credit for ever, that in this tract of my
ſtudious

(34) Compend Rehearſal, ch. x

application, was a grant of the Maſterſhip of St. Croſſe, then poſſeſſed by Dr. Bennet, when he ſhould be promoted to a Biſhoprick; and many reaſons he alledged, why that preferment would be more convenient, as well as more acceptable, to him than any other (*d*). Upon the report made by the Commiſſioners to the Queen, her Majeſty deſired the Lady Howard to comfort Mrs Dee by a letter and preſent, which Letter was brought by Mr. Secretary Wolley, on the 2d of December following, with a preſent of one hundred marks from the Queen, a promiſe of his having the preferment he deſired when it ſhould become vacant, and a penſion of two hundred pounds a year out of the revenues of the Biſhoprick of Oxford, till ſuch time as he could be put in poſſeſſion of it (*e*). Theſe promiſes, like the former, coming to nothing, he, on the 15th of February, 1593, having firſt conſulted his friend Sir John Wolley, engaged his patroneſs the Counteſs of Warwick to preſent another ſhort Latin petition to the Queen; but what followed upon that does not appear (*f*). However, December 8th, 1594, he obtained a grant of the Chancellorſhip of St. Paul's (*g*); but this not anſwering his end, he applied himſelf next by letter to Dr. Whitgift, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in which he inſerted a large account of all the books he had either publiſhed or written, of which ſome account will be given in the notes [*P*]. In conſequence

(*d*) Compendious Rehearſal, ch. xiii, xiv.

(*e*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 40. Compendious Rehearſal in the Appendix.

(*f*) This petition is likewiſe annexed to the book laſt cited.

(*g*) Theatrum Chemicum, p. 483.

'ſtudious race I might have ſerved five Chriſtian Em-
'perors, namely, Charles the Vth, Ferdinand, Maxi-
'milian, this Rodolph, and this preſent Moſcovite,
'of every one their ſtipend, directly or indirectly, of-
'fered, and mounting greater each than other, as from
'five hundred dollars yearly ſtipend, to a thouſand,
'two thouſand, three thouſand, and, laſtly, by a meſ-
'ſenger from this Ruſſia or Muſcovite Emperor, pur-
'poſely ſent with a very rich preſent unto me at Tre-
'bona Caſtle, and with proviſion for the whole jour-
'ney, (being above twelve hundred miles from the
'caſtle where I lay) of my coming to his court at
'Moſkow, (with my wife, children, and my whole
'family), there to enjoy at his Imperial hands two
'thouſand pounds ſterling, yearly ſtipend; and of his
'Protector yearly, a thouſand rubles, with my diet
'alſo to be allowed me free out of the Emperor's own
'kitchen, and to be in dignity with authority amongſt
'the higheſt ſort of the Nobility there, and of his
'Privy Councellors, &c. Of this laſt great prefer-
'ment offered, many Engliſhmen yet living, and in
'this kingdom, be witneſſes: the Landgrave of Heſſe
'Caſſel his letter is ready to be ſhowed, and other let-
'ters of men of credit can be ſufficient teſtimonies,
'beſides the fore-runner to ſeek me, and the Embaſ-
'ſadors or Meſſengers their own writings thereof here
'lying.

'*Note*, That the Commiſſioners jointly read two of
'the Teſtimonies.'

The laſt line of the quotation was left on purpoſe to ſhew the manner in which Mr. Dee proceeded; for he or one of his ſervants read the book, and then the letters, inſtruments, books, and other evidences were put into the Commiſſioners hands. It is indeed true, that we have only Dr. Dee's word for this: but then we muſt conſider that the book was not written to be publiſhed, conſequently not to impoſe upon the world, and the rewards afterwards promiſed, and more eſpecially the preferments obtained in conſequence of the Commiſſioners report, are an unexceptionable teſtimony that it was believed. One thing by the way: there was an entry of this matter in Mr. Dee's Diary, copied from thence by Mr. Aſhmole, but ſo as that if the work of Dee's had not remained, it might have rendered his whole hiſtory ſuſpicious; for Mr. Aſhmole has ſet down (35) Secretary Walſingham inſtead of Wolley, as one of the Commiſſioners, who was dead nearly two years before, miſled no doubt by Mr. Dee's writing only the initial letter of his name.

(35) Theatrum Chemicum, p. 480.

[*P*] *Of which ſome account will be given in the notes.*] This catalogue, is, for the moſt part, tranſcribed out of the ſixth chapter of the treatiſe mentioned in the foregoing note, with ſome explanations by Dr. Smith, to which we ſhould have added ſome others, if we had not been deterred by an apprehenſion that it might draw this article into too great a length; and, as they ſtand, theſe catalogues are very curious and correct.

Books printed and publiſhed.

I. Propædeumata Aphoriſtica: de præſtantioribus quibuſdam naturæ virtutibus Aphoriſmi. 12mo, Londini, anno 1558.

II. Monas Hieroglyphica ad Regem Romanorum Maximilianum. Antwerpiæ 1564.

III. Epiſtola ad eximium Ducis Urbini Mathematicum, Fredericum Commandinum, præfixa libello Machometi Bagdedini de ſuperficierum diviſionibus, edita opera Devi & ejuſdem Commandini Urbinatis. Piſauri 1570.

IV. *The Britiſh Monarchy, otherwiſe called The Petty Navy Royal*, 1576 (36).

V. *Preface Mathematical to the Engliſh Euclid, publiſhed by Sir Henry Billingſley, Knt. where he ſays many more arts are wholly invented, by name, definition, property, and uſe, than either the Grecian or Roman Mathematicians have left to our knowledge*, 1570.

VI. *Divers and many Annotations and Inventions diſperſed and added after the tenth book of Engliſh Euclid*, 1570.

VII. Epiſtola præfixa Ephemeridibus Joannis Feldi an. 1557, cui rationem declaraverat Ephemerides conſcribendi.

VIII. Parallaticæ commentationis praxeoſque Nucleus quidam. Londini 1573.

(36) This is extant in MS. in the Aſhmolean Collection.

Unpubliſhed, of which ſome were left imperfect.

I. *The great volume of famous and rich diſcoveries, wherein alſo is the Hiſtory of King Solomon every three years, his Ophirian voyage, the originals of Preſbyter Joannes, and of the firſt great Cham and his ſucceſſors for many years following. The deſcription of divers wonderful Iſles in the Northern, Scythian, Tartarian, and the other moſt northern ſeas, and near under the North Pole, by record written 1200 years ſince; with divers other rarities.* 1576. Exſtat in Bibliotheca Cottoniana ſub Vitellia C. VII.

2. *The Britiſh complement of the perfect Art of Navigation. A great volume. In which are contained our Queen Elizabeth her tables gubernautick for navigation by the Paradoxall Compaſs, invented by him (ann. 1557) and navigation by great circles, and for Longitudes and Latitudes, and the Variation of the Compaſs, finding moſt eaſily and ſpeedily, yea, if need be, in one minute of time, and ſometime without ſight of ſun, or ſtars, with many other new and needful inventions gubernautick.* 1576.

3. *Her Majeſty's title royal to many forraigne countreys, kingdoms, and provinces, by good teſtimony, and ſufficient proof recorded, and in twelve volume ſkins of parchment, fair written for her Majeſty's uſe, and at her Majeſty's commandment*, 1578.

4. De Imperatoris nomine, auctoritate, & potentia: *dedicated to her Majeſty in Engliſh*, 1579.

5. Prolegomena & Dictata Pariſineſia in Euclidis Elementorum Geometricorum, librum primum & ſecundum, in Collegio Rhemenſi, 1550.

6. De uſu Globi Cœleſtis. Ad R. Edwardum Sextum, 1550.

7. *The Art of Logick in Engliſh*, 1547.

8. *The thirteen Sophiſtical Fallacies, with their Diſcoveries, written in Engliſh meeter*, 1548.

9. Mercurius Cœleſtis, Libri 24; *written at Louvaine*, 1549.

10. De nubium Solis, Lunæ, ac reliquorum Planetarum, imo ipſius Stelliferi Cœli, ab intimo terræ centro diſtantiis, mutuiſque intervallis, & eorundem omnium magnitudine, liber ἀποδεικτικὸς ad Edwardum Sextum, Angliæ Regem, 1551.

11. Aphoriſmi Aſtrologici 300, 1553.

consequence of this letter, and, perhaps, of other applications, he obtained a grant of the Wardenship of Manchester-College, vacant by the promotion of Dr. Hugh Bellot to the Bishoprick of Chester, his patent passing the Great Seal May 25th, 1595 (*b*); and, on the 14th of February, 1596, he arrived, with his wife and family, in that town; and, on the 20th of the same month, was installed in his new charge (*i*). He continued there about seven years; but, whether through his own ill management and haughty behaviour, or, as he alledged, through the restless and unquiet disposition of the Fellows of that College, so it was, that the greatest part of that time he lived but an unquiet life; to which, perhaps, it might not a little contribute, that, during the whole space he remained there, he was looked upon, by the inhabitants of the place, and of all the country round, as a person who had a kind of supernatural skill, and who could afford them relief in a variety of cases that lay out of the reach of Physick (*k*). However this might be, so uneasy he grew, from the disputes in the College, and from the reports that prevailed abroad, that, June 5th, 1604, he presented a petition to King James, earnestly desiring him that he might be brought to a trial, that, by a judicial sentence, he might be delivered from those suspicions and surmises under which he had now laboured for upwards of fifty years (*l*); and, on the eighth of the same month, he addressed the like supplication to the Parliament (*m*); but the King having been informed, by the Earl of Salisbury, as to the nature of his studies, was very far from giving him any mark of royal countenance (*n*) or favour, which must have made a very deep impression upon a man of his vain and ambitious spirit, which all his misfortunes could never alter or amend. In the month of November, in the same year, being then in a very weak and bad state of health, he quitted Manchester (*o*) with his family in order to return to his house at Mortlake,

(*b*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 42.

(*i*) Theatrum Chemicum, p. 483.

(*k*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 144.

(*l*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 42.

(*m*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 144.

(*n*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 42. Theatrum Chemicum, p. 483.

(*o*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 42.

12. *The true cause and account, not vulgar, of Floods and Ebbs, written at the request of the Right Honourable Lady, Lady Jane, Duchess of Northumberland,* 1553.

13. *The Philosophical and Poetical Original occasions of the Configurations and names of the heavenly asterisms: written at the request of the same Duchess,* 1553.

14. *The Astronomical and Logistical Rules and Canons, to calculate the Ephemerides by, and other necessary accounts of heavenly motions; written at the request, and for the use, of that excellent Mechanician, Master Richard Chancellor, at his last voyage into Moscovia.* 1553.

15. De acribologia Mathematica volumen magnum sex decim continens libros. 1555.

16. Inventum Mechanicum paradoxum de nova ratione delineandi circumferentiam circularem unde valde rara alia excogitari perficique poterunt problemata. 1556.

17. De speculis comburentibus libri 6. 1557. Aliquantilla pars exstat in Bibliotheca Cottoniana, sub Vitellio C. VII.

18. De perspectivæ illa qua peritissimi utuntur Picores. 1557.

19. Speculum unitatis, sive Apologia pro Fratre Rogerio Bacone Anglo: in quo docetur nihil illum per dæmoniorum feciſſe auxilia, sed Philosophum fuisse maximum naturaliterque, & modis homini Christiano licitis maximas feciſſe res quas indoctum solet vulgus in dæmoniorum referre facinora. 1557.

20. Da Annuli Astronomici multiplici usu. 1557.

21. Trochilica inventa, lib. 2. 1558.

22. Περὶ ἀναβιβασμῶν θεολογικῶν. lib. 3. 1558.

23. De tertia & præcipua perspectivæ parte quæ de radiorum fractione tractat. lib. 3. 1559.

24. De itinere subterraneo. lib. 2. 1560.

25. De triangulorum rectilineorum areis. lib 3. demonstrati ad excellentissimum Mathematicum Petrum Nonium conscripti. 1560.

26. Cabbalæ Hebraicæ compendiosa tabella. 1562.

27. Reipublicæ Britannicæ Synopsis, *in English,* 1562.

28. De trigono circinoque analogico opusculum Mathematicum & Mechanicum, lib. 4. 1565. Exstat in Bibliotheca Cottoniana, sub Vitellio C. VII.

29. De Stalli admiranda in Cassiopeiæ asterismo, cœlitus demissa ad orbem usque veneris iterumque in cœlis penetralia perpendiculariter retracta post decimum sextum suæ apparitionis mensem. 1573.

30. Hipparchus redivivus Tractatus. 1573.

31. De unico Mago & triplice Herode eoque Antichristiano. 1570.

32. *Ten sundry and very rare Heraldical blasonings of one crest or cognizance, lawfully confirmed to certain ancients arms, lib. 1.* 1577.

33. Atlantidis vulgariter Indiæ Occidentalis nuncupatæ emendatior descriptio Hydrographica quam ulla alia adhuc evulgata. 1580.

34. De modo Evangelii Jesu Christi publicandi, propagandi, stabiliendique, inter infideles Atlanticos volumen, magnum libris distinctum, quatuor quorum primus ad Serenissimam nostram Potentissimamque Reginam Elizabetham inscribitur: secundus ad summos privati suæ sacræ Majestatis Consilii Senatores; tertius ad Hispaniarum Regem Philippum; Quartus ad Pontificem Romanum. 1581.

35. Navigationis ad Cathayam per septentrionalia Scythiæ & Tartariæ litora delineatio Hydrographica; Arthuro Pett & Carolo Jackmanno Anglis versus illas partes navigaturis in manus tradita cum admirandarum quarundam insularum annotatione in illis subpolaribus partibus jacentium. 1580.

36. Hemisphærii Borealis Geographica atque Hydrographica descriptio longe à vulgatis chartis diversa; Anglis quibusdam versus Atlantidis Septentrionalis litora navigationem instituentibus dono data. 1583.

37. *The originals and chief points of our antient British Histories discoursed upon and examined.* 1583.

38. *An Advice and Discourse about the reformation of the vulgar Julian Year, written by her Majesty's Commandment, and the Lords of the Privy Council.* 1582.

39. *Certain Considerations and Conferrings together of these three sentences, anciently accounted as oracles,* Nosce teipsum; Homo homini Deus; homo homini lupus. 1592.

40. De hominis corpore, spiritu, & anima, sive microcosmicum, totius naturalis Philosophiæ compendium. lib. 1.

41. *The Compendious Rehearsal of John Dee his dutiful Declaration, and proof of the course and race of his stupendious life, for the space of half a hundred years, &c.* 1592.

42. De horizonte æternitatis. 3. libr. 1. de horizonte; liber Mathematicus & Physicus, 2. De Æternitate; Liber Theologicus, Metaphysicus, & Mathematicus. 3. De horizonte æternitatis: liber Theologicus, Mathematicus, & Hierotechnicus.

43. Thalattocratia Britannica, sive de Britannico maris imperio Collectanea extemporanea, quatuor dierum spatio celeri conscripta calamo. Sept. 20, Mancestriæ.

Besides these enumerated and owned by himself, there are likewise several other pieces of his remaining, agreeably to what he himself insinuates at the end of his catalogue, as well in his Compendious Rehearsal, as in his Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Amongst these there are three volumes of Miscellanies in the Ashmolean Library, in the last of which is contained that collection of papers, relating to his commerce with spirits, which precedes, in point of time, that which is to be the subject of the next note. There are likewise preserved in the Cotton Library the several treatises following, *viz.*

44. Cor-

lake, but came first to London, where he remained but a short time; and finding himself now very old, infirm, and destitute of any powerful protector (the Earl of Salisbury, to whom he had offered his service, having slighted him), he had recourse to his former invocations, and so came to deal again, as he believed, with spirits (*p*). He pursued the same practices at Mortlake, where we find him in the year 1607, having procured one Bartholomew Hickman to serve him in the same manner as Edward Kelly had formerly done (*q*). His friend John Pontoys also returned out of Poland, and was admitted into his confidence (*r*). These transactions were continued to Monday the 7th of September 1607, which is the last date in that journal published by Casaubon (*s*) [Q]. As this book made a very great noise upon its first publication, so, many years after, the credit of it was revived by one of the wisest and ablest Mathematicians of his time, the celebrated Dr. Hooke, who believed, that not only Dr. Casaubon, but Archbishop Usher, and other learned men, were entirely mistaken in their notions about this book, and that, in reality, our author Dee never fell under any such delusions, but was a man of great art and intrigue (*t*), and made use of this strange method of writing to conceal things of quite another nature, as the reader shall be acquainted in the notes [*R*]. In the latter end

(*p*) Relations of Dr. Dee's Actions with Spirits, P. ii. p. 32.

(*q*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 42.

(*r*) Relations of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, P. ii. p. 44.

(*s*) Idem, ibid.

(*t*) Hooke's Posthumous Works, p. 206, 207.

44. Correctiones & Supplementa Sigerberti ex MS. Codicibus per Joannem Dee.

45. De coni recti atque trianguli sectione illa quæ Parabola ab antiquis Geometris vocabatur.

46. *Several Letters and Papers between John Dee and Roger Edwards, of a Theological Argument.*

[Q] *In that Journal published by Casaubon.*] The title of this work at large runs thus;

'A true and faithful Relation of what passed for 'many years between Dr. John Dee, a Mathematician 'of great fame in Queen Elizabeth and King James 'their reigns, and some Spirits, tending, had it succeeded, to a general Alteration of most States and 'Kingdoms in the world. His private Conferences 'with Rodolph, Emperor of Germany; Stephen, 'King of Poland; and divers other Princes about it. 'The Particulars of his Cause, as it was agitated in 'the Emperor's Court by the Pope's intervention. 'His Banishment and Restoration in part; as also the 'Letters of sundry great men and Princes, some whereof 'were present at some of these Conferences; and Apparitions of Spirits to the said Dr. Dee, out of the 'original Copy written with Dr. Dee's own hand; 'kept in the Library of Sir Thomas Cotton, Knt. 'Baronet, with a Preface confirming the Reality (as to 'the point of Spirits) of this Relation, and shewing 'the several good uses that a sober Christian may make 'of all. By Meric Casaubon, D. D.' Lond. 1659, fol.

We shall give the reader a short passage out of Dr. Casaubon's Preface, to justify the pains we have taken in a former note to shew, that the piece which he apprehended was totally lost is still preserved, and if any use can be made of it (for which I would not be willingly bound) may be produced to publick view as well as the rest. The passage is this, which gives a fair account of what he published. 'In the year of 'our Lord 1584, September the 3d, being a Monday, Dr. Dee first appeared, being presented by 'honourable persons, and expected before the Emperor Rodolph. Among other things he then told 'him, that, for these two years and a half, God's 'holy angels had used to inform him. Our book or 'first action here beginneth, 28 May, 1583, according to this reckoning it must be, that, above a year 'and three months before began the first apparition. 'The account then of fifteen months from the first 'apparition we want. How much in bulk that might 'come to I cannot tell, neither will I warrant all perfect from this 28 May, 1583, to the fourth of April, '1587, though, for the most part, the coherence is 'right enough to that time; but, from thence to the 'twentieth of March, 1607, there is a vast chasm or 'hiatus of no less than twenty years; how this hath 'happened I cannot tell certainly: what I guess is 'this; some years after Dr. Dee's death, about *anno* '*Dom.* 1608, Sir Robert Cotton bought his library '(what then remained of it), with his Magical Table, 'and the original manuscript written with his own 'hand, whereof this is a copy. The book had been 'buried in the earth, how long years or months I 'know not; but so long, tho' it was carefully kept, 'since, yet it retained so much of the earth, that it 'began to moulder and perish some years ago, which 'when Sir T. Cotton aforementioned observed, he 'was at the charges to have it written out before it 'should be too late; Now full fifty years, or not many 'wanting, being passed since this original came to Sir 'Robert, it is very likely, that, had any more in all 'that time been heard of, Sir Robert, or Sir Thomas 'his son and heir, would have heard of it, and got 'it as soon as any body else; And because no more 'hath been heard of all this while, it is more than 'probable, that no more is extant not in England, 'nor I think any where else; haply the rest might 'perish some part (if not all) even whilst the Doctor 'lived.'

[*R*] *Shall be acquainted in the notes.*] We are told by Dr. Hooke, that what first put him upon suspecting that there was somewhat concealed under the strange relations contained in Dr. Dee's book, was his vehement protestation, upon the peril of his soul if he lied, in his letter to the Archbishop (37), that he had never meddled with unlawful arts, or deviated into any practices unbecoming of a Christian. What confirmed him in his opinion cannot be either better or more briefly expressed than in his own words, which are these; 'Upon turning it over, and comparing several 'particulars in it one with another, and with other 'writings of the said Dr. Dee, and considering also 'the life, actions and estate, of the said author, so far 'as I can be informed, I do conceive that the greatest 'part of the said book, especially all that which re'lates to spirits and apparitions, together with their 'names, speeches, shews, noises, clothing, actions, 'and the prayers and doxologies, &c. are all Cryptography, and that some parts also of that which 'seems to be a Journal of his voyage and travels into 'several parts of Germany are also cryptographical, 'that is, that under those feigned stories which he 'there seems to relate as matters of fact, he hath concealed relations of quite another thing, and that he 'made use of this way of absconding it, that he might 'the more securely escape discovery if he should fall 'under suspicion as to the true designs of his travels, 'or that the same should fall into the hands of any 'spies, or such as might be employed to betray him, 'or his intentions concerning the inquisition that 'should be made, or prosecution, if discovered, would 'be more gentle for a pretended enthusiast than for a 'real spy. What his designs or business with the 'Emperor, the King of Poland, and others, was, it is 'hard to determine, *i. e.* first, Whether he were sent 'upon some private message by the Queen, or any of 'the then Ministers of State, to enquire into, and discover, the secret designs or actions of that Court, is 'hard now to determine; but 'tis likely. For in his 'apology he alledges, that the Lord Treasurer had, 'by the Queen's orders, written to the Archbishop to 'signify, that he went beyond sea by her good favour 'and licence; and we find also, that the Queen did 'send several letters and messengers to call him home; 'and that upon his return the Queen received him 'kindly at Richmond, and that she used to call at his 'house at Mortlack, and shewed herself courteous to 'him upon all occasions.——When he returned he 'left Kelley with the Emperor, who for several years 'afterwards kept correspondence with Dr. Dee here, 'which might possibly continue to execute the same 'design, Kelley being now grown Sir Edward Kelley, 'and

(37) See this in Mr. Dee's Letter before-mentioned at the end of Dr Casaubon's Preface. Hooke's Posthumous Works, p. 206, 207.

end of his life he became miſerably poor, as we are told by Anthony Wood, and was obliged to diſpoſe of his books to procure ſubſiſtence, which, at certain times, when, through his own ill management, he brought himſelf into ſuch diſtreſs, might be true; but there ſeems to be good ground to believe that he held his preferment to the laſt, and did not ſell his houſe at Mortlake, which was his own, and which ſeems to have been of ſome conſiderable value, ſince, in his former diſtreſſes, he had thoughts of mortgaging it for four hundred pounds (*u*). It is highly probable, that he remained under theſe deluſions to his end, and was actually providing for a new journey into Germany, when, worn out by age and diſtempers, he breathed his laſt ſome time in the year 1608, being in the eighty-firſt year of his age (*w*). He was buried in the chancel of the church at Mortlake, but without any tomb-ſtone, or other memorial; and yet the ancient inhabitants of that place were able, in 1672, to ſhew the very ſpot where he was interred (*x*). He left behind a numerous poſterity, both male and female, and, amongſt theſe, his eldeſt ſon Arthur, who was bred at Weſtminſter-ſchool under the learned Camden (*y*), applied himſelf to Phyſick, and became Phyſician in ordinary, firſt to the Grand Duke of Muſcovy, and afterwards to King Charles the Firſt (*z*). C

(*u*) Compendious Rehearſal, ch. ii.

(*w*) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 43.

(*x*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 144.

(*y*) Camd. Epiſt. p. 47.

(*z*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 141.

'and the Emperor's Chemiſt. And, in probability, 'Dr. Dee might have ſufficiently furniſhed him with 'Cryptography enough to ſend what intelligencies he 'pleaſed without ſuſpicion, which was eaſily con'ceived under any other feigned ſtory. I will not 'determine whether this were his buſineſs, I ſay, or 'whether it might not be upon his own account, to 'ſee if he could make a fortune under the Emperor, 'by means of Chemiſtry, or Mathematicks, or Aſtro'logy, or Mechanicks, all which I find by his writ'ings he was well verſed in, and eſpecially in the 'buſineſs of Opticks, Perſpective, and Mechanick 'contrivances, an effect of which I conceive his cry'ſtal, or angelick ſtone, or *Chryſtallum Sacratum*, as 'he terms it, to have been, for that it was of a con'ſiderable bigneſs, and was placed upon a pedeſtal or 'table, which he calls a Holy Table, which might 'contain the apparatus to make apparitions, when he 'had a mind, to be ſeen in it, as likewiſe to produce 'noiſes and voices if there were occaſion. All which 'might be done by art, as hath been ſhewn both for'merly by Roger Bacon, and of late by the echoing 'head.———He was likewiſe well verſed in Caba'liſtical learning and Cryptography, as appears by the 'title of a treatiſe written by him upon that ſubject, 'and by that book which he ſeems to have prized ſo 'much, and calls the book of Enoch, which I take to 'be of no other uſe than for Cryptography and Caba'liſms. I will not determine, I ſay, whether his 'deſign might not be by theſe, and ſome other ſuch in'genuities, as particularly a glaſs which he mentions, 'p. 256, the ſecret of which he opened to Dr. Curtz, 'the Emperor's Phyſician, for battering in a dark 'night, *&c.* which what he means by it I underſtand 'not; but Dr. Curtz told him, that concluſion would 'be very acceptable to the Emperor. He had alſo 'written ſix books *de Speculis Comburentibus*; two books 'of the aſtronomical ring, or ring dial; and two 'books alſo of clock-work, to find entertainment and 'encouragement from the Emperor. But I do rather 'conjecture that he was employed by the Queen for 'ſome private affairs of State, and that he made uſe 'of theſe his inventions in order to obtain the freer 'and more unſuſpected acceſs to the Emperor, which 'having not ſucceeded as might have been expected, 'he was recalled and returned into England in No'vember, 1589. That a great part of this treatiſe is 'Cryptography, I conceive is very probable from 'theſe and divers other conſiderations; Firſt, for that 'he took ſuch care to preſerve the book of Enoch, 'which I conjecture to contain the methods and keys 'of what was concealed in this book; next, for that 'the method and manner thereof is ſo like to that of 'Trithemius his Cryptography, that I conceive, were 'it worth while, it would not be difficult to decypher 'a great part of it by analogy thereunto. Now tho' 'at that time the key or method of that book were not 'ſo well and commonly known, yet I do not doubt 'but this inquiſitive man had got knowledge of it in 'his travels and enquiries in Germany, poſſibly when 'he preſented his *Monas Hieroglyphica* to the Emperor 'Maximilian, 1564; and poſſibly it might be upon the 'ſame account that he made choice of his way of invo'cations and revelations to conceal his meaning that I 'ſhewed before Trithemius had done in his Cryptogra'phy. Trithemius alſo pretended to revelation, as may 'be ſeen in the Hiſtory of his Life, though not ſo 'frequent as this author has done in this book, at 'leaſt if the ſenſe thereof be underſtood literally; 'but that I conceive to be nothing but the outward 'form, appearance, or dreſs, of the ſubſtance and 'ſubject of the book, which lay abſconded from com'mon diſcovery under that maſk or diſguiſe, though 'yet I am apt to believe, he had ſome artificial con'trivances to perform this alſo when he ſaw cauſe. 'Thirdly, for that there are very many plain inſtances 'of Cryptography, both by changing and putting 'ſome letters for others, and numbers for letters, and 'numbers alſo for words, and tables ſo diſpoſing or 'placing letters according to ſeveral orders and me'thods, to be ſeen in the book itſelf; and the book 'which he calls the book of Enoch ſeems to be nothing 'elſe. Beſides, the words that he ſets down as deli'vered by his ſpirits, are many of them inarticulate 'according to the commonly accepted ſounds or pro'nunciation of thoſe characters they are written with, 'and therefore were not put to ſignify thoſe letters. 'It would be too long to give inſtances out of the 'book itſelf of theſe particulars, and 'tis needleſs, 'ſince they are ſo very many and frequent in every 'part of the book. He hath likewiſe divers polygonal 'figures, as I conceive, for the ſame purpoſe, and 'many other ſuch indications of Cryptography.' There is, without doubt, ſomething very plauſible, as well as highly ingenious, in this learned gentleman's conjectures, in which, if he had made a trial of decyphering, and had ſucceeded even in the ſmalleſt part, he would have put his ſentiment beyond contradiction. As it is, there ſeems to be three reaſons, that, duly weighed, will ſcarcely allow us to ſubſcribe to his judgment of this book. The firſt is, that Mr. Dee began theſe actions in England, for which, if we ſuppoſe the whole treatiſe to be written in cypher, there is no account can be given, any more than for purſuing the ſame practices in King James's time, who cannot be imagined to have uſed him as a ſpy. The ſecond, that he admitted Albert Laſki, Francis Puccius, and William Roſenbergh (38), to be preſent at theſe conſultations, which is not very reconcileable to the notion, that the whole is no more than an allegorical hiſtory; for then all that they did muſt have been mere artifice and impoſture, which, in ſo long a ſpace of time, and under the inſpection of ſo many witneſſes, would certainly have been diſcovered. Laſtly, upon the return of Mr. Dee from Bohemia, Mr. Edward Kelley (39) did actually ſend an account to the Queen, of practices againſt her life; but then this was in a plain and open manner, and in conſequence of his publick declarations of his unſhaken loyalty towards her Majeſty's perſon and government, which declarations were not only unneceſſary, but very inexpedient for him to make at Prague, if he had been employed there as a ſpy, neither would he have taken this way of informing the Queen, if there had been any ſuchmyſterious correſpondence between Dr. Dee and her Miniſters as Dr. Hooke ſuggeſts.

(38) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 34.

(39) Stype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 1.

*[DE FOE (DANIEL), an ingenious writer, author of a great variety of pieces different ſubjects, was born in London, about the year 1663. He was the ſon of James Foe [*A*], of the pariſh of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, London, butcher (*a*). As his father was a Proteſtant Diſſenter, he was brought up in the ſame perſuaſion, to which he adhered throughout his whole life. He was educated at an academy at Newington Green, which was kept by Mr. Charles Morton [*B*], who was a diſſenting miniſter (*b*). How long he continued there, or whether he received any conſiderable inſtruction in the learned languages, is not aſcertained; but he appears early to have applied himſelf to literature, for he commenced author before he had attained his twenty-firſt year. In 1683, he publiſhed a political pamphlet, relative to the war which then ſubſiſted [*C*] between the Turks and the Auſtrians (*c*). He ſeems early to have imbibed a great zeal for the Proteſtant religion, and the intereſts of civil liberty; and this excited in him ſo great an averſion to the adminiſtration of king James II. that, before he was twenty-three years of age, he went down into the Weſt of England, and bore arms under the duke of Monmouth (*d*). On the failure of that unfortunate enterprize, he returned again to the metropolis; and it is not improbable, but that the circumſtance of his being a native of London, and his perſon not being much known in that part of the kingdom where the inſurrection took place, might facilitate his eſcape, and be the means of preventing his being brought to any trial, for his ſhare in that tranſaction. After his return to London, he wrote a piece to warn the Diſſenters againſt concurring in thoſe ſchemes [*D*] which were adopted by king James in favour of Popery, under the pretence of introducing a general toleration; and he afterwards manifeſted great zeal in ſupport of the Revolution [*E*]. On the 26th of January, 1687-8, he was admitted a freeman of the city of London by patrimony, as the ſon of a freeman (*e*). But ſome time before this he had engaged in trade; and for about ten years he is ſaid to have acted as a hoſe-factor in Freeman's yard, Cornhill (*f*). He continued, however, to apply himſelf to politics and literature; and publiſhed a variety of pieces during that period. But, as a trader, he was not ſucceſsful; though, beſides acting as a hoſe-factor, he engaged in carrying on ſome brick and pantile works near Tilbury-fort in Eſſex. In 1692, he was obliged to abſcond from his creditors; and an angry creditor took out a commiſſion of bankruptcy. But this was ſoon ſuperſeded, on the petition of thoſe to whom he was moſt indebted, who accepted a compoſition on his ſingle bond (*g*). This, by the efforts of unwearied diligence, he afterwards punctually paid, and otherwiſe behaved very honourably to his creditors [*F*]. As, therefore, notwithſtanding his misfortunes, he ſtill retained a good character, an offer was made to ſettle him as a factor at Cadiz [*G*], where he had ſome*

(*a*) Life of Daniel De Foe, written by George Chalmers, Eſq. prefixed to his Hiſtory of the Union, edit. 1786, 4to. p. 1.

(*b*) Life of Daniel De Foe, written by George Chalmers, Eſq affixed to Stockdale's edition of Robinſon Cruſoe, p. 7.

(*c*) Ibid, p. 8.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) Chalmers's Life of De Foe, prefixed to his Hiſtory of the Union, p 1.

(*f*) Ibid, p. 2.

(*g*) Chalmers's Life of De Foe, affixed to Stockdale's edition of Robinſon Cruſoe, p. 10.

[*A*] *He was the ſon of James Foe.*] His father was the ſon of Daniel Foe, of Elton, in the county of Northampton, yeoman (1). It is probable, that our author changed his name to *De Foe* from a diſlike to his original name *Fee*, which ſeemed not a very eligible one. But his enemies pretended, that he changed his name from Foe to De Foe that he might not be thought an Engliſhman; though this notion ſeems to have had no other foundation, than the circumſtance of his having, in conſequence of his zeal for king William, attacked the prejudices of his countrymen in his *True-Born Engliſhman*.

(1) Life of Daniel De Foe, by George Chalmers, Eſq. affixed to Stockdale's Edition of Robinſon Cruſoe, p. 6.

[*B*] *An academy at Newington-green, which was kept by Mr. Charles Morton.*] Whether he was any conſiderable time under this gentleman's care, we have no certain account. De Foe himſelf ſpoke highly of Mr. Morton; and it appears that the Rev. Mr. Richard Lardner, father of the celebrated Dr. Lardner, was educated under him for the miniſtry (2).

(2) Dr. Kippis's Life of Dr. Lardner, Appendix, No. VI.

[*C*] *A political pamphlet relative to the war, &c.*] Whether this was his firſt performance, does not appear; but he himſelf mentions the publication of it, as the firſt inſtance of his differing in opinion from the Whigs, whoſe general ſentiments he adopted. He ſays, in his *Appeal to Honour and Juſtice*, 'It has been 'the diſaſter of all parties in this nation to be very hot 'in their turn; and, as often as they have been ſo, I 'have differed with them all, and ever muſt and ſhall 'do ſo.'——'The firſt time I had the misfortune to 'differ with my friends was about the year 1683, 'when the Turks were beſieging Vienna, and the 'Whigs in England, generally ſpeaking, were for the 'Turks taking it; which, I having read the hiſtory 'of the cruelty and perfidious dealings of the Turks 'in their wars, and how they had rooted out the name 'of the Chriſtian religion in above threeſcore and ten 'kingdoms, could by no means agree with; and 'though then but a young man, and a younger author, 'I oppoſed it, and wrote againſt it; which was taken 'very unkindly indeed (3).'

(3) Appeal, P. 51.

[*D*] *He wrote a piece to warn the Diſſenters &c.*] Referring to this publication, he ſays, in his *Appeal to Honour and Juſtice*, 'I differed with my friends when 'king James was wheedling the Diſſenters to take off 'the Penal Laws and Teſt, which I could by no means 'come into. And as in the firſt I uſed to ſay, I had 'rather the Popiſh houſe of Auſtria ſhould ruin the 'Proteſtants in Hungary, than the infidel houſe of 'Ottoman ſhould ruin both Proteſtant and Papiſt, by 'over-running Germany; ſo, in the other, I told the 'Diſſenters, I had rather the church of England ſhould 'pull our cloaths off by fines and forfeitures, than the 'Papiſts ſhould fall both upon the Church and the Diſ-'ſenters, and pull our ſkins off by fire and faggot (4).'

(4) Appeal to Honour and Juſtice, p. 51, 52.

[*E*] *Manifeſted great zeal in ſupport of the Revolution,* King William and Queen Mary dined with the Lord-mayor and Corporation of London at the city-feaſt on the 29th of October, 1689. A regiment of volunteers, compoſed of the chief citizens, and commanded by the earl of Peterborough, attended their Majeſties on this occaſion, from Whitehall to Guildhall. In order to teſtify his zeal for king William, and the Revolution, Daniel De Foe is ſaid to have appeared among theſe troopers, gallantly mounted, and richly accoutred (5). This is a circumſtance not improper to be mentioned here; though De Foe had certainly given much better evidence of his zeal for the Revolution, and the principles upon which it was grounded.

(5) Chalmers, ut ſupra, p. 9.

[*F*] *Behaved very honourably to his creditors.*] Mr. Chalmers obſerves, that ſome of thoſe creditors, who had been ſatisfied by his compoſition, 'falling after-'wards into diſtreſs themſelves, De Foe voluntarily 'paid them their whole claims, being then in riſing 'circumſtances from king William's favour This is 'ſuch an example of honeſty, as it would be unjuſt to 'De Foe and to the world to conceal. Being re-'proached in 1705 by lord Haverſham with mercena-'rineſs, our author feelingly mentions, that, "with "a numerous family, and no helps but his own in-"duſtry, he had forced his way with undiſcouraged "diligence through a ſea of misfortunes, and re-"duced his debts, excluſive of compoſition, from ſeven-"teen thouſand to leſs than five thouſand pounds (6)."

(6) Life of De Foe, p. 10.

[*G*] *An offer was made to ſettle him as a factor at Cadiz.*] Of this he gives himſelf the following account. 'Misfortunes in buſineſs having unhinged me 'from matters of trade, it was about the year 1694, 'when

ſome previous correſpondence. But he was unwilling to leave his native country; and was, without ſolicitation, appointed accomptant to the commiſſioners for managing the duties on glaſs, in which office he continued about four years, when thoſe duties were ſuppreſſed by act of parliament (*b*).

(*b*) Chalmers, ut ſupra, p. 12.

As De Foe poſſeſſed a very vigorous mind, he was much of a projector. He wrote, as he informs us himſelf, many ſheets about the coin; he propoſed a law for regiſtering ſeamen; he projected county banks, factories for goods, a commiſſion of inquiry into the eſtates of bankrupts, and a penſion-office for the relief of the poor (*i*); and in 1697 he publiſhed, in one volume, 8vo, "An Eſſay upon Projects [*H*]." The ſame year he

(*i*) Preface to his Eſſay upon Projects, and Chalmers, p. 11.

'when I was invited by ſome merchants, with whom 'I had correſponded abroad, and ſome alſo at home, 'to ſettle at Cadiz in Spain, and that with offers of 'very good commiſſions; but Providence, which had 'other work for me to do, placed a ſecret averſion in 'my mind to quitting England upon any account, and 'made me refuſe the beſt offers of that kind, to be 'concerned with ſome eminent perſons at home, in 'propoſing *ways* and *means* to the governmtnt for 'raiſing money to ſupply the occaſions of the war then 'newly begun. Some time after this, I was, without 'the leaſt application of mine, and being then ſeventy 'miles from London, ſent for to be accomptant to 'the commiſſioners of the glaſs duty, in which ſer-'vice I continued to the determination of their com-'miſſion (7).'

(7) Appeal to Honour and Juſtice, p. 5, 6.

[*H*] *An Eſſay upon Projects.*] A ſecond edition of this was publiſhed in 1702, under the title of "Eſſays upon ſeveral Projects;" but upon inſpecting it, we find that it differs from the firſt in nothing but the title. In the introduction to this Work, De Foe obſerves, that Neceſſity, which is allowed to be the mother of Invention, had ſo violently agitated the wits of men at that time, that it ſeemed "not at all "improper, by way of diſtinction, to call it, *The* "*Projecting Age*." He conſidered this as partly ariſing from the loſſes and depredations which many merchants and traders had ſuſtained during the war in which the nation was then engaged. 'Theſe,' ſaid he, 'prompted by neceſſity, rack their wits for new 'contrivances, new inventions, new trades, ſtocks, 'projects, and any thing to retrieve the deſperate 'credit of their fortunes.'——'If induſtry be in any 'buſineſs rewarded with ſucceſs, 'tis in the merchan-'dizing part of the world, who indeed may be more 'truly ſaid to live by their wits than any people what-'ſoever. All Foreign *Negoce*, though to ſome 'tis a 'plain road by the help of cuſtom, yet it is in its 'beginning all project, contrivance, and invention. 'Every new voyage the merchant contrives is a pro-'ject; and ſhips are ſent from port to port, as mar-'kets and merchandizes differ, by the help of ſtrange 'and univerſal intelligence; wherein ſome are ſo ex-'quiſite, ſo ſwift, and ſo exact, that a merchant, 'ſitting at home in his counting-houſe, at once con-'verſes with all parts of the known world. This, 'and travel, makes a true-bred merchant the moſt 'intelligent man in the world, and conſequently the 'moſt capable, when urged by neceſſity, to contrive 'new ways to live. And from hence, I humbly con-'ceive, may very properly be derived the *projects*, ſo 'much the ſubject of the preſent diſcourſe. And to 'this ſort of men it is eaſy to trace the original of 'Banks, Stocks, Stock-jobbing, Aſſurances, Friendly 'Societies, Lotteries, and the like. To this may be 'added, the long annual enquiry in the Houſe of 'Commons for Ways and Means, which has been a 'particular movement to ſet all the heads of the na-'tion at work; and I appeal, with ſubmiſſion, to the 'gentlemen of that honourable houſe, if the greateſt 'part of all the Ways and Means, out of the common 'road of land-taxes, polls, and the like, have not 'been handed to them from the merchant, and in a 'great meaſure paid by them too (8).

(8) Eſſay upon Projects, p. 1, 6, 7, 8, 9.

De Foe afterwards ſays, 'Projects, of the nature I 'treat of, are doubtleſs in general of public advan-'tage, as they tend to improvement of trade, and 'employment of the poor, and the circulation and 'increaſe of the public ſtock of the kingdom; but 'this is ſuppoſed of ſuch as are built on the broad 'baſis of ingenuity and improvement; in which, 'though I'll allow the author to aim primarily at his 'own advantage, yet with the circumſtances of pub-'lic benefit added. Wherefore it is neceſſary to 'diſtinguiſh among the projects of the preſent times 'between the honeſt and the diſhoneſt (9).'

(9) Ibid. p. 10, 11.

De Foe afterwards makes ſome remarks upon fraudulent projectors; but he obſerves, that though there were ſuch impoſitions upon the public, yet that was 'no reaſon why inventions upon honeſt foundations, 'and to fair purpoſes, ſhould not be acknowledged; 'no, nor why the author of any ſuch fair contri-'vances ſhould not reap the harveſt of his own in-'genuity. Our acts of parliament, for granting pa-'tents to firſt inventors for fourteen years, is a ſufficient 'acknowledgment of the due regard which ought to 'be had to ſuch as find out any thing which may be 'of public advantage. New diſcoveries in trade, in 'arts and myſteries, of manufacturing goods, or im-'provement of land, are without queſtion of as great 'benefit as any diſcoveries made in the works of na-'ture by all the Academies and Royal Societies in the 'world.

'There is, 'tis true, a great difference between '*new inventions* and *projects*, between improvements 'of manufactures or land, which tend to the imme-'diate benefit of the public, and employing of the 'poor, and projects framed by ſubtle heads, with a 'ſort of a *Deceptio Viſus*, and *Legerdemain*, to bring 'people to run needleſs and unuſual hazards. I grant 'it, and give a due preference to the firſt; and yet 'ſucceſs has ſo ſanctified ſome of thoſe other ſorts of 'projects, that it would be a kind of blaſphemy 'againſt Fortune to diſallow them. Witneſs, Sir 'William Phips's voyage to the wreck; it was a 'mere project, a lottery of a hundred thouſand to 'one odds; a hazard, which, if it had failed, every 'body would have been aſhamed to have owned them-'ſelves concerned in; a voyage that would have been 'as much ridiculed as Don Quixote's adventure upon 'the windmill.'—'But ſtill ſome projects hit even 'of the moſt unlikely, of which this was one of Sir 'William Phips, who brought home a cargo of ſilver 'of near 200,000l. ſterling, fiſhed up out of the open 'ſea, remote from any ſhore, from an old Spaniſh 'ſhip, which had been ſunk above forty years (10).'

(10) Ibid. p. 14—18.

Among other topics diſcuſſed by De Foe in this book one is that of *Banks*; and in treating on this ſubject he gives it as his opinion, that the Bank of England is eſtabliſhed upon too contracted a plan, and that it might be rendered much more extenſively uſeful and beneficial to the public; and he points out the methods by which he ſuppoſes this might be done (11). He alſo propoſes the eſtabliſhment of what he calls a *Court Merchant*, for determining cauſes and matters of litigation between merchants. He obſerves, that affairs of this kind, when they come to be argued by lawyers at the bar, 'are ſtrangely 'handled.' 'I myſelf have heard,' ſays he, 'very 'famous lawyers make ſorry work of a cauſe between 'the merchant and his factor; and when they come 'to argue about *Exchanges*, *Diſcounts*, *Proteſts*, *De-'murages*, *Charter-Parties*, *Freights*, *Port-charges*, *Aſ-'ſurances*, *Barratries*, *Bottomries*, *Accounts-current*, *Ac-'counts in commiſſion*, *and Accounts in company*, and the 'like, the ſolicitor has not been able to draw a brief, 'nor the counſel to underſtand it.'——'The affairs of 'merchants are accompanied with ſuch variety of cir-'cumſtances, ſuch new and univerſal contingencies, 'which change and differ in every age, with a mul-'titude of niceties and punctilios, and thoſe again 'altering as the cuſtoms and uſages of countries and 'ſtates do alter, that it has been found impracticable 'to make any laws that could extend to all caſes: 'and our law itſelf does tacitly acknowledge its own 'imperfection in this caſe, by allowing the *cuſtom of 'merchants* to paſs as a kind of law, in caſes of dif-'ficulty. Wherefore it ſeems to me a moſt natural 'proceeding,

(11) Ibid. p. 46—57.

he also published, in 4to. "An enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters, in "Cases of Preferment [I];" which gave rise to a controversy between him and Mr. John Howe [K]. He likewise published, "An Argument, shewing, that a standing Army, "with

'proceeding, that such affairs should be heard be-
'fore, and judged by such as by known experience
'and long practice, in the customs and usages of
'Foreign *Negece*, are of course the most capable to
(12) Ibid. p. 305—308. 'determine the same (12).' He, therefore, proposed, that a new court should be erected for this purpose, by the authority of Parliament, to be composed of judges to be chosen from among the most eminent
(13) Ibid. p. 309, 310. merchants of the kingdom (13).

He also proposed an academy, to be instituted by the king, whose object should be, 'to encourage
'polite learning, and to polish and refine the English
(14) Ibid. p. 233. 'tongue (14).' Referring to this, Mr. Chalmers remarks, that 'Prior offered in 1700 (which was 'four years after) the same project to king William, 'in his *Carmen Seculare*; Swift mentioned in 1710 to 'lord Oxford a proposal *for improving the English* 'tongue; and Tickell flatters himself, in his *Prospect* 'of Peace, that our *daring language—shall sport no* 'more in arbitrary sound (15)'.

(15) Life of De Foe, p. 12. One of De Foe's projects was an academy for the education of women. Of the effects of education in women, and the evils resulting from the want of it, he expresses himself in the following terms: 'A 'woman well bred, and well taught, furnished with 'the additional accomplishments of knowledge and 'behaviour, is a creature without comparison. Her 'society is the emblem of sublimer enjoyments; her 'person is angelic, and her conversation heavenly. 'She is all softness and sweetness, peace, love, wit, 'and delight. She is every way suitable to the sub-'limest wish; and the man, that has such a one to 'his portion, has nothing to do but to rejoice in 'her, and be thankful. On the other hand, sup-'pose her to be the same woman, and rob her of 'the benefit of education, and it follows thus: If 'her temper be good, want of education makes her 'soft and easy. Her wit, for want of teaching, 'makes her impertinent and talkative. Her know-'ledge, for want of judgement and experience, makes 'her fanciful and whimsical. If her temper be bad, 'want of breeding makes her worse; and she grows 'haughty, insolent, and loud. If she be passionate, 'want of manners makes her termagant, and a scold, 'which is much at one with lunatic. If she be 'proud, want of discretion (which still is breeding) 'makes her conceited, fantastic, and ridiculous. 'And from these she degenerates to be turbulent, 'clamorous, noisy, nasty, and the devil (16).'

(16) Ibid. p. 294, 295, 296.

[I] *An Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters, in Cases of Preferment.*] To this piece a preface was prefixed, addressed "to the Lord-mayor, "occasioned by his carrying the sword to a conven-"ticle." The Lord-mayor was Sir Humphrey Edwin, who, as Mr. Chalmers remarks, 'having 'carried the regalia to a conventicle, gave rise to 'some wit in the *Tale of a Tub*, and occasioned some 'clauses in an act of parliament (17).' In the *Tale of a Tub*, the Lord-mayor, who was a Dissenter, carrying the city regalia to the meeting-house, or rather Dissenters becoming Lord-mayors, is repre-sented under the idea of Jack's "getting upon a "great horse, and eating custard (18)." It was for-merly the custom for the Lord-mayor of London to ride, not, as at present, in a state-coach, but on a kind of state-horse; and to this De Foe alludes, in the following line, in one of his poems:

(17) Life of De Foe, p. 17.

(18) Tale of a Tub, sect. xi.

"To ride the city horse, and wear the chain (19)."

(19) Works, vol. I. p. 74.

De Foe contended, 'That he who dissents from 'the established church, except from a true principle 'of conscience, is guilty of a great sin: That he 'who conforms to the established church against his 'conscience, is guilty of a great sin: That, he who 'both dissents and conforms at the same time, and in 'the same point of religion, must be guilty of one of 'those great sins (19).'

(20) Collection of the Writings of the Author of the True-born Englishman, vol. I. p. 332.

De Foe also says, 'Sincerity is the glory of a 'Christian, the native lustre of an honest heart is 'impossible to be hid; it will shine through all his 'life in one action or another, in spite of scandal; 'and it wants no artifice to set it out. If the prac-'tice we discourse of be to be defended, *let it be a* '*practice*; I mean, let it be voluntary, let it be free 'and spontaneous; and if gentlemen, who have 'such a latitude in their opinions, would not have it 'thought that they are moved to it by their interests, 'let them practise it openly, and not time it so to 'the very *eve* of an election as to have it speak of 'itself, and, as it were, force men to believe it done 'on purpose (21).'

(21) Ibid. p. 340.

'There is a sort of truth, which all men owe to 'the principles they profess, and generally speaking, 'all men pay it; a Turk is a Turk zealously and 'entirely; an Idolater is an Idolater, and will *serve* '*the Devil to a tittle*. None but Protestants halt be-'tween God and Baal; Christians of an amphibious 'nature, who have such preposterous consciences as 'can believe one way of worship to be right, and 'yet serve God another way themselves. This is a 'strange thing in Israel! all the histories of religion 'in the world do not shew such a case. 'Tis like a 'ship with her sails haled some back, and some full. ''Tis like a workman that builds with one hand, and 'pulls down with the other. 'Tis like a fisherman, 'who catches fish with one hand, and throws them 'into the sea with the other (22).'

(22) Ibid. p. 311.

[K] *A controversy between him and Mr. John Howe.*] De Foe reprinted his "Enquiry into the Occasional "Conformity of Dissenters," in 1701, and then added to it a preface, signed with the initials of his name, addressed to Mr. Howe; in which he observed, that he had two reasons for addressing his piece to him, the first was, that he was "not unjustly "esteemed one of the most learned and judicious of "the Dissenting ministry;" and the second was, that he had a "more immediate relation to the then "Lord-mayor, who was, or had been, a member of "the Church of Christ under his charge." He re-marked, that the piece was the same which had been before published in the mayoralty of Sir Humphrey Edwin; and then adds, 'The debate was then 'young, and the practice of this scandalous confor-'mity was new, Sir John Shorter being the first in-'stance of it. But it is now growing a received 'custom, to the great scandal of the Dissenters in 'general, the offence of such whose consciences for-'bid them the same latitude, and the stumbling of 'those who, being before weak and irresolute, are led 'aside by the eminency and frequency of examples.'

De Foe afterwards proceeds, addressing himself to Mr. Howe; 'Sir, if you knew the author, you 'would easily be satisfied, that the reason of this 'preface is not that he covets to engage in contro-'versy with a person of your capacity and learning, 'being altogether unfit for such a task, and no way 'a match to your talent that way. But he desires, 'in the name of himself, and a great many honest 'good Christians, who would be glad to see this 'case decided, that you will by yourself, or some 'other hand, as you please, declare to the world, 'whether this practice of alternate communion be 'allowed, either by your congregation in particular, 'or the Dissenters in general. And if not so allowed, 'then he conjures you by the honour you owe to 'your profession, and the tenderness you have for 'the weakness of others; by the regard you have to 'God's honour, and the church you serve; that 'such proceedings may receive their due censure, 'though the persons wear the gay cloaths, and the 'gold ring; that the sincerity and purity of Dissent-'ing Protestants may be vindicated to the world, 'both in their discipline as well as doctrine, and 'that without respect of persons. If, on the other 'hand, it be allowed, it is desired that it may be de-'fended by such arguments as you think convenient; 'which the author promises, if desired, never to 'reply to; or, if you give him that liberty, shall do 'it so, as you shall easily see is in order only to be 'informed, and always suitable to the respect which 'is due to your person; for whom none has a 'greater esteem. If none of these requests shall be 'granted, the world must believe, that Dissenters do

'allow

" with consent of Parliament, is not inconsistent with a free Government [*L*];" " Rea-
" sons against a War with France, or an Argument, shewing, that the French King's
" owning the Prince of Wales as King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, is no suffi-
" cient Ground of a War [*M*];" and, " The Original Power of the Collective Body

'allow themselves to practise what they cannot 'defend (23).'

(23) Ibid. p. 303, 304.

The same year Mr Howe published in 4to. an answer to De Foe's Preface, under the title of " Some Consideration of a Preface to an Enquiry " concerning the Occasional Conformity of Dissen-" ters." In this piece Mr. Howe avoids entering regularly into the argument, but indirectly apologizes for Occasional Conformity in the following passage: 'Those Christians that agree in all the 'essentials of Christianity, agree in far greater things 'than it is possible for them to disagree in. He must 'have mean and mishapen thoughts of Christian 'religion, that thinks not the great doctrines of 'Faith, ordinances of worship, and rules of daily 'practice (common to us all), unspeakably more va-'luable, than this or that *external mode* or *form* of 'religion, that is but accidentally, and mutably, 'adherent thereto. And what if some have thought 'that alone a sufficient reason for their *occasional* 'communion with a church with which they have not 'constant communion, that they may do it, and 'themselves, that right before the world as to te-'stify, they decline it not as *no church*, but so far 'practically own it, as the reason of the thing re-'quires: why may they not be supposed to do this, 'as thinking it a good reason, whether it really be 'so or no, without going against conscience herein? 'And yet the same person may, perhaps, think the 'communion of another church preferable, and for 'ordinary resort, rather to be chosen, as wherein he 'finds the same essence, with more regular, grateful, 'and advantageous, modes, and ways of administra-'tion (24).'

(24) Some Consideration of a Preface, p. 1.

Mr. John Howe was a Dissenting minister of eminent abilities and learning, and of an excellent character; but in his controversy with De Foe he gained no credit. He was displeased with De Foe for having publickly introduced his name upon the subject, and he lost his temper too much upon the occasion. De Foe had at first addressed Mr. Howe in very civil terms, but finding himself treated roughly, and somewhat contemptuously, in Mr. Howe's " Considerations of a Preface," &c. he treated him less ceremoniously, and defended himself with great spirit, in " A Letter to Mr. Howe, " by way of Reply to his Considerations of the Pre-" face to an Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity " of Dissenters." In this letter he says to Mr. Howe, 'When I addressed the preface to you, I thought I 'had so carefully revised both it and the book, that, 'as I mentioned to you, I could no where be taxed 'with exceeding the rules of charity and good 'manners. And though I would always make them 'both my rule, yet I thought myself obliged to it 'more now than ordinarily, by how much the per-'son to whom, and the persons of whom I wrote, 'were equally known, and very much valued by 'me; and I did not question but I should either 'not be replied to at all, or it would be done with 'the charity of a Christian, the civility of a gentle-'man, and the force and vigour of a scholar. But 'since it seems good to you, Sir, to descend so far 'below yourself as to quit the dispute offered, and 'fall upon me personally, and to mix raillery and 'reproach with your argument, which, I am sure, 'you know too well to think it betters the cause; 'you must blame yourself, Sir, for obliging me, in 'my own defence, to be a little freer with you than 'otherwise I should have thought had become 'me (25).'

(25) Ibid. p. 324.

De Foe remarks, that Mr. Howe had written against him not only as an Independent, but also as if he had been a Fifth-monarchy-man, and a Leveller; to which he replies, 'I assure you I am no 'Independent, nor Fifth-monarchy-man, nor Le-'veller. You have shewn your learning, Sir, and 'confuted an error inconsistent with civil society very 'well: but this had better been done by itself. It 'had no more relation to the case in hand, than a 'lecture against the Alcoran; and you may as well 'conjecture me to be a Mahometan, as a Fifth-mo-'narchy-man, from any thing in the book that 'looks like either. But, Sir, since I am led by you 'to give an account of my profession, which, I hope, 'I shall always be ready to do, I shall do it in few 'words: That I am of the same class, and in the 'same denomination of a Dissenter, with yourself, 'your office excepted, and am willing to be guided 'by, and to practise the great rule of Christian cha-'rity, in all the proper and legal extents of it (26).'

(26) Ibid. p. 327.

Mr. Howe having intimated, that De Foe had written his piece on Occasional Conformity in order to reflect upon Sir Thomas Abney, he says, in order to vindicate himself against that charge; 'Sir, the 'Enquiry was published in the mayoralty of Sir 'Humphrey Edwin, three years ago, and therefore 'could not be designed as a personal invective against 'the gentleman you speak of; and this the preface 'told you, if you had pleased to read it. All that 'can be said is, that the cause being again given, 'the reprinting it was designed as a reproof to the 'practice, and so much I own. As for persons, I 'am indifferent; if the coat fits any body, let them 'wear it.'—'I declare myself, if of any party, I am, 'and ever was for the English liberty, and for the 'putting such men into magistracy, who in con-'currence with the king, our supreme magistrate, 'would protect and preserve that liberty. And, as 'a person every way qualified to execute a trust of 'so much honour, whether profitable or not, I won't 'examine, I gave my vote for Sir Thomas Abney, 'and should have done so, if I had the power of ten 'thousand voices; and no man has more respect for, 'or opinion of, his honesty and ability than myself. 'Nor have I, God be thanked, any occasion to say 'this to flatter him; for I neither want his favour, 'nor fear his anger (27).'

(27) Ibid. p. 328, 329.

[*L*] *An argument, shewing, that a standing army, with consent of Parliament, &c.*] De Foe admitted, that the arguments in support of a standing army were only of a temporary nature; but he contended, that, in the then state of public affairs, some troops were necessary to be kept up, for the support of our allies, and for maintaining our consideration in the scale of European power; and that this was not dangerous to liberty, if the mercenary troops kept up were not too numerous, if the militia were kept up at the same time, if the mercenary troops were kept up only by the authority of parliament, and no longer than the parliament should think proper (28).'

(28) Ibid. p. 202—223.

[*M*] *Reasons against a War with France, &c.*] De Foe very much disapproved of the addresses that were presented to king William, after the French king had given the title of king of England to the pretender, on the death of king James II. and of the great desire which seemed then to be manifested by the nation for a war with France. He observed, that natural antipathies were 'no just ground of a 'war between nations. Nor popular opinions. Nor 'is every invasion of right a good reason for a war, 'at least till redress has first been demanded in a 'peaceable way (29). He remarked, that it was not his design to 'vindicate the honour of the 'French king, whose punctual observing of treaties 'was not reckoned among the best of his royal vir-'tues. But,' he added, 'I cannot agree with 'those people who say, in their addresses, that his 'owning the prince of Wales, as they called him, 'to be the successor of the late king James, is di-'rectly contrary to the stipulations of the treaty of 'Ryswick. I am not writing against a war with 'France, provided it be on justifiable grounds. 'But methinks the English nation are not so in-'considerable in the world, as to fly to shifts and 'strained constructions, in order to pick quarrels 'with our neighbours (30).'

(29) Ibid. p. 184, 185.

(30) Id. ibid.

He afterwards entered into an examination of the treaty of Ryswick, and endeavoured to prove, that the French king had not been guilty of any express violation of that treaty. There is not, says he, 'one 'word to enjoin the king of France not to continue 'the title of king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, 'to king James, or any of his posterity, as a titular 'honour,

" of the people of England examined and asserted [*N*];" which he dedicated to King William [*O*].

At

'honour, only that he will not give or afford any 'assistance; and this assistance is explained afterwards, 'to be either of arms, ammunition, ships, provisions, 'or money; the giving them such empty titles as they 'should please themselves with was, and must justly be 'accounted a thing so trivial, that it was not thought 'worth the stipulation of a treaty. Some people are 'willing to make a constructive breach of it, and say 'this is assisting him, as it is encouraging him and his 'party. To such I hope I may have liberty to say, a 'war is not to be begun, and the blood and treasure 'of a nation exposed upon constructive breaches, but 'direct literal infractions of a treaty. And let the 'encouragement to that new-made king, and his 'drooping party, be what it will, unless the king of 'France does directly or indirectly aid or assist them 'with arms, ammunition, ships, provisions, or money, 'and thereby disturb his present majesty in the free 'possession of the kingdoms, countries, lands, or 'dominions, which he now enjoys, I see no breach of 'that treaty at all, in his complimenting the young 'gentleman in whatsoever titles he has given him-
(31) Ibid. p. 187, 188. 'self (31).'

Dr. Smollett says, that before the death of James II. 'he was visited by the French king, who seemed 'touched with his condition, and declared, that, in 'case of his death, he would own his son as king of 'England. This promise James's queen had already 'extorted from him, by the interest of madam de 'Maintenon and the dauphin. Accordingly, when 'James died, the pretended prince of Wales was pro-'claimed king of England at St. Germain's, and treated 'as such at the court of Versailles. His title was 'likewise recognized by the king of Spain, the duke 'of Savoy, and the Pope. William was no sooner 'informed of this transaction, than he dispatched a 'courier to the king of Sweden, as guarantee of the 'treaty of Ryswick, to complain of this manifest vio-'lation. At the same time, he recalled the earl of 'Manchester from Paris, and ordered him to return 'without taking an audience of leave. That noble-'man immediately withdrew, after having intimated 'to the marquis de Torcy the order he had received. 'Lewis, in vindication of his own conduct, dispersed 'through all the courts of Europe a manifesto, in 'which he affirmed, that in owning the prince of 'Wales as king of England he had not infringed any 'article of the treaty of Ryswick. He confessed, that, 'in the fourth article, he had promised that he would 'not disturb the king of Great Britain in the peaceable 'possession of his dominions; and he declared his 'intention was to observe that promise punctually. 'He observed, that his generosity would not allow 'him to abandon the prince of Wales or his family; 'that he could not refuse him a title which was due 'to him by birth; that he had more reason to com-'plain of the king of Great Britain, and the States-'General, whose declarations and preparations in fa-'vour of the emperor might be regarded as real con-'traventions to treaties: finally, he quoted some in-'stances from history, in which the children enjoyed the
(32) Hist. of England from the Revolution, vol. I. p. 395. edit. 1735. 'titles of kingdoms which their fathers had lost (32).'

De Foe says, 'If the giving titles to the late king, 'or his posterity, had been any matter considerable 'in the case, it would no doubt have been considered 'in the treaty (of Ryswick); but since it was wholly 'left out, the French king might reasonably be sup-'posed thereby to be left at liberty to call him by what 'name or title he thought fit to desire. As to the 'personal affront of the king, with all humble sub-'mission to his majesty's conduct, I only say, that I 'wish, before his majesty had recalled his ambassador, 'he had been pleased to have ordered him to demand 'satisfaction in that case; in answer to which demand 'the king of France might possibly have given his rea-'sons, and made such a declaration, as might have 'been a sufficient reparation to the honour of his 'majesty; and if not, then there had been more room 'for a public resentment than now there seems to be.'

——'If a war be necessary, it is just, and if so, why 'should we be afraid of it? if it be not so, we ought 'not to seek occasions, and make constructive breaches, 'and personal affronts, the pretences of it. The 'French are not so inconsiderable in power, that we 'should be fond of a war without reason; nor we so 'inconsiderable, that we need be afraid of a just and 'honourable war. A war, which must cost the blood 'of our countrymen, and the treasure of our inhabi-'tants, is not a thing of so little consequence as may 'be undertaken upon slight occasions; nor of so great 'consequence, that we should be afraid to enter upon 'it with just and honourable reasons (33).'
(33) De Foe's Works, vol. I. p. 188, 189.

In this piece De Foe wrote against the views and conduct of the court, and against what then seemed to be the prevailing sense of the nation. He appears, however, to have been perfectly right, to have exhibited on this occasion great political discernment, and to have been influenced by no motives but those of public spirit.

[*N*] *The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England, &c.*] This is a piece of considerable merit, and contains a great variety of excellent political observations. Among other positions which he lays down in it are the following:

'*Salus Populi suprema Lex*; all government and con-'sequently our whole constitution, was originally de-'signed, and is maintained, for the support of the 'people's property, who are the governed.

'All the members of government, whether king, 'lords, or commons, if they invert the great end of 'their institution, the public good, cease to be in the 'same public capacity.

'No collective, or representative body of men what-'soever, in matters of politics any more than religion, 'are or ever have been infallible (34).'
(34) Ibid, p. 138, 139.

'The good of the people governed is the end of all 'government, and the reason and original of govern-'ment; and upon this foundation it is, that it has 'been the practice of all nations, and of this in par-'ticular, that if the mal-administration of governors 'have extended to tyranny and oppression, to de-'struction of right and justice, overthrowing the con-'stitution, and abusing the people, the people have 'thought it lawful to re-assume the right of govern-'ment into their own hands, and to reduce their gover-'nors to reason (35).'
(35) Ibid. p. 142.

De Foe also says, 'The people of England have 'delegated all the executive power in the king; the 'legislative in the king, lords, and commons; the 'sovereign judicature in the lords; the remainder is 'reserved in themselves, and not committed, no not 'to their representatives. All powers delegated are to 'one great end and purpose, and no other, and that is, 'the public good. If either or all the branches to 'whom this power is delegated, invert the design, the 'end of their power, the right they have to that power 'ceases; and they become tyrants and usurpers of a 'power they have no right to (36).'
(36) Ibid. p. 147.

'The power vested in the three heads of our con-'stitution is vested in them by the people of England, 'who were a people before there was such a thing as 'a constitution. And the nature of the thing is the 'reason of the thing: it was vested in them by the 'people, because the people were the only original of 'their power, being the only power prior to the con-'stitution.

'For the public good of the people a constitution 'and government was originally formed; from the 'mutual consent of these people the powers and au-'thorities of this constitution are derived; and for the 'preservation of this constitution, and enabling it to 'answer the ends of its constitution in the best manner 'possible, those powers were divided.'—'At the final, 'casual, or any other determination of this constitution, 'the powers are dissolved, and all authority must de-'rive *de novo* from the first fountain, original, and 'cause of all constitutions, *the governed* (37).'
(37) Ibid. p. 146

'In this universal right of the people consists our 'general safety: for, notwithstanding all the beauty 'of our constitution, and the exact symmetry of its 'parts, about which some have been so very elegant, 'this noble well-contrived system has been over-'whelmed, the government has been inverted, the 'people's liberties have been trampled on, and par-'liaments have been rendered useless and insignificant. 'And what has restored us? The last resort has been

At the beginning of the year 1701, he publiſhed his ſatire, called, "The True-born "Engliſhman

'the people; *Vox Dei* has been found there, not in the 'repreſentatives, but in their original the *repreſented*.'

'There muſt be ſome power prior to the power of 'king, lords, and commons, from which, as the 'ſtreams from the fountain, the power of king, lords, 'and commons, is derived. And what are all the 'different terms which ſtateſmen turn ſo often into fine 'words to ſerve their ends; as, *Reaſons of State*, *Public 'Good*, the *Common wealth*, the *Engliſh Conſtitution*, 'the *Government*, the *Laws of England*, the *Liberties 'of England*, the *Fleets*, the *Armies*, the *Militia of 'England*, the *Trade*, the *Manufactures of England?* 'All are but ſeveral terms drawn from, and reducible 'to the great term, *the People of England*. That is the 'general, which contains all the particulars, and which 'had all power before any of the particulars had a 'being. And from this conſideration it is, that ſome, 'who yet would be oppoſers of this doctrine, ſay, when 'it ſerves their turn, that all the great offices which 'have the title of England annexed to them ought to 'be nominated and approved by the people of England, 'as the high chancellor of England, high admiral of 'England, and the like (38).'

(38) Ibid. p. 144, 145.

De Foe afterwards ſays, 'I hope, I cannot offend 'any free repreſentative of the people of England in 'ſaying, that what power they have they receive from 'the people they repreſent, and that ſome powers do 'ſtill remain with the people, which they never either 'diveſted themſelves of, or committed to them. Nor 'can I be ſenſible of offending, if I ſay, that 'tis poſſible 'for even a houſe of commons to be in the wrong. 'Tis poſſible for a houſe of commons to be miſled by 'factions and parties; 'tis poſſible for them to be 'bribed by penſions and places; and by either of 'theſe extremes to betray their truſt, and abuſe the 'people who entruſt them: and if the people ſhould 'have no redreſs in ſuch a caſe, then would the nation 'be in the hazard of being ruined by their own re-'preſentatives. And 'tis a wonder to find it aſſerted, 'in a certain treatiſe, "That it is not to be ſuppoſed "that ever the houſe of commons can injure the peo-"ple who entruſt them." There can be no better 'way to demonſtrate the poſſibility of a thing, than by 'proving that it has been already. And we need go 'no farther back than to the reign of king Charles the 'Second, in which we have ſeen liſts of an hundred 'and eighty members who received private penſions 'from the court; and if any body ſhould aſk whether 'that parliament preſerved the balance of power, in 'the three branches of our conſtitution, in the due 'diſtribution ſome have mentioned, I am not afraid to 'anſwer in the negative (39).'

(39) Ibid, p. 151, 152.

'Reaſon and juſtice allow, that when all delegated 'powers fail or expire, when governors devour the 'people they ſhould protect, and when parliaments, if 'ever that unhappy time ſhall come again, ſhould be 'either deſtroyed, or, which is as bad, be corrupted, 'and betray the people they repreſent; the people 'themſelves, who are the original of all delegated 'power, have an undoubted right to defend their 'lives, liberties, properties, religion, and laws, againſt 'all manner of invaſion or treachery, be it foreign or 'domeſtic (40).'

(40) Ibid. p. 154, 155.

'The houſe of commons are our ſanctuary againſt 'the oppreſſion of princes, the nation's treaſurers, 'and the defenders of their liberties; but all theſe 'titles ſignify, that at the ſame time they are the na-'tion's ſervants. The houſe of commons alſo are 'mortal, as a houſe; a king may diſſolve them; they 'may die, and be extinct; but the power of the peo-'ple has a kind of eternity with reſpect to politic dura-'tion. Parliaments may ceaſe; but the people re-'main. For them they were originally made; by 'them they are continued and renewed; from them 'they receive their power; and to them in reaſon they 'ought to be accountable (41).'

(41) Ibid. p. 163, 164.

In this piece De Foe intimates it to have been his opinion, that, at the Revolution, all the old laws ſhould have been confirmed by the authority of the people (42); and he maintained, that the houſe of commons had no right to proceed rigorouſly againſt thoſe who petitioned them, in terms which they did not like, under any pretence of indecency of expreſſion (43). Such treatment of perſons, who had petitioned the houſe of commons in offenſive language, was juſtified by the example of the court of chancery, in caſes wherein that court ſuppoſed itſelf to be inſulted; but, ſaid De Foe, 'the freeholders of England 'ſtand in a different capacity to the members of the 'houſe, who are their *truſtees*, their *attornies*, their 'repreſentatives, from that of a complainant in chan-'cery to the judge of that court (44).'

(42) Ibid. p. 147.

(43) Ibid. p. 143.

(44) Ibid. p. 143.

De Foe did not approve of the choice of very young men to be members of the houſe of commons. He ſays, in another piece, 'Though 'tis confeſſed, that 'wiſdom makes a young man old, yet the houſe of 'commons is not a place for boys. We have ſeen too 'many young men in the houſe, and raſh counſels are 'generally the effect of young heads. Fools and boys 'would do leſs harm in the houſe, and grow wiſer by 'being there, were they but allowed to ſit, and not 'give their votes. But while a boy may do as much 'miſchief as a man, and a fool as a man of ſenſe, it 'is hard that the material parts of a nation's happineſs 'ſhould be committed either to young or weak heads '(45).'——'The houſe of commons is not a place for 'fools. The great affairs of the ſtate, the welfare of 'the kingdom, the public ſafety, the religion, liber-'ties, and trade, the wealth and honour of the nation, 'are not things to be debated by green heads. The 'ſaying we have, that the houſe of commons is a 'ſchool for ſtateſmen, is an error. In my opinion, 'they ſhould be all well-taught, and thoroughly learned 'in matters of the higheſt moment, before they come 'there (46).'

(45) Ibid. p. 280, 281.

(46) Ibid. p. 279.

[O] *Dedicated to King William.*] This dedication, which deſerves to be preſerved, is as follows:

To the KING.

"Sir,

"'TIS not the leaſt of the extraordinaries of Your Majeſty's character, that as You are King of Your people, ſo you are the people's King.

"This title as it is the moſt glorious, ſo is it the moſt indiſputable in the world.

"God himſelf appointed, the prophet proclaimed, but the people's aſſent was the finiſhing the Royal Authority of the firſt King of Iſrael.

"Your Majeſty, among all the bleſſings of your reign, has reſtored this, as the beſt of all our enjoyments, the full liberty of original right in its actings and exerciſe.

"Former reigns have invaded it, and the laſt thought it totally ſuppreſt; but, as liberty revived under Your Majeſty's juſt authority, this was the firſt flower ſhe brought forth.

"The author of theſe ſheets humbly hopes, that what Your Majeſty has ſo graciouſly reſtored, what our laws and conſtitution have declared and ſettled, and what truth and juſtice openly appear for, he may be allowed to vindicate.

"Your Majeſty knows too well the nature of government, to think it at all the leſs honourable, or the more precarious, for being devolved from, and centered in, the conſent of your people.

"The pretence of patriarchal authority, had it really an uninterrupted ſucceſſion, can never be ſupported againſt the demonſtrated practice of all nations; but being alſo diveſted of the chief ſupport it might have had, if that ſucceſſion could have been proved: The authority of governors, *Jure Divino*, has ſunk ignominiouſly to the ground, as a prepoſterous and inconſiſtent forgery.

"And yet, if *Vox Populi* be, as 'tis generally allowed, *Vox Dei*, Your Majeſty's right to theſe kingdoms *Jure Divino* is more plain than any of Your predeceſſors.

"How happy are theſe nations, after all the oppreſſions and tyranny of arbitrary rulers, to obtain a King who reigns by the univerſal voice of the people, and has the greateſt ſhare in their affections that ever any Prince enjoyed, Queen Elizabeth only excepted.

"And how vain are the attempts of a neighbouring Prince, to nurſe up a contemptible impoſture, upon the pretence of forming a claim on the foundation of but a pretended ſucceſſion, againſt the conſent of the general ſuffrage of the nation.

"To what purpoſe ſhall all the proofs of his Legitimacy be, *ſuppoſing it could be made out*, when the univerſal voice of the people already expreſſed in enacted laws, ſhall anſwer, *We will not have this man to reign over us.*

"May

"Engliſhman [P]," a piece which excited great attention, and ſoon paſſed through many editions [Q]. It was ſeverely cenſured by ſome [R]; but it introduced him to the

"May this affection of Your Subjects continue to the lateſt hour of Your Life, and may Your ſatisfaction be ſuch as may convince the world, *That the chiefeſt felicity of a Crown conſiſts in the affections, as the firſt authority of it derives from the conſent of the people* (47)."

(47) Ibid. p. 133.

Beſides his dedication to the king, De Foe added another dedication "to the Lords Spiritual and "Temporal, and the Commons of England," in which are the following paſſages:

'My lords and gentlemen,

'The vindication of the original right of all men 'to the government of themſelves, is ſo far from a 'derogation from, that it is a confirmation of, your 'legal authority.'—'You are the conſervators of 'our liberties, the expoſitors of our laws, the levyers 'of our taxes, and the redreſſers of our grievances, 'the king's beſt counſellors, and the people's laſt 'refuge. But if you are diſſolved, for you are not 'immortal; or if you are deceived, for you are not 'infallible; 'twas never yet ſuppoſed, till very lately, 'that all power dies with you. You may die, but 'the people remain; you may be diſſolved, and all 'immediate right may ceaſe; power may have its 'intervals, and crowns their *interregnum*; but ori-'ginal power endures to the ſame eternity the world 'endures to: and while there are people, there may 'be a legal authority delegated, though all ſucceſ-'ſion of ſubſtituted power were at an end (48).'

(48) Ibid, p. 134, 136.

[P] *His ſatire, called "The True-born Engliſhman."*] He appears to have been induced to write this by his attachment to king William. In his *Appeal to Honour and Juſtice*, he ſays, 'There came out a vile, 'abhorred pamphlet, in very ill verſe, written by 'one Mr. Tutchin, and called *the Foreigners*; in 'which the author, who he was I then knew not, 'fell perſonally on the king himſelf, and then upon 'the Dutch nation; and after having reproached 'his majeſty with crimes, that his worſt enemy 'could not think of without horror, he ſums up all 'in the odious name of *Foreigner*. This filled me 'with a kind of rage againſt the book, and gave 'birth to a trifle, which I never could hope ſhould 'have met with ſo general an acceptation as it did; 'I mean, *The True-born Engliſhman* (49).' In the Explanatory Preface to this piece, prefixed to the edition of it publiſhed in his works, he alſo expreſſes himſelf thus: 'When I ſee the town full of 'lampoons and invectives againſt Dutchmen, *only be-'cauſe they are foreigners*, and the king reproached and 'inſulted by ignorant pedants, and ballad-making 'poets, for employing foreigners, and for being a 'foreigner himſelf, I confeſs myſelf moved by it to 'remind our nation of their own original, thereby 'to let them ſee what a banter is put upon ourſelves 'in it; ſince ſpeaking of Engliſhmen *ab origine*, we 'are really all foreigners ourſelves. I could go on 'to prove 'tis alſo impolitic in us to diſcourage 'foreigners; ſince it is eaſy to make it appear, that 'the multitudes of foreign nations, who have taken 'ſanctuary here, have been the greateſt additions 'to the wealth and ſtrength of the nation, the 'eſſential whereof is the number of its inhabitants. 'Nor would this nation ever have arrived to the de-'gree of wealth and glory which it now boaſts of, 'if the addition of foreign nations, both as to ma-'nufactures and arms, had not been helpful to it.'

(49) P. 6.

Part of the character, which De Foe gives of his countrymen in *the True-born Engliſhman*, is contained in the following lines:

'Fierce as the Briton, as the Roman brave,
'And leſs inclin'd to conquer than to ſave;
'Eager to fight, and laviſh of their blood;
'And equally of fear and fore-caſt void.
'The Pict has made 'em four, the Dane moroſe,
'Falſe from the Scot, and from the Norman worſe.
'What honeſty they have, the Saxons gave them,
'And that, now they grow old, begins to leave them.
'The climate makes them terrible and bold.
'And Engliſh beef their courage does uphold.
'No danger can their daring ſpirit pall,
'Always provided that their belly 's full (50).'

(50) Works, vol. I. p. 14.

'Chearful in labour, when they have undertook it,
'But out of humour, when they're out of pocket.
'But, if their belly and their pocket 's full,
'They may be phlegmatic, but never dull:
'And if a bottle does their brains refine,
'It makes their wit as ſparkling as their wine (51).'

(51) Ibid. p. 20.

'The meaneſt Engliſh ploughman ſtudies law,
'And keeps thereby the magiſtrates in awe;
'Will boldly tell them what they ought to do,
'And ſometimes puniſh their omiſſion too (52).'

(52) Ibid, p. 21.

Of the Females of England, De Foe expreſſes himſelf in the following terms:

'Nor ſhall my verſe the brighter ſex defame;
'For Engliſh beauty will preſerve her name.
'Beyond diſpute, agreeable and fair,
'And modeſter than other nations are:
'For where the vice prevails, the great temptation
'Is want of money more than inclination.
'In general, this only is allow'd,
'They 're ſomething noiſy, and a little proud (53).'

(53) Ibid. p. 20.

Referring to the Revolution, and the abdication of king James, De Foe ſays,

'When kings the ſword of juſtice firſt lay down,
'They are no kings, though they poſſeſs the crown.
'Titles are ſhadows, crowns are empty things,
'The good of ſubjects is the end of kings:
'To guide in war, and to protect in peace:
'Where tyrants once commence, the kings do ceaſe.
'For arbitrary power's ſo ſtrange a thing,
'It makes the tyrant, and unmakes the king (54).'

(54) Ibid. p. 25.

In the following lines, De Foe refers to the treatment which the Earl of Portland, and the Duke of Schomberg received from many of the Engliſh:

'Great Portland ne'er was banter'd when he ſtrove,
'For us his maſter's kindeſt thoughts to move.
'We ne'er lampoon'd his conduct when employ'd
'King James's ſecret councils to divide:
'Then we careſs'd him as the only man,
'Which could the doubtful oracle explain:
'The only Huſhai able to repel,
'The dark deſigns of our Achitophel.
'Compar'd his maſter's courage to his ſenſe,
'The ableſt ſtateſman, and the braveſt prince.
'Ten years in Engliſh ſervice he appear'd,
'And gain'd his maſter's, and the world's regard:
'But 'tis not England's cuſtom to reward.
'The wars are over, England needs him not,
'Now he 's a Dutchman, and the Lord knows what.
'Schomberg, the ableſt ſoldier of his age,
'With great Naſſau did in our cauſe engage:
'Both join'd for England's reſcue and defence,
'The greateſt captain, and the greateſt prince.
'With what applauſe his ſtories did we tell?
'Stories which Europe's volumes largely ſwell.
'We counted him an army in our aid:
'Where he commanded, no man was afraid.
'His actions with a conſtant conqueſt ſhine,
'From Villa-Vitioſa to the Rhine.
'France, Flanders, Germany, his fame confeſs,
'And all the world was fond of him, but us.
'Our turn firſt ſerv'd, we grudg'd him the command,
'Witneſs the grateful temper of the land (55).'

(55) Ibid. p. 32, 33.

The True-born Engliſhman alſo contains an high panegyric upon king William; and De Foe concludes his poem with the following lines:

'Could but our anceſtors retrieve their fate,
'And ſee their offspring thus degenerate;
'How we contend for birth and names unknown,
'And build on their paſt actions, not our own;
'They 'd cancel records, and their tombs deface,
'And openly diſown the vile degenerate race.
'For fame of families is all a cheat;
'TIS PERSONAL VIRTUE ONLY MAKES US GREAT (56).

(56) Ibid. p. 40

[Q] *Paſſed through many editions.*] In the preface to the ſecond volume of his Works, he ſays, that, if he had been permitted to enjoy the profit of his own labour, he ſhould have gained more than a thouſand pounds by his *True-born Engliſhman*. Nine editions were printed for himſelf; beſides which, there were twelve pirated editions. Thoſe printed under his own

the notice and favour of the king, by whom he was very graciouſly received, and in ſome manner employed and rewarded [S]; but of the particulars we are not informed. He afterwards publiſhed another ſatire, in verſe, entituled "Reformation of Manners [T];" and about the ſame time ſome other ſmall pieces both in verſe and in proſe. He

own direction, which, as he ſays, were "fairly "printed, and on good paper," were ſold for one ſhilling each; but of the pirated editions, moſt of which were wretchedly and incorrectly printed, on a ſmall type, and bad paper, and ſometimes with large omiſſions, he ſays, that eighty thouſand were "ſold in the ſtreets for two-pence, or at a penny." But ſome of the pirated editions were better printed, and ſold at 6d. each.

De Foe's works were often pirated, which he juſtly complained of, as a great injury done to him; and it has been ſaid, that his repreſentations and remonſtrances on the injuſtice of ſuch practices were a principal cauſe of the act being paſſed, in the ninth year of the reign of queen Anne, "for the en-"couragement of learning, by veſting the copies of "printed books in the authors, or their aſſigns."

[R] *Severely cenſured by ſome.*] He was charged, he ſays, with abuſing the Engliſh nation, "by diſ-"covering the meanneſs of our original, in order to "make the Engliſh contemptible abroad and at "home." But in juſtification of himſelf he ſays, 'The intent of the ſatire is pointed at the vanity of 'thoſe who talk of their antiquity, and value them-'ſelves upon their pedigree, their antient families, 'and being *true-born*; whereas it is impoſſible we 'ſhould be *true-born*; and, if we could, we ſhould 'have loſt by the bargain. Theſe ſort of people, 'who call themſelves *true born*, and tell long ſtories 'of their families, and, like a nobleman of Venice, 'think a foreigner ought not to walk on the ſame 'ſide of the ſtreet with them, are owned to be 'meant in this ſatire. What they would infer from 'their long original, I know not; nor is it eaſy to 'make out whether they are the better or the worſe 'for their anceſtors. Our Engliſh nation may value 'themſelves for their wit, wealth, and courage, and 'I believe few nations will diſpute it with them; 'but for long originals, and antient true-born fami-'lies of Engliſh, I would adviſe them to wave the 'diſcourſe. A *true Engliſhman* is one that deſerves a 'character, and I have no where leſſened him, that 'I know of; but as for a *true-born* Engliſhman, I (57) Explana-tory Preface. 'confeſs I do not underſtand him (57).'

De Foe maintained, that the Engliſh were the better for being a mixed race: 'Had we been an un-'mixed nation,' ſays he, 'I am of opinion, that it 'had been to our diſadvantage. For to go no far-'ther, we have three nations about us as clear from 'mixtures of blood as any in the world, and I know 'not which of them I could wiſh ourſelves to be 'like; I mean the Scots, the Welch, and the Iriſh: 'and if I were to write a reverſe to the ſatire, I 'would examine all the nations of Europe, and 'prove, that thoſe nations which are moſt mixed are 'the beſt, and have leaſt of barbariſm and brutality 'among them; and abundance of reaſons might be 'given for it, too long to bring into a preface. 'But I give this hint to let the world know, that I 'am far from thinking, 'tis a ſatire upon the Engliſh 'nation to tell them, they are derived from all the 'nations under heaven; that is, from ſeveral nations. 'Nor is it meant to undervalue the original of the 'Engliſh, for we ſee no reaſon to like them the worſe, 'being the relicts of Romans, Danes, Saxons, and 'Normans, than we ſhould have done, if they had 'remained Britons; that is, than if they had been (58) Ibid. 'all Welch-men (58).'

[S] *Introduced him to the notice and favour of the King, &c.*] He ſays, in his *Appeal to Honour and Juſtice*, 'How this poem (*the true-born Engliſhman*) 'was the occaſion of my being known to his majeſty; 'how I was afterwards received by him; how em-'ployed; and how, above my capacity of deſerving, 'rewarded, is no part of the preſent caſe; and is 'only mentioned here, as I take all occaſions to do, 'for the expreſſing the honour I ever preſerved for 'the immortal and glorious memory of that greateſt 'and beſt of princes, and whom it was my honour 'and advantage to call maſter as well as ſovereign; 'whoſe goodneſs to me I never forgot, neither can 'forget; and whoſe memory I never patiently heard 'abuſed, nor ever can do ſo; and who, had he lived, 'would never have ſuffered me to be treated as I 'have been in the world (59).' (59) P. 6, 7.

[T] *Reformation of Manners.*] This poem is divided into two parts, and is a ſatire on the vices of the age; but it contains too much perſonality, and too much bitterneſs of invective. The ſeverity, however, with which De Foe ſpeaks of the ſlave-trade, in the following lines, deſerves no cenſure:

'Some fit out ſhips, and double freight enſure,
'And burn the ſhips to make the voyage ſecure;
'Promiſcuous plunders thro' the world commit,
'And with the money buy their ſafe retreat.
'Others ſeek out to Africk's Torrid Zone,
'And ſearch the burning ſhores of Serralone:
'There in unſufferable heats they fry,
'And run vaſt riſks to ſee the gold, and die.
'The harmleſs natives baſely they trepan,
'And barter baubles for the ſouls of men.
'The wretches they to Chriſtian climes bring o'er,
'To ſerve worſe Heathens than they did before.
'The cruelties they ſuffer there are ſuch,
'Amboyna 's nothing, they 've out-done the Dutch.
'Cortez, Pizarro, Guzman, Penaloe,
'Who drank the blood and gold of Mexico,
'Who thirteen millions of ſouls deſtroyed,
'And left one third of God's creation void,
'By birth for Nature's butchery deſign'd,
'Compar'd to theſe are merciful and kind.
'Death could their crueleſt deſigns fulfil,
'Blood quench'd their thirſt, and it ſufficed to kill;
'But theſe the tender *coup-de-grace* deny,
'And make men beg in vain for leave to die;
'To more than Spaniſh cruelty inclin'd,
'Torment the body, and debauch the mind;
'The ling'ring life of ſlavery preſerve,
'And vilely teach them both to ſin and ſerve.
'In vain they talk to them of ſhades below,
'They fear no Hell but where ſuch Chriſtians go.
'Of Jeſus Chriſt they very often hear,
'Often as his blaſpheming ſervants ſwear:
'They hear and wonder what ſtrange Gods they be,
'Can bear with patience ſuch indignity.
'They look for famines, plagues, diſeaſe, and death,
'Blaſts from above, and earthquakes from beneath.
'But when they ſee regardleſs Heaven looks on,
'They curſe our Gods, or think that we have none (60).' (60) Works, vol. I. p. 77, 78.

This poem alſo contains the following lines in praiſe of virtue:

'Virtue 's a native rectitude of mind,
'Vice the degeneracy of human kind.
'Virtue is wiſdom ſolid and divine;
'Vice is all fool without, and knave within.
'Virtue is honour circumſcribed by grace;
'Vice is made up of every thing that's baſe.
'Virtue has ſecret charms which all men love,
'And thoſe that do not chuſe her, yet approve.
'Vice, like ill pictures which offend the eye,
'Make thoſe that made them their own works deny.
'Virtue 's the health and vigour of the ſoul,
'Vice is the foul diſeaſe infects the whole.
'Virtue 's the friend of life, the ſoul of health,
'The poor man's comfort, and the rich man's wealth.
'Vice is a thief, a traitor in the mind,
'Aſſaſſinates the vitals of mankind;
'The poiſon of his high proſperity,
'And only miſery of poverty.
'To ſtates and governments they both extend,
'Virtue's their life and being; vice their end.
'Virtue eſtabliſhes and vice deſtroys,
'And all the ends of government unties.
'Virtue's an Engliſh King and Parliament,
'Vice is a Czar of Moſcow government.
'Virtue ſets bounds to Kings, and limits Crowns,
'Vice knows no law, and all reſtraint diſowns.
'Virtue preſcribes all government by rules,
'Vice makes Kings Tyrants, and their ſubjects fools.
'Virtue ſeeks peace, and prope ty maintains,
'Vice binds the captive World in hoſtile chains.
'Virtue's a beauteous building form'd on high,
'Vice is confuſion and deformity (61).' (61) Ibid. p. 96.

appears also to have been the author of the Memorial, presented to the House of Commons in 1701 (*k*), commonly called "The Legion Letter [*U*]."

(*k*) Chalmers's Life of De Foe, p. 14. Smollett's History of England from the Revolution, vol. I. p. 388.

After the death of King William, he published a poem, entituled, "The Mock-Mourners, a Satire, by way of Elegy on King William [*W*]." Besides doing honour to the memory

[*U*] *Commonly called the Legion Letter.*] Towards the close of the reign of King William, when the Tories had acquired a considerable ascendancy in the House of Commons, Lord Somers and some other of the Whig ministers were impeached; and such other opposition was made by the House to the King's measures, as seemed at that period to give general offence to the nation. In consequence of this dissatisfaction, a petition, signed by the deputy lieutenants, above twenty justices of the peace, the grand jury, and freeholders of the county of Kent, was presented to the House of Commons on the 18th of May, 1701, by five gentlemen of fortune and distinction. In this petition the House of Commons were earnestly exhorted to have a regard to the voice of the people, and sincerely to endeavour to answer the great trust reposed in them by their country. But this petition gave such umbrage to the House, that they voted, very absurdly, 'That 'the said petition was scandalous, insolent, and seditious, tending to destroy the constitution of Parliaments, and to subvert the established government of 'these realms (62);' and all the gentlemen who presented the petition were imprisoned in the Gate-house, Westminster. This violent and unconstitutional measure justly excited a great alarm throughout the nation, and gave rise to what was called "The Legion Letter," but which was entituled, "A Memorial from "the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of "the Counties of ——, in Behalf of themselves and "many Thousands of the good People of England, to "the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament "assembled." This Memorial appears to have been written by De Foe, and is said to have been presented by himself, disguised in women's apparel, to the Speaker of the House of Commons (63). In this memorial, among other passages addressed to the House of Commons, are the following: 'Though there are no 'stated proceedings to bring you to your duty, yet 'the great law of reason says, and all nations allow, 'that whatever power is above law is burthensome and 'tyrannical, and may be reduced by extrajudicial 'methods. You are not above the people's resentments. They that made you members may reduce 'you to the same rank from whence they chose you; 'and may give you a taste of their abused kindness, 'in terms you may not be pleased with.

'To imprison men who are not your own members, 'by no proceedings but a vote of your House, and 'to continue them in custody *sine die*, is illegal, a 'notorious breach of the liberty of the people, setting 'up a dispensing power in the House of Commons 'which your fathers never pretended to; bidding defiance to the Habeas Corpus act, which is the bulwark of personal liberty; destructive of the laws, and 'betraying the trust reposed in you.

'Committing to custody those gentlemen who, at 'the command of the people (whose servants you are) 'came in a peaceable way to put you in mind of your 'duty, is illegal and injurious; destructive of the 'subject's liberty of petitioning for redress of grievances, which has, by all Parliaments before you, 'been acknowledged to be their undoubted right.

'Voting a petition from the gentlemen of Kent insolent, is ridiculous and impertinent; because the 'freeholders of England are your superiors; and is a 'contradiction in itself, and a contempt of the English 'freedom, and contrary to the nature of parliamentary 'power.

'We do hereby claim and declare,

'That it is the undoubted right of the people of 'England, in case their representatives in Parliament 'do not proceed according to their duty, and the 'people's interest, to inform them of their dislike, 'disown their actions, and to direct them to such 'things as they think fit, either by petition, address, 'proposal, memorial, or any other peaceable way.

'That the House of Commons, separately, and otherwise than by bill legally passed into an act, have no 'legal power to suspend, or dispense with, the laws 'of the land, any more than the King has by his prerogative:

'That the House of Commons have no legal power 'to imprison any person, or commit them to the 'custody of serjeants, or otherwise, (their own members excepted), but ought to address the King to cause 'any person, on good grounds, to be apprehended: 'which person so apprehended ought to have the benefit of the Habeas Corpus act, and be fairly brought 'to trial by due course of law:

'That if the House of Commons, in breach of the 'laws and liberties of the people, do betray the trust 'reposed in them, and act negligently, arbitrarily, 'and illegally, it is the undoubted right of the people of England to call them to an account for the 'same; and by convention, assembly, or force, they 'may proceed against them as traitors and betrayers of 'their country.

'These things we think proper to declare, as the 'undoubted right of the people of England, whom 'you serve. And in pursuance of that right (avoiding 'the ceremony of petitioning our inferiors, for such 'you are by your present circumstances, as the person 'sent is less than the sender), we do publickly protest 'against all your aforesaid actions.' The Memorial ended with the following words: 'Englishmen are no 'more to be Slaves to Parliaments than to Kings.

'Our name is LEGION,
'And we are MANY.'

The following Postscript was subjoined. 'If you 'require to have this Memorial signed with our names, 'it shall be done on your first orders, and personally 'presented (64).'

(62) Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, vol. III. p. 165.

(63) Chalmers's Life of De Foe, p. 14.

(64) Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, vol. III. p. 167, 168, 169, 171, 172, 173.

[*W*] *The Mock-Mourners, &c.*] This poem begins with the following lines:

'Such has been this ill-natur'd nation's fate,
'Always to see their friends and foes too late;
'By native pride and want of temper led,
'Never to value merit till 'tis dead:
'And then immortal monuments they raise,
'And damn their former follies by their praise (65).'

(65) Works, vol. I. p. 43.

Part of the character given by him of King William is contained in the following lines, which are supposed to be spoken by Britannia:

'Of British blood, in Belgian plains he liv'd,
'My only foreign offspring that surviv'd.
'Batavian climates nourish'd him a while,
'Too great a genius for so damp a soil:
'And freely then surrender'd him to me;
'For wise men freely will the fates obey.
'Yet in my William they had equal share,
'And he defended them with equal care.
'They were the early trophies of his sword,
'His infant hand their liberty restor'd.
'His nurse, the Belgick lion, roar'd for aid,
'And planted early laurels on his head.
'His easy victories amaz'd mankind;
'We wonder'd what the dreadful youth design'd.
'Fearless he fought, his country to set free,
'And with his sword cut out their liberty.
'The journals of his actions always seem'd
'So wonderful, as if the world had dream'd;
'So swift, so full of terror he went on,
'He was a conqueror before a man.
'The Bourbon sword, though it was brighter far,
'Yet drawn for conquest, and oppressive war,
'Had all the triumphs of the world engross'd,
'But quickly all those triumphs to him lost.
'Justice to William early trophies brought;
'William for Truth and Justice always fought.'
'The greatest Captains of the ages past
'Debauch'd their fame with cruelty at last:
'William the Tyrants only would subdue;
'These conquer'd Kings, and then the People too.
'The subjects reap'd no profit for their pains,
'And only chang'd their masters, not their chains.
'Their victories did for themselves appear,
'And made their peace as dreadful as the war:
'But

memory of the late King, this piece was intended to satirize those persons who had been violent opposers of that Prince, and his Administration, while he was living, and yet affected a great respect for him after he was dead. About the end of the year 1702, he published, in 4to; "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters: or, Proposals for the "Establishment of the Church." This was an ironical performance, by which he intended to expose the bigotry, uncharitableness, and rancour of the High Church party [*X*], and

'But William fought oppression to destroy,
'That mankind might in peace the world enjoy.
'The Pompeys, Cæsars, Scipios, Alexanders,
'Who crowd the world with fame, were great commanders.
'These too brought blood and ruin with their arms;
'But William always fought on other terms.
'Terror, indeed, might in his front appear,
'But peace and plenty follow'd in his rear:
'And, if oppression forc'd him to contend,
'Calmness was all his temper, Peace his end (66).'

(66) Works, p. 53, 54. 56.

[*X*] *An ironical performance, by which he intended to expose the bigotry, &c.*] In this piece, in which De Foe throughout speaks in the character of a High Churchman, are the following passages: 'It is now 'near fourteen years that the glory and peace of the 'purest and most flourishing Church in the world has 'been eclipsed, buffetted, and disturbed, by a sort of 'men, whom God in his providence has suffered to insult over her and bring her down. These have been 'the days of her humiliation and tribulation. She 'has borne with an invincible patience the reproach 'of the wicked, and God has at last heard her prayers, 'and delivered her from the oppression of the stranger '(67).'

(67) De Foe's Works, vol. I. p. 425.

'Had King James sent all the Puritans in England 'away to the West Indies, we had been a national, 'unmixed Church; the Church of England had been 'kept undivided and entire. To requite the lenity of 'the father, they take up arms against the son; conquer, pursue, take, imprison, and at last put to 'death, the Anointed of God, and destroy the very 'being and nature of government, setting up a sordid 'impostor, who had neither title to govern, nor understanding to manage, but supplied that want with 'power, bloody and desperate councils, and craft, 'without conscience (68).'

(68) Ibid. p. 427.

'And to prevent the distant cloud, which they perceived to hang over their heads from England, with 'a true Presbyterian policy, they put in for a union 'of nations, that England might unite their Church 'with the Kirk of Scotland, and their Presbyterian 'members sit in our House of Commons, and their 'Assembly of Scotch canting Long-cloaks in our convocation. What might have been, if our fanatic 'Whiggish statesmen had continued, God only knows; 'but we hope we are out of fear of that now (69).'

(69) Ibid. p. 430.

'Let us examine the reasons they pretend to give, 'why we should be favourable to them; why we 'should continue and tolerate them among us.—They 'are very numerous, they say. They are a great 'part of the nation, and we cannot suppress them. 'To this it may be answered, 1. They are not so 'numerous as the Protestants in France, and yet the 'French king effectually cleared the nation of them 'at once, and we don't find that he misses them at 'home. —— 2dly. The more numerous the more 'dangerous, and therefore the more need to suppress 'them; and God has suffered us to bear them as 'goads in our sides, for not utterly extinguishing 'them long ago. —— 3dly. If we are to allow them, 'only because we cannot suppress them, then it ought 'to be tried whether we can or no; and I am of 'opinion, that 'tis easy to be done, and could prescribe ways and means, if it were proper; but I 'doubt not that the government will find effectual 'methods for the rooting the contagion from the face 'of the land.

'Twas a great argument some people used against 'suppressing the old money, that 'twas a time of war, 'and 'twas too great a risk for the nation to run; if 'we should not master it, we should be undone; and 'yet the sequel proved the hazard was not so great 'but it might be mastered, and the success was answerable. The suppressing the Dissenters is not a 'harder work, nor a work of less necessity to the public. 'We can never enjoy a settled, uninterrupted union 'and tranquillity in this nation till the spirit of 'Whiggism, Faction, and Schism, is melted down 'like the old money (70).'

(70) Ibid. p. 431. 432.

He afterwards remarked, that it had been objected, that the Queen had promised to continue the Dissenters in their tolerated liberty, and had said, that she would be a religious observer of her word. But to this he replies, still keeping up the character of a High Churchman: 'What her majesty will do, we cannot 'help; but what, as the head of the Church, she 'ought to do, is another case. Her Majesty has promised to protect and defend the Church of England; 'and, if she cannot effectually do that without the destruction of the Dissenters, she must of course dispense with one promise to comply with another.

'Perhaps it may be said, that the Church is in no 'immediate danger from the Dissenters, and therefore it is time enough. But this is a weak answer. 'For, first, if a danger be real, the distance of it is no 'argument against, but rather a spur to quicken us 'to prevention, lest it should be too late hereafter. 'And, secondly, here is the opportunity, and the 'only one that ever the church had to secure 'herself and destroy her enemies. The representatives of the nation have now an opportunity: the 'time is come which all good men have wished for, 'that the gentlemen of England may serve the 'Church of England, now they are protected and 'encouraged by a Church of England Queen. *What 'will you do for your sister, in the day that she shall be 'spoken for?* If ever you will establish the best Christian Church in the world; if ever you will suppress 'the spirit of Enthusiasm; if ever you will free the 'nation from the viperous brood that have so long 'sucked the blood of their mother; if ever you will 'leave your posterity free from faction and rebellion; 'this is the time. This is the time to pull up this 'heretical weed of sedition, that has so long disturbed 'the peace of our Church, and poisoned the good 'corn.

'But, says another hot and cold objector, this is 'renewing fire and faggot, reviving the Act *de hæretico 'comburendo*. This will be cruelty in its nature, and 'barbarity to all the world. I answer, 'Tis cruelty 'to kill a snake or a toad in cold blood; but the poison of their nature makes it a charity to our neighbours to destroy those creatures; not for any personal injury received, but for prevention; not for 'the evil they have done, but the evil they may do. Serpents, toads, vipers, &c. are noxious to the body, and, 'poison sensitive life; these poison the soul, corrupt 'our posterity, ensnare our children, destroy the vitals of 'our happiness, our future felicity, and contaminate the 'whole mass. Shall any law be given to such wild 'creatures? Some beasts are for sport, and the huntsmen give them advantages of ground; but some are 'knocked on the head by all possible ways of violence 'and surprize. I do not prescribe fire and faggot, 'but, as Scipio said of Carthage, *Delenda est Carthago.* 'They are to be rooted out of this nation, if ever we 'will live in peace, serve God, or enjoy our own. As 'for the manner, I leave it to those hands who have 'a right to execute God's justice on the nation's and 'the Church's enemies (71).'

(71) Ibid. p. 433. 434, 435.

'How many millions of future souls we save from 'infection and delusion, if the present race of poisoned spirits were purged from the face of the land. 'Tis vain to trifle in this matter; the light foolish 'handling of them by mulcts, fines, &c. is their glory 'and their advantage: if the gallows instead of the 'counter, and the gallies instead of the fines, were the reward of going to a conventicle to preach or hear, there 'would not be so many sufferers. The spirit of 'martyrdom is over. They that will go to church, 'to be chosen sheriffs and mayors, would go to forty 'churches rather than be hanged. If one severe law 'were made, and punctually executed, that whoever

'was

and to ſhew the lengths to which ſome of them were inclined to proceed againſt the Diſſenters, after the acceſſion of Queen Anne [*Y*]. But his irony was not univerſally underſtood, and the deſign of his pamphlet was miſtaken even by ſome of the Diſſenters [*Z*]. The leaders, however, of the High Church party ſufficiently comprehended the intention of De Foe's piece; and, by their influence, a proſecution was commenced againſt him, and a proclamation publiſhed in the Gazette, offering a reward of fifty pounds for his apprehenſion [*AA*]. Complaint was alſo made of De Foe's publication in the Houſe of Commons; and ſome paſſages in it being read, it was reſolved, on the 25th of February, 1702-3, that the book was full of falſe and ſcandalous reflections on the Parliament, tending to promote ſedition; and it was ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, on the day following, in New Palace Yard (*l*). When De Foe found with how much rigour himſelf and his pamphlet were about to be treated, he at firſt ſecreted himſelf; but his printer and bookſeller being taken into cuſtody, he ſurrendered himſelf, being reſolved, as he expreſſes it, "to throw himſelf upon the favour of government; "rather than that others ſhould be ruined for his miſtakes (*m*)." He was at length brought to a trial, in July, 1703; and acknowledging the piece to be written by him, he was found guilty by the jury of compoſing and publiſhing a ſeditious libel, and was ſentenced to be impriſoned, to ſtand in the pillory, [*BB*] to pay a fine of two hundred marks, and to find ſureties for his good behaviour for ſeven years. This, for ſuch a publication, was a very infamous ſentence, and reflected much more diſhonour upon the Court by which it was pronounced, than upon De Foe on whom it was inflicted. He endured the pillory with great fortitude [*CC*]; and ſoon after publiſhed a poem in 4to, called,

(*l*) Chalmers's Life of De Foe, p. 18.

(*m*) De Foe's Works, vol. I. p. 444. edit. 1705.

'was found at a conventicle ſhould be baniſhed the 'nation, and the preacher be hanged, we ſhould 'ſoon ſee an end of the tale. They would all 'come to church, and one age would make us all 'one again (72).'

(72) Ibid. p. 436.

[*Y*] *Inclined to proceed againſt the Diſſenters, after the acceſſion of Queen Anne.*] Dr. Smollett remarks, that, at this period, 'The Tories affected to diſtinguiſh 'themſelves as the only true friends to the Church and 'monarchy; and they hated the Diſſenters with a 'mixture of ſpiritual and political diſguſt. They 'looked upon theſe laſt as an intruding ſect, which 'conſtituted great part of the Whig Faction that extorted ſuch immenſe ſums of money from the nation 'in the late reign, and involved it in pernicious engagements, from whence it had no proſpect of deliverance. They conſidered them as encroaching 'ſchiſmatics that diſgraced and endangered the hierarchy; and thoſe of their own communion who recommended moderation, they branded with the epithets of lukewarm Chriſtians, betrayers, and apoſtates. They now reſolved to approve themſelves 'zealous ſons of the Church, by ſeizing the firſt opportunity that was in their power to diſtreſs the 'Diſſenters. In order to pave the way to this perſecution, ſermons were preached, and pamphlets were 'printed, to blacken the character of the ſect, and 'enflame the popular reſentment againſt them (73).'

(73) Hiſtory of England, from the Revolution, vol. I. p. 442.

Mr. Cunningham ſays, 'At that time ſome of the 'clergy, whoſe numbers ſtill encreaſed, exerted the 'utmoſt of their eloquence in preaching not only 'againſt the Diſſenters, the Whigs, and the Miniſtry, 'but even againſt the Queen herſelf, and the principles of moderation. They alſo expatiated at large 'in their ſermons to the people upon the old principles of Cromwell's time, and the dire misfortunes 'of King Charles; and he who inveighed the moſt 'bitterly, and filled his flock with the moſt dreadful 'apprehenſions, was the moſt highly applauded by 'his party (74).'

(74) Hiſtory of Great Britain, from the Revolution, &c. vol. I. p. 319, 320.

[*Z*] *His irony was not univerſally underſtood.*] De Foe had imitated the language of ſome of the High Churchmen ſo well, that many perſons thought the piece to be written ſeriouſly; and when he found, that he was not only miſunderſtood, but that a proſecution was commenced againſt his printer and bookſeller, he publiſhed, "A brief Explanation of a late Pamphlet, "entituled, The Shorteſt Way with the Diſſenters." In this piece he ſays, 'The author profeſſes he 'thought, when he wrote the book, he ſhould never 'need to come to an explication, and wonders to find 'that there ſhould be any reaſon for it. If any man 'take the pains to reflect ſeriouſly upon the contents, 'the nature of the thing, and the manner of the 'ſtyle, it ſeems impoſſible to imagine, that it ſhould 'paſs for any thing but a banter upon the high-flying 'Churchmen (75).' As to thoſe Diſſenters who were of opinion, that his book was written with a deſign "to have all the Diſſenters hanged, baniſhed, or de"ſtroyed, and that the gallows and the gallies ſhould "be the penalty of going to a conventicle," they forget, ſays he, "that, at the ſame time, I muſt de"ſign to have my father, my wife, ſix innocent "children, and myſelf, put into the ſame condition. "All the fault I can find in myſelf as to theſe people "is, that, when I had drawn the picture, I did not, "like the Dutchman, with his man and bear, write "under them, *This is the Man*, and *This is the Bear*, "leſt the people ſhould miſtake me. I confeſs, I did "not foreſee an occaſion for this, and having, in 'compliment to their judgments, ſhunned ſo ſharp "a reflection upon their ſenſes, I have left them at "liberty to treat me like one that puts a value upon "their penetration at the expence of my own (76)."

(75) De Foe's Works, vol. I. p. 441.

(76) De Foe's Works, vol. II. p. 27, 28.

[*AA*] *A proclamation publiſhed in the Gazette, &c.*] The proclamation was as follows:

'St. James's, Jan. 10, 1702-3.

'Whereas Daniel De Foe, *alias* De Fooe, is 'charged with writing a ſcandalous and ſeditious 'pamphlet, entituled "The Shorteſt Way with the 'Diſſenters:" he is a middle-ſized ſpare man, 'about 40 years old, of a brown complexion, and 'dark-brown coloured hair, but wears a wig, a 'hooked noſe, a ſharp chin, grey eyes, and a large 'mole near his mouth; was born in London, and 'for many years was a hoſe-factor, in Freeman's-'yard, in Cornhill, and now is owner of the brick 'and pantile works near Tilbury-fort in Eſſex: 'whoever ſhall diſcover the ſaid Daniel De Foe, to 'one of her Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, 'or any of her Majeſty's Juſtices of Peace, ſo as 'he may be apprehended, ſhall have a reward of '£ 50, which her Majeſty has ordered immediately 'to be paid upon ſuch diſcovery (77).'

(77) Lond. Gazette, No. 3879.

[*BB*] *Was ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory.*] Whether De Foe ſtood more than once in the pillory, we have met with no account; but it appears from the Trial of John Tutchin, in 1704, for writing and publiſhing the *Obſervator*, printed in the State Trials, that De Foe was ſentenced to ſtand three times in the pillory. It is there ſaid, that Daniel De Foe 'was indicted, 'on the 24th of February, in the firſt year of the 'Queen, before the Juſtices of Oyer and Terminer, 'at the Old Bailey, London; and that in July follow-'ing he was convicted upon his own confeſſion, for 'compoſing and publiſhing a ſeditious libel, entituled, '*The Shorteſt Way with the Diſſenters*; or, *Propoſals for 'the Eſtabliſhment of the Church*;' and that the judgement againſt him was, 'to pay a fine of 200 marks, 'and to ſtand three times in the pillory, and to find 'ſecurity for his good behaviour for ſeven years (78).'

(78) State Trials, vol. V. p. 533. edit. 1730.

[*CC*] *He endured the pillory with great fortitude.*] It ſeems to have been with ſome reference to the firmneſs

called, "A Hymn to the Pillory [*DD*];" and some time after, "An Elegy on the Author of the True-born Englishman [*EE*];" in the preface to which he states himself as being "metaphorically dead," on account of his being compelled to give security for his good behaviour for seven years. "If being tied," says he, "under sureties and "penalties not to write, at least not to write what some people may not like, be not "equivalent to being dead, as to the pen, I know not what is (*n*)."

(*n*) De Foe's Works, vol. II. p. 66.

During his confinement, being repeatedly attacked in the publications of the times, he defended himself with great spirit; and in one of his pieces he says, "I have not been "a man of vice; and whatever malice may have the ill-nature to suggest, I venture to "say, without pride, no man can charge me with it (*o*)." Before the close of the year 1703, he published some of his pieces together, in one volume, 8vo. under the title of "A true Collection of the Writings of the Author of the True born Englishman. Cor-"rected by himself [*FF*]." To this volume a head of him was prefixed, engraved by Vandergucht,

(*o*) Works, vol. II. p. 31.

with which De Foe behaved on this occasion, that Pope says, in his Dunciad,

(79) Dunciad, Book ii. l. 147.

*Earless on high flood unabash'd De Foe* (79).

In truth, De Foe had less reason to be ashamed than those who had placed so ingenious a man in such a situation, on so contemptible a charge; and, indeed, the pillory for such offences appears to be a relick of the Star-chamber, and is not suited to the manners of any liberal or enlightened age. It is a species of punishment that ought to be inflicted only for actions that are really infamous.

Pope has introduced De Foe into one or two other places in his Dunciad (80). But De Foe had no just claim to a place either in the pillory, or in the Dunciad; nor did Pope do himself any credit by his introduction of him into the latter. It is only one of those instances of injustice and malignity which too frequently occur in the Dunciad.

(80) Book I. l. 103. Book II. l. 415.

[*DD*] *A Hymn to the Pillory.*] In this piece, addressing the Pillory, he says,

'Men that are men in thee can feel no pain,
'And all thy insignificants disdain.
'Contempt, that false new word for shame,
'Is without crime an empty name:
'A shadow to amuse mankind,
'But never frights the wise or well-fix'd mind.
'Virtue despises human scorn,
'And scandals innocence adorn.'

Referring to a design, that he intimates was at one time formed, of putting Selden in the pillory, probably for his *History of Tythes*, he says,

'Even the learned Selden saw
'A prospect of thee thro' the law.
'He had thy lofty pinnacles in view,
'But so much honour never was thy due.
'Had the great Selden triumph'd on thy stage,
'Selden the honour of his age;
'No man would ever shun thee more,
'Or grudge to stand where Selden stood before.'

The poem ends with the following lines, referring to himself:

'Tell them, the men that plac'd him here
'Are scandals to the times,
'Are at a loss to find his guilt,
'And can't commit his crimes (81).'

(81) Works, vol. II. p. 102, 103, 117.

[*EE*] *An Elegy on the Author of the True-born Englishman.*] In this piece are the following lines:

'I laugh at all the anger of mankind,
'Who, loth to bear the Truth, my pen confined.
'I smile at human policy, who always stop that mouth whose words they can't deny.
'Yet let them not their crimes conceal,
'New satires will their crimes reveal.
'More poets from my monument shall rise,
'Who shall like me their power despise;
'Who shall condemn a vicious court,
'And make the nation's knaves the nation's sport (82).'

(82) Works, vol. II. p. 71.

'Why am I doom'd to write no more,
'If something wa'n't too true I wrote before?
'Why should they thus deny
'To let me write my truer history?
'Why seven long years of silence now impose,
'If I had nothing to disclose,
'Nothing to make appear,
'Nothing to say they cannot bear to hear (83)?"

(83) Ibid. p. 86. 87.

He expresses in this poem his regret, that he did not make a more vigorous defence at his trial, but, by the advice of his lawyers, had readily acknowledged the publication of the piece with which he was charged, which was considered as pleading guilty. He says,

'Law is a great machine of state,
'With hooks and screws to make it operate;
'Which, as they are wound up by art,
'With ease perform the fatal part;
'Exactly answer to the workman's skill,
'This way 'twill work to save, or that to kill.
'Crime in this management has no concern,
'No man can right from wrong discern,
'The movement is so subtile and so sure,
'And does such certain fate procure.
'The mathematics are in vain,
'Defensive study useless does remain.
'This monster whom it pleases will devour,
'For law is but a Heathen word for power:
'A metaphor, invented to confess
'The methods by which men oppress;
'By which with safety they destroy mankind,
'While Justice stands before, and Fraud behind.
'Thousands of little wheels, and unseen parts
'Of perjur'd promises, and wheedling arts,
'This mighty thing compose,
'And no man half its crooked turnings knows.
'The wild meanders none can trace,
'And no man knows it by its face.
'It learns to change with every turn of times,
'And rings the time 'tis set to, like the chimes.
'I that did on fair quarter yield,
'Laid down my arms, and left the field,
'Did from my own defence withdraw,
'Thinking that Honesty was Law,
'Have lost my rhiming life by this deceit,
'And I deserve it for my want of wit.
'Had I remember'd days of yore,
'When we complain'd of arbitrary power,
'When lawyers were the tools of state,
'And hurried men to hasty fate;
'When the great engine was screw'd up too high,
'And men were hang'd they know not why;
'Had I remember'd Scroggs's fame, [same;
'And known that lawyers are in every reign the
'I ne'er had ventur'd to believe,
'Men whose profession's to deceive.
'*Memento Mori* here I stand,
'With silent lips, but speaking hand,
'A walking shadow of a poet,
'But bound to hold my tongue, and never show it;
'A monument of injury,
'A sacrifice to legal tyranny.
'I beckon to mankind to have a care,
'And pointing, tell how I was lost, and where.
'I show the dangerous shore,
'Where I have suffer'd shipwreck just before.
'If among poets there remains a fool,
'That scorns to take this notice for a rule,
'But ventures the fidelity
'Of those whose trade and custom 'tis to lie,
'Let men no pity to him show,
'Let him to Bedlam, not to Newgate, go (84).'

(84) Ibid p. 87, 88, 89.

[*FF*] *A true Collection of the Writings of the Author of the True-born Englishman.*] He says, in his Preface, that he had been induced to print this Collection, because a piratical printer, and a bookseller of the same class,

Vandergucht, from a painting of Taverner. Early in the following year, he commenced a new publication, entitled, "The Review," of which Mr. Chalmers has given the following account: 'This is a periodical paper in quarto, which was first published 'on the 19th of February, 1703-4; and which was intended to treat of news, foreign 'and domestic; of politics, British and European; of trade, particular and universal. 'But our author foresaw, from "the natural aversion of the age to any tedious affair," 'that, however profitable, the world would never read, if it were not diverting. With 'this design, both instructive and amusing, he skilfully institutes a Scandal Club, which 'discusses questions in divinity, morals, war, trade, language, poetry, love, marriage, 'drunkenness, and gaming. Thus, it is easy to see, that The Review pointed the way 'to the Tatlers, Spectators, and Guardians, which may be allowed however to have 'treated those interesting topics with more delicacy of humour, more terseness of style, 'and greater depth of learning: yet has De Foe many passages, both of prose and poetry, 'which, for refinement of wit, neatness of expression, and efficacy of moral, would do 'honour either to Steele or to Addison.'——'The Review began to be published on 'the 19th of February, 1703-4, every Saturday and Tuesday, till the 24th of March, '1705, when it was published also on Thursday. Thus it continued to be published 'every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, till May, 1713, when it was discontinued. 'The whole Collection forms nine thick volumes in quarto; but, from the inquiries 'which I have made, I doubt whether a complete set of De Foe's Reviews any where 'exists (*p*).'

(*p*) Life of De Foe, p. 21, 22, 72, 73.

De Foe continued in Newgate about six months after the commencement of the Review; but was released from his imprisonment, in August, 1704, by the interposition of Mr. Harley, then secretary of state [*GG*], who appears not to have been insensible of the merit of De Foe, and probably thought that he might render his talents subservient to some of his own political views. Queen Anne herself also seems to have been convinced of the injustice of his sentence [*HH*]; for she inquired into his circumstances, and sent,

class, had joined together to publish a volume of pieces under his name, some of which were not his, and those which were, very erroneously printed.

Among the pieces in this pirated edition, one was, "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters;" and referring to this publication, De Foe says, "It seems "a little hard, that I should suffer for printing a "book, and another print it in the face of the go-"vernment to get money by it."

The pieces contained in this Collection, in De Foe's own edition, are the following:

1. The True-born Englishman, a satire.
2. The Mock-Mourners, a satire.
3. Reformation of Manners, a satire.
4. The Character of Dr. Samuel Annesley, by way of Elegy.
5. The Spanish Descent, a poem.
6. The Freeholder's Plea against Stock-jobbing Members of Parliament.
7. Reasons against a War with France, &c.
8. An Argument shewing, that a Standing Army, with Consent of Parliament, is not inconsistent with a Free Government.
9. The Danger of the Protestant Religion, from the present Prospect of a religious War in Europe.
10. The Villainy of Stock-jobbers detected, and the Causes of the late Run upon the Bank, and Bankers, discovered and considered.
11. The six distinguishing Characters of a Parliament-man.
12. The poor Man's Plea.
13. An Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters, in Cases of Preferment, with a Preface to Mr. Howe.
14. A Letter to Mr. Howe, by way of Reply to his Consideration of the Preface to an Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters.
15. The two great Questions considered. First, What the French king will do with respect to the Spanish Monarchy? Second, What Measures the English ought to take?
16. The two great Questions farther considered, with some Reply to the Remarks.
17. An Enquiry into Occasional Conformity, shewing that the Dissenters are no ways concerned in it.
18. A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty, or Whiggish Loyalty and Church Loyalty compared.
19. The Shortest Way with the Dissenters, or Proposals for the Establishment of the Church.
20. A brief Explanation of a late Pamphlet, entituled, The Shortest Way with the Dissenters.
21. The Shortest Way to Peace and Union.

A second edition of this Volume, with some additions, was published by De Foe in 1705.

[*GG*] *By the interposition of Mr. Harley.*] Of Mr. Harley's interference in his favour, we have the following account from De Foe himself: 'While I lay 'friendless and distressed,' says he, 'in the prison 'of Newgate, my family ruined, and myself with-'out hope of deliverance, a message was brought 'me from a person of honour, who, till that time, 'I never had the least acquaintance with, or know-'ledge of, other than by fame, or by sight, as we 'know men of quality by seeing them on public oc-'casions. I gave no present answer to the person 'who brought it, having not duly weighed the im-'port of the message. The message was by word 'of mouth, thus: *Pray ask that gentleman what I can 'do for him?* But in return to this kind and generous 'message, I immediately took my pen and ink, and 'wrote the story of the blind man in the Gospel, who 'followed our Saviour, and to whom our blessed 'Lord put the question, *What wilt thou that I shall 'do unto thee?* Who, as if he had made it strange 'that such a question should be asked, or, as if he 'had said, Lord, dost thou see that I am blind, and 'yet ask me what thou shalt do for me? My answer 'is plain in my misery, *Lord, that I may receive my 'sight.* I needed not to make the application; and 'from this time, although I lay four months in 'prison after this, and heard no more of it, yet 'from this time, as I learned afterwards, this noble 'person made it his business to have my case repre-'sented to her Majesty, and methods taken for my 'deliverance (85).' At the time when Mr. Harley first sent a message to De Foe, he was Speaker of the House of Commons, but at the time of his discharge he was Secretary of State.

(85) Appeal to Honour and Justice, p. 11, 12.

[*HH*] *Queen Anne herself also seems to have been convinced of the injustice of his sentence.*] De Foe says, 'When her Majesty came to have the truth of the 'case laid before her, I soon felt the effects of her 'royal goodness and compassion. And, first, her 'Majesty declared, that she left all that matter to a 'certain person, and did not think he would have 'used me in such a manner. Perhaps these words 'may seem imaginary to some, and the speaking 'them to be of no value, and so they would have 'been, if they had not been followed with farther

sent, by lord Godolphin, a considerable sum to his wife and family, and also transmitted money to him in Newgate, to pay his fine, and the expences of his discharge. After he obtained his liberty, he retired for some time to St. Edmund's Bury (*q*); but, within a few days after he came out of prison, he published, "A Hymn to Victory." To this piece, which was occasioned by the success of the Duke of Marborough that year, he prefixed a poetical dedication, addressed to the Queen. In 1705, he published "The "Consolidator; or, Memoirs of Sundry Transactions, from the World in the Moon (*r*)." In this piece he satirized a variety of characters, and introduced some political observations. He makes his lunar politicians debate the policy of Charles XII. in pursuing the Saxons and Poles, while the Muscovites were ravaging his own country. This is supposed to have given rise to a complaint that was exhibited against him by the Swedish ambassador. The same year, he collected together some more of his pieces, in 8vo. under the title of "A second Volume of the Writings of the Author of the True-born English-"man [*II*]." He also published, about this time, "The High Church Legion; or, "the Memorial examined. Being a New Test of Moderation; as it is recommended to "all that love the Church of England and the Constitution." This is an answer to Dr. Drake's Memorial of the Church of England (*s*). In the course of this year he made a journey to Exeter; and it appears that, before he set out, some schemes of violence and injustice were formed respecting him [*KK*], by persons who from party motives had conceived an animosity against him.

(*q*) Chalmers's Life of De Foe, p. 24.

(*r*) Id. ibid.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 73.

In 1706, he published, by subscription, both in folio, and in octavo, "*Jure Divino*, "a satire, in twelve books [*LL*]." To this a head of him was prefixed, and the motto to

'and more convincing proofs of what they imported, 'which were these, That her Majesty was pleased 'particularly to inquire into my circumstances and 'family, and, by my Lord-treasurer Godolphin, to 'send a considerable supply to my wife and family, 'and to send me to the prison money to pay my 'fine, and the expences of my discharge (86).'

(86) Ibid. p. 13.

[*II*] *A second Volume of the Writings of the Author of the True-born Englishman.*] This volume contains the following pieces:

1. A New Discovery of an Old Intrigue. A satire levelled at treachery and ambition.
2. More Reformation. A satire upon himself.
3. An Elegy on the Author of the True-born Englishman.
4. The Storm, an essay.
5. A Hymn to the Pillory.
6. A Hymn to Victory.
7. The Pacificator.
8. The Double Welcome. A Poem to the Duke of Marlborough.
9. The Dissenters' Answer to the High Church Challenge.
10. A Challenge of Peace, addressed to the whole Nation.
11. Peace without Union. By way of Reply to Sir Humphrey Mackworth's Peace at Home.
12. More Short Ways with the Dissenters.
13. A New Test of the Church of England's Honesty.
14. A serious Enquiry into this grand Question, Whether a Law to prevent the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters would not be inconsistent with the Act of Toleration, and a Breach of the Queen's Promise?
15. The Dissenter misrepresented and represented.
16. The Parallel; or, Persecution of Protestants the Shortest Way to prevent the Growth of Popery in Ireland.
17. Giving Alms no Charity, and employing the Poor a Grievance to the Nation: being an Essay upon this great question, Whether Work-houses, Corporations, and Houses of Correction for employing the Poor, as now practised in England; or Parish-stocks, as proposed in a late Pamphlet, entituled, *A Bill for the better Relief, Employment, and Settlement of the Poor*, &c. are not mischievous to the Nation, tending to the Destruction of our Trade, and to encrease the Number and Misery of the Poor.
18. Royal Religion: being some Enquiry after the Piety of Princes; with Remarks on a Book entituled, A Form of Prayers used by King William.

[*KK*] *Schemes of violence and injustice were formed respecting him.*] Mr. Chalmers says, 'When his business, 'of whatever nature, led him to Exeter, and other 'Western towns, in August, September, and Octo-'ber, 1705, a project was formed to send him as a 'soldier to the army, at a time when footmen were 'taken from the coaches as recruits: but conscious 'of his being a freeholder of England, and a 'liveryman of London, he knew that such characters 'could not be violated, in this nation, with impu-'nity. When some of the Western justices, of more 'zeal of party than sense of duty, heard from his 'opponents of De Foe's journey, they determined 'to apprehend him as a vagabond. But our author, 'who, among other qualities, had personal courage 'in a high degree, reflected, that to face danger is 'most effectually to prevent it. In his absence, real 'suits were commenced against him for fictitious 'debts; but De Foe advertised, that genuine claims 'he would fairly satisfy. If all these uncommon 'circumstances had not been published in The Review, 'we should not have seen this striking picture of 'savage manners. So much more free are we at 'present, that the editor of a news-paper, however 'obnoxious to any party, may travel peaceably about 'his affairs over England, without fear of interrup-'tion. Were a justice of peace, from whatever 'motive, to offer him any obstruction, such a magi-'strate would be overwhelmed by the public indig-'nation, and punished by the higher guardians of 'our quiet and our laws (87).'

(87) Life of De Foe, p. 28, 29.

[*LL*] *Jure Divino, a satire, &c.*] In this work De Foe examines the different claims on which the divine right of Kings is supposed to be founded, and proves that they are all repugnant to reason. Referring to the argument that was made use of by some of the advocates for this divine right, that regal government was of divine appointment, he gives an account of the origin of this mode of government among the Israelites. He admits,

'That Saul was king by Heaven's immediate hand,
'But 'twas in judgment to afflict the land.
'To have his anger plainly understood,
'And Samuel's black predictions to make good;
'In granting he corrected the request,
'Gave them the man, but he withheld the rest.
'He gave what they pretended to require,
'But in the gift he punish'd the desire.
'He gave a plague, the very self-same thing
'They asked, when they petition'd for a King.
'For 'tis remarkable when Samuel saw,
'They'd have a king in spite of sense or law;
'He drew the picture of a monster crown'd (88),
'Ask'd them, if such a villain could be found,
'Whether they'd like him, and their tribute bring?
'They answer, Yes: let such a one be King.
'And is a tyrant King your early choice?
'Be Kings your plague, said the Eternal Voice;
'And with this mighty curse he gave the crown,
'And Saul to Israel's terror mounts the throne (89).'

(88) I. Sam. ch. viii. 11—18.

(89) Jure Divino, Book II. p. 18, 19, 8vo. edit.

In

to the print, from Juvenal, is *Laudatur et alget*. He was induced to publish this book, to which he prefixed a Preface [*MM*] of considerable length, by the zeal which was then manifested,

'In another place, speaking of the same transactions relative to the appointment of a king among the Israelites, he says,

'This the Almighty to their judgment brings,
'And ask'd them twice if they'd desire such kings.
'Twice the affirmative they blindly gave,
'Till, twice provok'd by those he thought to save,
'He gives the judgment they too blindly crave.
'But that they might be self condemn'd at last,
'And double the regret of actions past,
'He drew the picture of the tyrant's reign,
'Bid them prepare to mourn their fate in vain.
'Told them the consequences to their land,
'And all the mischiefs that the word contain'd.
'How a crown'd mortal would insult their peace,
'And plunder them of all their happiness.
'How he'd support his luxury and pride,
'Their wealth among his favourite rakes divide;
'Quarter his troops upon their freehold land,
'And murder such by law as should withstand:
'Make unjust wars his neighbours to destroy,
'And force them out to fight they know not why:
'To pride and conquest sacrifice their lives,
'Ravish their daughters, and debauch their wives.
'Subject their persons to unlawful power,
'And all their substance by his lust devour.
'These are the consequences Heaven foretold;
'But men are always wisest when they're old.
'They scorn'd to learn, tho' the Almighty taught,
'Experience teaches best when dearest bought.
'They ask'd, he gave, and quickly they perceiv'd;
'But blessings lost are not so soon retriev'd.
'They gain'd the tyrant Heaven had so foretold,
'And all their hopes, and all their freedoms sold (90).'

(90) Jure Divino, Book V. p. 15, 16.

De Foe also states the case of Rehoboam, from whom the ten tribes of Israel revolted, to prove that no claim of divine right can be a justification of tyranny, or lay an obligation on any nation to submit to it.

'If Rehoboam had no sacred line,
'Shew me a king like him for right divine.
'But Heaven the ten revolting tribes defends,
'And Judah's numerous troops himself disbands:
'Owns the just claim of right to liberty,
'And leaves the brand of fool on tyranny (91).'

(91) Ibid. p. 22.

In a note to this passage De Foe says, 'The right 'Rehoboam had to the crown of Israel, was, doubtless, as divine as ever prince had, God having 'singled out his father's family from all the world, 'by his own hand, and annexed an entail of the 'Messiah upon his blood, and yet he forfeits for 'tyranny. The people rise in arms, and God Almighty justifies the insurrection, as done by his 'particular influence (92).'

(92) Id. Ibid.

In his sixth book he says,

'When Kings against the King of Kings rebel,
'And the crown'd Christian turns an Infidel;
'When mortal man his Maker once defies;
'We may the man, tho' not the King, despise.
'Here the distinction may be wisely shown,
'Betwixt the man that wears it, and the crown.
'But, if to blood and murder they descend,
'And by their right divine their crimes defend;
'Trample on justice, and suppress the law,
'And think their crown must injured subjects awe;
'Nature directs the people what to do,
'And nature's dictates people will pursue.
'Freedom's the native right of all mankind,
'And they that slight it leave their sense behind (93).'

(93) Ibid. p. 14.

In the course of his poem De Foe enumerates some of the most remarkable revolutions in nations, and introduces the characters of many of the tyrants of antiquity. He also shews, from many instances in history, that the common sense of mankind, in different ages and nations of the world, has naturally led them to dethrone their princes for tyranny. He likewise takes a view of the English history, from the earliest times, and proves, that a claim of hereditary right can be very ill supported by the history of this country.

'Of all the nations in the world, there's none,
'Have less of true succession in their crown.
'We should be last of all that should pretend
'The long descent of princes to defend;
'Since, if hereditary right's the claim,
'The English crown has forty times been lame.
'The crown was, like the people, always mix'd,
'Seldom was well bestow'd, and never fix'd (94).'

(94) Book X. p. 220.

In his twelfth book he has the following panegyric on lord Somers.

'Somers, by nature great, and born to rise,
'In counsel wary, and in conduct wise;
'His judgment steady, and his genius strong,
'And all men own the music of his tongue;
'Capacious thought, and unencumber'd brain,
'That mines of undiscover'd wealth contain:
'Eternal circulating wonders there,
'In constant flux of prodigy appear.
'With ease he thinks, with swiftest art receives,
'And without pain brings forth what he conceives,
'Exempt from nature's curse, his teeming head
'Without the throws of travail 's brought to bed;
'His fruitful fancy feels no pangs of birth,
'Antæus-like, he's help'd from his own earth,
'The midwife Nature all defect supplies,
'And fills the world with wonder and surprize.
'Nor are the swift productions of his thought
'Lessen'd by all that ease by which they're wrought.
'But, as when teeming hills in travail groan'd,
'Their trifling births th' expecting world confound;
'So we're amaz'd, when without noise we see
'Others bring forth the mouse, the mountain he (95).'

(95) Ibid, p. 265.

It appears, that De Foe had written another volume of this work, but he never published it. He says in his Preface, 'The present publication of 'this satire has obliged me to consider of circumstances; and as there are some truths which do not 'suit all times, I have laid by a second volume; not 'that I think there is any thing in it which is not as 'fit to see the light as this; but I say of it, as the 'apostle in another case, *I have many things to say, but 'you cannot bear them now* (96).'

(96) Pref. to Jure Divino, p. 5.

[*MM*] *To which he prefixed a Preface.*] De Foe maintained in his Preface, that those persons were extremely inconsistent, who pretended to approve of the Revolution, and to consider King William, or even Queen Anne, as rightfully possessed of the throne, and yet asserted the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, and the divine right of kings. He also contended, that so far as the Church of England, as a Church, had asserted these doctrines, the Church was certainly mistaken, and had shewn, by its late conduct, that these doctrines were untenable and indefensible. 'Was King James,' says he, 'treated like a man that *could do no wrong*, 'and was not accountable? Let those who blame 'some people for the inconsistency of their principles, reconcile, if they can, the doctrine of passive 'obedience, non-resistance, and the king's being 'not accountable, to the practice of the High Church 'of England in the primitive part of the late Revolution. I think myself unconcerned to enlarge 'here upon the incoherent nonsense that this doctrine 'abounds with. The Church of England is bound 'to shew it, to justify her own actings in dethroning 'the late King, and it is a double satire upon the 'Church to pretend to vindicate it; it being impossible to reconcile the principle of passive obedience 'with the whole proceeding of the late Revolution. 'If the doctrine be true, *if the King can do no wrong*, 'if it be lawful on no account whatever to resist his 'power, or take up arms in defence of liberty, law, 'religion, or property, however oppressed or endangered, these are some of the most inevitable 'consequences; all the nobility, gentry, clergy, 'and commons of England, who either invited over, 'or joined with the Prince of Orange, and afterwards 'consented to his being made King; all those who 'swore to him when he was King, or that have since 'concurred in the new establishments; are all perjured rebels; abominable, and to be abominated 'by

manifeſted, by many of the Tories, to propagate the doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, and the divine right of kings. The ſentiments in this performance are generally juſt; but it was compoſed under very diſadvantageous circumſtances, and the poetry is not entitled to much commendation. His verſification is often rough and inharmonious, and his language inelegant: he ſeems to have allowed himſelf little time to poliſh his numbers, and was more attentive to ſenſe than to ſound; but he ſometimes produces lines that are very ſmooth and very nervous. From ſome paſſages in the preface to this poem, and from other parts of his writings, it appears that De Foe was too much tinctured with religious bigotry, and that though he thought accurately on the ſubject of civil liberty, he had not the ſame juſt ideas with reſpect to religious liberty. A great number of notes [*NN*] are added to this poem, hiſtorical, political, and explanatory.

About

'by all good men; are never to be truſted, or be-
'lieved again, neither when they ſay, nor when they
'ſwear. The crime ought never to be forgotten by
'men, nor without repentance will be forgiven in
'Heaven: and till ſome general act of revocation be
'made by the whole united authority of the king-
'dom, and juſtice done, the Engliſh ſhould be ſtig-
'matized, through all the world, as a nation without
'faith, honeſty, or principle. But if the people of
'England were in the right, if the depredations
'made on the antient rights of the nation, were a
'juſt foundation of ſuſpending the general allegiance,
'and applying to a foreign prince, for the redreſſing
'the nation's grievances; if the Engliſh nation had
'both reaſon and right to oblige the King to give
'the laws their courſe, and to let every man enjoy
'his property; if the King is guilty of doing wrong,
'and both he and his counſellors may be puniſhed
'for the ſame; he by making war againſt him, and
'they by the axe and the halter; in a word, if the
'preſent eſtabliſhment of the late King, or preſent
'Queen, if the late or preſent Parliament are fixed
'on any juſtice, law, or reaſon; then this ſatire is
'juſt, the Engliſh have done no wrong, and the ar-
'gument is good, that Kings are not Kings *Jure Di-*
'*vino*, that, when they break the laws, trample on
'property, affront religion, invade the liberties of
'nations, and the like, they may be oppoſed and
'reſiſted by force (97).'

(97) Preface to Jure Divino, p. 4, 5.

In another part of this Preface De Foe ſays, 'I
'profeſs myſelf a dutiful ſubject to the crown of
'England; and in that word I mean, to what head
'ſoever on which the Parliament of England ſhall
'place the crown; but I own no King who ſhall
'ever wear it without conſent of Parliament; no
'King, who ſhall after ſuch conſent employ the
'powers of it to the deſtruction of the law, and con-
'ſtitution of the nation, who ſhall invade the proper-
'ty of the ſubject, invert the public juſtice, or over-
'throw the religion and liberty of England. Such
'a prince is a tyrant, and may be depoſed by the
'ſame power that placed him upon the throne; any
'hereditary ſucceſſion, pretended divine right, ſu-
'preme power or other matter, cauſe, or thing, *to*
'*the contrary, in any wiſe notwithſtanding* (98).'

(98) Preface, ut ſupra, p. 7.

Towards the cloſe of the Preface, De Foe makes the following apology for the defects of his poem: 'I ſhall ſay but very little in the defence of the per-
'formance but this: It has been wrote under the
'heavieſt weight of intolerable preſſures; the great-
'eſt part of it was compoſed in priſon; and as the
'author has unhappily felt the moſt violent and con-
'ſtant efforts of his enemies to deſtroy him ever
'ſince that, the little compoſure he has had muſt be
'his ſhort excuſe for any thing incorrect. Let any
'man, under millions of diſtracting cares, and the
'conſtant ill treatment of the world, conſider the
'power of ſuch circumſtances over both invention
'and expreſſion, he will then allow that I had been
'to be excuſed, even in worſe errors than are to be
'found in this book (99).'

(99) Ibid. p. 38, 39.

[*NN*] *Number of notes.*] In one of theſe notes he obſerves, that 'the doctrine of abſolute undiſputed
'obedience was never ſo publickly profeſſed, and ſo
'far extended, as in England, where the very Clergy
'preached, that the King's command extended even
'to the lives and liberties, as well as the eſtates of
'his ſubjects, and his attempts muſt not be reſiſted,
'but ſubmitted to as a judgment from God.' He remarks, however, that the Clergy did not act in conformity to their principles, when their own rights were invaded. 'Not one,' ſays he, 'of
'our preachers of the paſſive doctrine ever gave an
'inſtance of it in themſelves, but unanimouſly op-
'poſed their ſovereign, as ſoon as he began to touch
'their particular rights.'—'Tis to be obſerved,
'that in the late Revolution, ſome of thoſe gentlemen
'who were the open profeſſors of the doctrine of
'divine right, and abſolute ſubjection, were the
'firſt that threw off the maſk, when the practice of
'royal impoſition came to bear hard upon them-
'ſelves. And even ſtill ſome of thoſe that now preach
'up this doctrine afreſh, and pretend Kings can do
'no wrong, and muſt not be reſiſted, were ſome of
'the loudeſt exclaimers againſt the affair of Mag-
'dalen College, and the impoſitions of the late King
'James (100).'

(100) Jure Divino, Book IV. p. 78, 79.

In another note, ſpeaking of regal claims from a line of anceſtors, or a right of ſucceſſion, he ſays, 'length of time, or continuance of poſſeſſion, can
'make no title good, that was not ſo in itſelf. For
'if a race of Kings had poſſeſſed a nation ever ſince
'the firſt ſettled nation in the world, yet if the firſt
'king of that race obtained the crown, or govern-
'ment, by wrong means, whether by uſurpation,
'force, fraud, or legal ſucceſſion, the injury re-
'mains hereditary, and the right receives no ſanction
'from the length of time. All thoſe people, there-
'fore, that would build titles upon length of time
'in poſſeſſion, build them upon a wrong foundation,
'ſince no preſcription will ſerve in this caſe; and
'the length of time in which an uſurping family has
'reigned, rather aggravates than extenuates the
'crime, and leaves the plea of right the more eaſy
'to be overthrown (101).'

(101) Book IX. p. 194, 195.

In another of his notes, ſpeaking of the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, he refers to the caſe of Algernon Sydney, and ſays, that 'the
'authors of this notion ſhewed one of the moſt exact
'ſpecimens of their abſolute doctrine that theſe lat-
'ter ages had ever known: and from whence the
'ſtrength and force of their principle may be fairly
'determined, as follows: Sir Robert Filmer, being
'the great champion of this doctrine, had defended
'it in print. Algernon Sydney, an antient branch
'of the noble family of the Sydneys, and brother to
'the then Earl of Leiceſter, drew out a true ſyſtem
'of original power, and the ſtated bounds of go-
'vernment and ſubjection by the laws of God, na-
'ture, and reaſon; and though it might be deſigned
'for the preſs in anſwer to Sir Robert Filmer, it
'was not yet perfected or finiſhed for the preſs, nor
'had it been expoſed to view; but the manuſcript
'being ſeized, and the ſubject examined, it was
'thought fit, inſtead of anſwering him with the pen,
'to anſwer him with the axe, and conquer his ar-
'gument by the extent of that very power he ex-
'ploded. This muſt paſs for an admirable way of
'diſputing, and is ſo natural to the thing, that it
'may paſs for a maxim, that arbitrary power is
'only to be defended by arbitrary power, and paſ-
'ſive abſolute ſubjection can only be exemplified by
'itſelf. He that, when he is argued againſt, can
'anſwer with his ſword inſtead of his pen, has cer-
'tainly a full power in his hand to confirm this
'doctrine, and need no other method; nor is it any
'other way to be defended. When, therefore, they
'found Algernon Sydney's argument unanſwerable
'by words, the only way left them was to lay aſide
'debating with the book, and fall upon the man.
'So they cut off his head, merely becauſe they could
'not anſwer his book. The book has ſince been
'printed,

About this time De Foe was employed in what he ſtyles "ſeveral honourable, though "ſecret ſervices (*t*)," by Queen Anne; and it appears alſo that he had before been employed in a ſimilar manner, ſoon after his diſcharge from his impriſonment. What was the nature of theſe ſervices, we are not informed; but his conduct on theſe occaſions gave ſatisfaction [*OO*] both to the Queen, and to the miniſtry. In October, 1706, he was ſent into Scotland [*PP*], in order to aſſiſt in thoſe meaſures, which were then adopted for eſtabliſhing an Union between that kingdom and England. The promotion of the Union was a ſervice in which De Foe could honeſtly engage, as it was an event which he believed would be beneficial to both nations; and it appears, that he had formerly had ſome converſation with King William upon this ſubject [*QQ*]. Mr. Chalmers remarks, that De Foe's "knowledge of commerce and revenue, his powers of inſinuation, and "above all his readineſs of pen, were deemed of no ſmall utility in promoting the "Union (*u*)." He frequently attended the committees of Parliament, and for their uſe made a variety of calculations on the ſubject of trade and taxes (*w*). He alſo wrote anſwers to Hodges and Webſter [*RR*], and other Scottiſh writers againſt the Union. It

(*t*) Appeal, to Honour and Juſtice, p. 14.

(*u*) Life of De Foe, p. 31.

(*w*) Hiſtory of the Union, p. 213.

'printed, and remains unanſwerable to this day; and 'a man would deſire no better conqueſt over the ad'verſaries of Liberty, than to deſire them to reply to 'it now, when they have freedom to ſpeak, and will 'not be anſwered, as the author was, by the ſcaffold 'or the gibbet (102).'

(102) Ibid, B. IV. p. 90, 91.

[*OO*] *His conduct on theſe occaſions gave ſatisfaction, &c.*] 'I had the happineſs,' he ſays, 'to diſcharge 'myſelf, in all theſe truſts, ſo much to the ſatisfaction 'of thoſe who employed me, tho' often with difficulty 'and danger, that my Lord Treaſurer Godolphin, 'whoſe memory I have always honoured, was pleaſed 'to continue his favour to me, and to do me all good 'offices with her Majeſty, even after an unhappy 'breach had ſeparated him from my firſt benefactor '(Mr. Harley): the particulars of which may not 'be improper to relate; and as it is not an injuſtice to 'any, ſo I hope it will not be offenſive. When, upon 'that fatal breach, the Secretary of State was diſmiſſed 'from the ſervice, I looked upon myſelf as loſt; it 'being a general rule in ſuch caſes, when a great 'officer falls, that all who came in by his intereſt 'fall with him. And reſolving never to abandon the 'fortunes of the man, to whom I owed ſo much of 'my own, I quitted the uſual applications which I 'had made to my Lord Treaſurer. But my generous 'benefactor, when he underſtood it, frankly told me, 'that I ſhould by no means do ſo; for, ſaid he, in the 'moſt engaging terms, my Lord Treaſurer will employ 'you in nothing but what is for the public ſervice, 'and agreeable to your own ſentiments of things. 'And, beſides, it is the Queen you are ſerving, who 'has been very good to you. Pray apply yourſelf as 'you uſed to do; I ſhall not take it ill from you in 'the leaſt.

'Upon this I went to wait on my Lord Treaſurer, 'who received me with great freedom, and told me, 'ſmiling, he had not ſeen me a long while. I told 'his Lordſhip very frankly the occaſion, that the un'happy breach that had fallen out had made me 'doubtful whether I ſhould be acceptable to his Lord'ſhip. That I knew it was uſual, when great per'ſons fell, that all who were in their intereſt fell with 'them. That his Lordſhip knew the obligations I was 'under; and I could not but fear my intereſt in his 'lordſhip was leſſened on that account. "Not at all, 'Mr. De Foe," replied his Lordſhip; "I always think "a man honeſt till I find to the contrary."

'Upon this I attended his Lordſhip as uſual; and 'being reſolved to remove all poſſible ground of ſuſ'picion that I kept any ſecret correſpondence, I never 'viſited, or wrote to, or any way correſponded with, 'my principal benefactor (Mr. Harley) for above 'three years; which he ſo well knew the reaſon of, 'and ſo well approved that punctual behaviour in me, 'that he never took it ill from me at all.

'In conſequence of this reception, my lord Godol'phin had the goodneſs not only to introduce me for 'the ſecond time to her Majeſty, and to the honour 'of kiſſing her hand, but obtained for me the con'tinuance of an appointment, which her Majeſty had 'been pleaſed to make me in conſideration of a former 'ſpecial ſervice I had done, and in which I had run 'as much riſque of my life as a grenadier upon the 'counterſcarp; and which appointment however was 'firſt obtained for me at the interceſſion of my firſt 'benefactor, and is all owing to that interceſſion, and 'her Majeſty's bounty. Upon this ſecond introduc'tion her Majeſty was pleaſed to tell me, with a good'neſs peculiar to herſelf, that ſhe had ſuch ſatisfaction 'in my former ſervices, that ſhe had appointed me for 'another affair, which was ſomething nice, and that 'my Lord Treaſurer ſhould tell me the reſt; and ſo I 'withdrew. The next day his Lordſhip having com'manded me to attend, told me, that he muſt ſend me 'to Scotland; and gave me but three days to prepare 'myſelf (103).'

(103) Appeal to Honour and Juſtice, p. 14; 15, 16.

[*PP*] *Was ſent into Scotland.*] At the cloſe of the preceding note, we have given De Foe's own account of his converſation with Queen Anne, and the Lord Treaſurer Godolphin, previouſly to his being ſent into Scotland; for this was the affair which the Queen ſaid "was ſomething nice," and which the Lord Treaſurer was to explain to him. After mentioning theſe particulars, De Foe ſays, 'Accordingly I went to Scot'land, where neither my buſineſs, nor the manner of 'my diſcharging it, is material to this tract: nor will 'it be ever any part of my character that I reveal what 'ſhould be concealed; and yet my errand was ſuch, 'as was far from being unfit for a Sovereign to direct, 'or an honeſt man to perform; and the ſervice I did 'on that occaſion, as it is not unknown to the greateſt 'man now in the nation under the King and the 'Prince, ſo I dare ſay his grace was never diſpleaſed 'with the part I had in it, and I hope will not forget 'it (104).'

(104) Appeal, p. 16, 17.

[*QQ*] *Had ſome converſation with King William upon this ſubject.*] In his Hiſtory of the Union, De Foe ſays, 'At the Revolution, and ſeveral times during the 'reign of the late King William, motions had been 'made frequently, both on the King's ſide and on the 'People's alſo, to come to a treaty; but that prince 'had always one thing or other caſt in his way, to 'prevent his good deſign. The King was often heard 'to ſay, that this iſland could never be eaſy without 'an Union, and if either of them underſtood their own 'happineſs, they would never reſt till it was brought 'to paſs. And, as I had the honour to mention it 'once among other things, in a ſcheme of general 'peace among the Proteſtant intereſts in Europe, I 'cannot forget, that his Majeſty, expreſſing ſome con'cern at it, returned, "I have done all I can in that "affair; but I do not ſee a temper in either nation "that looks like it;"—and added, after ſome other 'diſcourſe, "It may be done, but not yet." During 'the whole reign of this prince, the breaches between 'the two kingdoms rather widened and encreaſed, than 'tended to a cloſe; and ſeveral national unkindneſſes 'paſſed between them, which prepared both ſides, as 'it were, to reflect upon and reproach the other; 'there wanted not alſo a ſet of wicked inſtruments 'always to blow the coals of diſcord between the king'doms into a flame, and, if poſſible, to bring the 'nations to a rupture (105).'

(105) Hiſt. of the Union, p. 64. edit. 1786.

[*RR*] *Wrote anſwers to Hodges, &c.*] He obſerves of Hodges, that he wrote 'a large book againſt an 'incorporate union, in which he abuſed and re'proached England, as a faithleſs, wicked, treache'rous, and abominable nation; and that to unite 'with her, was to entail God's judgement on Scotland 'for her national ſins (106).'

(106) Hiſt. of the Union, p. 223



appears,

appears, that he printed six pieces upon this subject [*SS*]. But, notwithstanding his employments at Edinburgh, he still continued to publish his Reviews; and at this time he very particularly informed the public, that, wherever he might happen to be, the Reviews were wholly written with his own hand, no other person ever having had any concern in them (*x*). During his stay in Scotland, his zeal for the Union exposed him to some personal danger [*TT*]. However, before the conclusion of the year 1706, he published, at Edinburgh, in folio, "*Caledonia*, a Poem, in Honour of Scotland, and the "Scots Nation. In three Parts." The Duke of Queensberry, the Queen's High Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland, and the Lords of the Privy Council, granted De Foe a licence for the exclusive publication of it [*UU*], for the space of seven years. An octavo edition of it was published at London early in the following year. In this poem De Foe celebrates the courage of the Scots, and enumerates some of their military exploits. He endeavours to prove, that the situation of Scotland rendered it well adapted for trade [*WW*]; he speaks honourably of the abilities of the inhabitants; he commends them for their learning, and their attention to religion; and he hints at the advantages which they might derive from an union with England. But though De Foe's poem was a panegyric on Scotland and Scotsmen, it did not wholly consist of commendation. He takes notice of the evils that the common people suffered from their vassalage to their chiefs, and from their ignorance of the blessings of liberty. He also censures the Scots for not improving the natural advantages which their country possessed, and for neglecting their fishery; and he gives them some excellent advice [*XX*].

(*x*) Chalmers, p. 32.

(*y*) Id. Ibid. p. 32.

De Foe returned to England in February, 1706-7 (*y*); and, in a few weeks after, published, in 4to, "The Dissenters Vindicated; or, a Short View of the present State "of the Protestant Religion in Britain, as it is now professed in the Episcopal Church of "England, the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, and the Dissenters in both. In Answer "to some Reflections in Mr. Webster's two Books published in Scotland." He was induced to publish this piece by some severe invectives against the English Dissenters [*YY*], which had been thrown out by Webster. In what manner De Foe was rewarded by the government, for his services respecting the Union, we meet with no particular account; but, in 1709, he published, in one volume, folio, "The History of the Union between

[*SS*] *Six pieces upon this subject.*] Two of these had the following titles: "The Advantages of the Act of "Security, compared to the intended Union. By D. "De Foe." 4to. "A Fifth Essay at removing National Prejudices; with a Reply to some Authors, "who have printed their Objections against an Union. "4to (107)."

(107) Chalmers, p. 75.

[*TT*] *His zeal for the Union exposed him to some personal danger.*] He says himself, speaking of a great riot which took place at Edinburgh on the 23d of October, 1706, 'The author of this (the History of 'the Union) had his share of the danger in this tumult, 'and, though unknown to him, was watched and set 'by the mob, in order to know where to find him, 'had his chamber windows insulted, and the windows 'below him broken by mistake. But by the prudence of his friends, the shortness of its continuance, 'and God's providence, he escaped (108).'

(108) Hist of the Union, p. 239.

[*UU*] *A licence for the exclusive publication of it.*] The licence, which is prefixed to the poem, is as follows:

'At Holyrood-house, the 3d of December, 1706.

'His Grace, her Majesty's High Commissioner, 'and Lords of Privy Council, having considered a 'Petition given in to them by Daniel De Foe, Esq; 'and the same being read in their presence, his Grace, 'and the said Lords do hereby grant licence to the Petitioner and his Assignees, to publish the poem, entituled, CALEDONIA, a poem in honour of Scotland, and the Scots nation; and discharges any other 'person to print, vend, import, or sell the said poem, 'during the space of seven years, without the Petitioner, or his Assignees, warrant or commission, under 'the pain of forefaulting and seizing the copies so 'printed, imported, vended, or sold, for the use of 'the Petitioner and his Assignees, and under the penalty of ten pounds sterling for each hundred of the 'said copies imported, printed, vended, or sold in 'manner aforesaid, and proportionably for a greater 'or lesser number.

'Extracted by me, A. Maitland, Cl. Scti. Concilii.'

[*WW*] *Well adapted for trade.*] In one of his notes De Foe observes, that 'Scotland is equally qualified 'for trade with any nation in the world; whether we 'consider her openness to all parts of the trading 'world, or the convenience of her harbours, safe 'roads, and neighbourhood both to the German and 'Atlantic oceans (109).'

(109) Caledonia, p. 6. edit. Lond. 1707.

In his Poem, he also says of Scotland, that it was,

'Fitted for commerce, and cut out for trade,
'The seas the land, the land the seas invade.
'The promontory clifts, with heights emboss'd,
'And large deep bays adorn thy dang'rous coast:
'Alternately the pilot's true relief,
'These warn at distance, those receive him safe.
'The deep indented harbours them invite,
'First court by day, and then secure at night;
'The wearied sailor's true and safe recess,
'A full amends for wild tempestuous seas (110).'

(110) Caledonia, p. 6.

[*XX*] *Gives them some excellent advice.*] Towards the close of his poem, he says,

'Wake, Scotland, from thy long lethargic dream,
'Seem what thou art, and be what thou shalt seem;
'Shake off the poverty, the sloth will die,
'Success alone can quicken industry.
'No more the bondage of reproach endure,
'Or bear those harms thou canst so quickly cure.
'To land improvement, and to trade apply,
'They'll plentifully pay thine industry.
'The barren muirs shall weighty sheaves bestow,
'The uncultivated vales rich pastures shew, (111).'
'The mountains flocks and herds instead of snow

(111) Caledonia, p. 54, 55.

[*YY*] *Some severe invectives against the English Dissenters.*] One of the charges brought by Webster against the Dissenters was, that, 'by the tenour of their address in King James's reign, they countenanced the 'dispensing power; and that to rescue themselves from 'the severity of our law, they would give a blow to 'all laws.' De Foe acknowledges, that when James II. courted the Dissenters, and granted them an indulgence, in order to promote his own views, some few of the Dissenters did address and thank the King for their liberty. This, says De Foe, 'I do not, nor 'ever did approve, because that liberty was their 'native right (112).' But he maintained, that the great body of the Dissenters had resolutely refused to concur in the measures of James, and had manifested their readiness rather to be sufferers themselves by the penal laws against them, than to support the King's claim of a right to dispense with them merely by his own authority (113).

(112) The Dissenters vindicated, p. 35.

(113) Ibid. p. 16, 34.

"England

"England and Scotland. With an Appendix of original Papers." To this work he prefixed two dedications, one to the Queen, and another to the Duke of Queenſberry; and alſo an account of all the former attempts to effectuate an union between England and Scotland, and a view of the ſtate of affairs in both kingdoms previous to the treaty of Union in the reign of Queen Anne. A ſecond edition of "The Hiſtory of the Union" was publiſhed at London in 1712, and a third in 1786, in 4to, with an index, and a life of the author, written by George Chalmers, Eſq.

In 1709, De Foe publiſhed, in 8vo, "The Hiſtory of Addreſſes," of which he publiſhed a ſecond part two years after. About this time, as Mr. Chalmers obſerves, he "lived at Newington, in comfortable circumſtances, publiſhing the Reviews (x)." But his tranquillity was ſomewhat diſturbed by the invectives that were frequently thrown out againſt him in different publications; and the number of attacks he met with, from periodical and other writers, led him to propoſe a kind of literary truce [ZZ] with J. Dyer, a perſon who was then employed by the leaders of the Tories, "in circulating news and "inſinuations through the country (a)." De Foe complained, that he was frequently charged with being the author of works in which he had no concern [*AAA*]: 'Very often,' ſays he, 'the firſt knowledge I have had of a book's being publiſhed, has been from 'ſeeing myſelf abuſed for being the author of it, in ſome other pamphlet publiſhed in 'anſwer to it.—Finding myſelf treated in this manner, I declined writing at all; and for 'a great part of a year never ſet pen to paper, except in the public paper called the Re'view (b).' He was accuſed of being a party writer, and of writing on any ſide on which he was paid. But in his *Appeal*, he ſays, "In all my writing, I ever capitulated for my 'liberty to ſpeak according to my own judgement of things. I ever had that liberty 'allowed me; nor was I ever impoſed upon to write this way or that againſt my judge'ment by any perſon whatſoever (c)." It is, indeed, a proof of De Foe's independence and integrity as a political writer, that, notwithſtanding his perſonal obligations to Harley, he wrote againſt the peace of Utrecht [*BBB*]. And in his Hiſtory of the Union he ſays, "I have never loved any parties, but with my utmoſt zeal have ſincerely eſpouſed "the great and original intereſt of this nation, and of all nations, I mean Truth and Li"berty; and whoever are of that party, I deſire to be with them (d)."

(x) Chalmers, p. 36.

(a) Ibid. p. 37.

(b) Appeal, p. 25.

(c) Appeal to Honour and Juſtice, p. 20, 21.

(d) Hiſt. of the Union, p. 213.

In

[*ZZ*] *A kind of literary truce.*] De Foe's letter to Dyer, containing this propoſal, is preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, Harl. MSS. No. 7001, fol. 269. It was firſt publiſhed by Mr. Chalmers, and is as follows:

'Mr. Dyer,

'I have your letter. I am rather glad to find you 'put it upon the trial who was aggreſſor, than juſtify 'a thing which I am ſure you cannot approve; and 'in this I aſſure you I am far from injuring you, and 'refer you to the time when long ſince you had wrote 'I *was fled from juſtice*: one *Samnion being taken up for 'printing a libel*, and *I being then on a journey*, nor the 'leaſt charge againſt me for being concerned in it by 'any body but your letter:—alſo many unkind perſonal reflections on me in your letter, *when I was in 'Scotland, in the affair of the Union*, and I aſſure you, 'when my paper had not in the leaſt mentioned you; 'and thoſe I refer to time and date for the proof of.

'I mention this only in defence of my laſt letter, 'in which I ſaid no more of it than to let you ſee I 'did not merit ſuch treatment, and could nevertheleſs 'be content to render any ſervice to you, though I 'thought myſelf hardly uſed.

'But to ſtate the matter fairly between you and I, '[me] as writing for different intereſts and ſo poſſibly 'coming under an unavoidable neceſſity of jarring in 'ſeveral caſes: I am ready to make a fair truce of 'honour with you, *viz.* that if what either party are 'doing, or ſaying, that may claſh with the party we 'are for, and urge us to ſpeak, it ſhall be done without naming either's name, and without perſonal reflections; and thus we may differ ſtill, and yet preſerve both the Chriſtian and the gentleman.

'This I think is an offer may ſatisfy you. I have 'not been deſirous of giving juſt offence to you, neither would I to any man, however I may differ from 'him; and I ſee no reaſon why I ſhould affront a 'man's perſon, becauſe I do not join with him in principle. I pleaſe myſelf with being the firſt propoſer 'of ſo fair a treaty with you, becauſe I believe, as 'you cannot deny its being very honourable, ſo it is 'not leſs ſo in coming firſt from me, who I believe 'could convince you of my having been the firſt and 'moſt ill-treated—for further proof of which I refer 'you to your letters, *at the time I was threatened by the 'Envoy of the King of Sweden.*

'However, Mr. Dyer, this is a method which may 'end what is paſt, and prevent what is future; and if 'refuſed, the future part I am ſure cannot lie at my 'door.

'As to your letter, your propoſal is ſo agreeable to 'me, that truly without it I could not have taken the 'thing at all: for it would have been a trouble intolerable, both to you as well as me, to take your 'letter every poſt, firſt from you, and then ſend it to 'the poſt houſe.

'Your method of ſending to the black box, is juſt 'what I deſigned to propoſe, and Mr. Shaw will 'doubtleſs take it of you; if you think it needful 'for me to ſpeak to him it ſhall be done—what I want 'to know is only the charge, and that you will order 'it conſtantly to be ſent, upon hinting whereof I 'ſhall ſend you the names. Wiſhing you ſucceſs in 'all things (*Your opinions of Government excepted*)

'I am,

'Newington, June 27, 1710.

'Your humble ſervant,

'De Foe.'

[*AAA*] *Charged with being the author of works in which he had no concern.*] Among other pieces with which he was falſely charged, one was, "The Se"cret Hiſtory of the White Staff (114)." It was alſo aſſerted, by Abel Boyer, that he was the author of a paper, called *Mercator*, which was publiſhed three times a week, and that he received for it a large weekly allowance from the Treaſury. De Foe acknowledged, that he had written ſome papers in the *Mercator*; but aſſerted, that he was neither the author of that periodical publication, nor had the property or printing of it; and ſolemnly declared, that he never had any payment, or reward, for writing any part of it (115).

(114) Chalmers, p. 47.

(115) Ibid. p. 40.

[*BBB*] *He wrote againſt the peace of Utrecht.*] He ſays, in his Appeal, 'No man can ſay, that ever I 'once ſaid in my life, that I approved of the peace. 'I wrote a public paper at that time, and there it re'mains upon record againſt me; I printed it openly, 'and that ſo plainly, as others durſt not do, that I 'did not like the peace, neither that which was made, 'nor that which was before making; that I thought 'the Proteſtant intereſt was not taken care of in either; 'that the peace I was for, was ſuch as ſhould neither 'have given the Spaniſh Monarchy to the Houſe of 'Bourbon,

In 1711, De Foe publiſhed, in 8vo. "An Eſſay at an Explanation of that difficult "phraſe, A good Peace." The ſame year he alſo publiſhed, "An Eſſay on the South "Sea Trade, with an Enquiry into the Grounds and Reaſons of the preſent Diſlike and "Complaint againſt the Settlement of a South-Sea Company." A ſecond edition of this was printed the following year (*e*). About this period he went for ſome time into the North of England [*CCC*] (*f*); and what he obſerved of the diſpoſitions of the people there, led him, from his zeal for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the Houſe of Hanover, to publiſh a pamphlet, in 8vo, called "A Seaſonable Caution;" which was intended to operate as an antidote againſt thoſe inſinuations, in favour of the Pretender, which were then propagated by the Jacobites (*g*). He afterwards wrote three other pamphlets in ſupport of the ſame cauſe [*DDD*]; but theſe pieces were written in an ironical ſtyle, a mode of writing the effects of which to De Foe were peculiarly unfortunate, and he again found himſelf involved in a very rigorous and unjuſt proſecution. He was accuſed, in conſequence of theſe publications, of writing ſeditious libels, in order to promote the intereſt of the Pretender [*EEE*]. He was taken into cuſtody, an information being filed againſt him by the attorney-general [*FFF*], and obliged to give eight hundred pounds bail.

(*e*) Chalmers, p. 76.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 45.

(*g*) Id. ibid.

'Bourbon, nor to the Houſe of Auſtria; but that this 'bone of contention ſhould have been broken to pie-'ces, that it ſhould not have been dangerous to Europe 'on any account, and that the Proteſtant powers, (viz.) 'Britain, and the States, ſhould have ſo ſtrengthened 'and fortified their intereſt, by their ſharing the com-'merce and ſtrength of Spain, as ſhould have made 'them no more afraid either of France, or the Em-'peror: ſo that the Proteſtant intereſt ſhould have 'been ſuperior to all the powers of Europe, and been 'in no more danger of exorbitant power, whether 'French or Auſtrian. This was the peace I always 'argued for, purſuant to the deſign of King William 'in the Treaty of Partition, and purſuant to that article 'of the grand alliance which was directed by the 'ſame glorious hand at the beginning of this laſt war, '(viz.). that all we ſhould conquer in the Spaniſh 'Weſt Indies ſhould be our own. This was with a 'true deſign that England and Holland ſhould have 'turned their naval power, which were eminently 'ſuperior to thoſe of France, to the conqueſt of the 'Spaniſh Weſt Indies, by which the channel of trade, 'and return of bullion, which now enriches the ene-'mies of both, had been ours; and as the wealth, ſo 'the ſtrength of the world, had been in Proteſtant 'hands. Spain, whoever had it, muſt then have 'been dependent upon us; the Houſe of Bourbon 'would have found it ſo poor without us, as to be 'ſcarce worth fighting for; and the people ſo averſe 'to them for want of their commerce, as not to make 'it ever likely that France could keep it. This was 'the foundation I ever acted upon with relation to the 'peace. It is true, that when it was made, and could 'not be otherwiſe, I thought our buſineſs was to make 'the beſt of it, and rather to inquire what improve-'ments were to be made of it, than to be continually 'exclaiming at thoſe who made it.'—'While I 'ſpoke of things in this manner, I bore infinite re-'proaches from clamouring pens of being in the 'French intereſt, being hired and bribed to defend a 'bad peace, and the like; and moſt of this was upon 'a ſuppoſition of my writing, or being the author of, 'abundance of pamphlets which came out every day, 'and which I had no hand in (116).'

(116) Appeal to Honour and Juſtice, p. 23. 24, 25.

[*CCC*] *Went for ſome time into the North of England.*] It is ſaid, that he was ſome time at Halifax in Yorkſhire. Mr. Watſon, in his "Hiſtory of Halifax," obſerves, 'that Daniel De Foe, being forced to abſcond, 'on account of his political writings, reſided at Hali-'fax, in the Back-lane, at the ſign of the Roſe and 'Crown, being known to Dr. Nettleton, the phy-'ſician, and the Rev. Mr. Prieſtley, miniſter of a 'Diſſenting congregation there (117).'

(117) Chalmers, p. 45.

[*DDD*] *Other pamphlets in ſupport of the ſame cauſe.*] He ſays, in his Appeal, 'In order to detect the in-'fluence of Jacobite emiſſaries, the firſt thing I wrote 'was a ſmall tract, called, *A Seaſonable Caution*: a 'book ſincerely written to open the eyes of the poor, 'ignorant, country people, and to warn them againſt 'the ſubtle inſinuations of the emiſſaries of the Pre-'tender; and, that it might be effectual to that pur-'poſe, I prevailed with ſeveral of my friends to give 'them away among the poor people all over England, 'eſpecially in the North; and ſeveral thouſands were 'actually given away, the price being reduced ſo low, 'that the bare expence of paper and preſs was only 'preſerved, that every one might be convinced, that 'nothing of gain was deſigned, but a ſincere endea-'vour to do a public good, and aſſiſt to keep the peo-'ple entirely in the intereſt of the Proteſtant ſucceſ-'ſion. Next to this, and with the ſame ſincere de-'ſign, I wrote two pamphlets, one entituled, *What if 'the Pretender ſhould come?* the other, *Reaſons againſt 'the Succeſſion of the Houſe of Hanover.* Nothing can 'be more plain, than that the titles of theſe books 'were amuſements, in order to put the books into the 'hands of thoſe people whom the Jacobites had de-'luded, and to bring the books to be read by them. 'Previous to what I ſhall farther ſay of theſe books, I 'muſt obſerve, that all theſe books met with ſo gene-'ral a reception and approbation among thoſe who 'were moſt ſincere for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, that 'they ſent them all over the kingdom, and recom-'mended them to the people's reading as excellent 'and uſeful pieces, inſomuch that about ſeven editions 'of them were printed, and they were reprinted in 'other places: and I do proteſt, had his preſent 'Majeſty, then Elector of Hanover, given me a thou-'ſand pounds to have written for the intereſt of his 'ſucceſſion, and to expoſe and render the intereſt of 'the Pretender odious and ridiculous, I could have 'done nothing more effectual to thoſe purpoſes than 'theſe books were (118).'

(118) Appeal to Honour and Juſtice, p. 26, 27.

Beſides theſe pamphlets, De Foe publiſhed another, with the ſame views, entituled, "An Anſwer to a "Queſtion that nobody thinks of, viz. What if the "Queen ſhould die?"

[*EEE*] *To promote the intereſt of the Pretender.*] De Foe obſerves, in his Appeal, that 'Nothing can 'be ſeverer in the fate of a man, than to act ſo between 'two parties, that both ſides ſhould be provoked 'againſt him. It is certain, the Jacobites curſed thoſe 'tracts and the author; and when they came to read 'them, being deluded by the titles according to the 'deſign, they threw them by with the greateſt indig-'nation imaginable. Had the Pretender ever come to 'the throne, I could have expected nothing but death, 'and all the ignominy and reproach that the moſt in-'veterate enemy of his perſon and claim could be ſup-'poſed to ſuffer. On the other hand, I leave it to 'any conſidering man to judge, what a ſurprize it 'muſt be to me to meet with all the public clamour 'that informers could invent, as being guilty of writ-'ing againſt the Hanover ſucceſſion, and as having 'written ſeveral pamphlets in favour of the Pretender. 'No man in this nation ever had a more rivetted aver-'ſion to the Pretender, and to all the family he pre-'tended to come of, than I; a man that had been in 'arms under the Duke of Monmouth, againſt the 'cruelty and arbitrary government of his pretended 'father; and that for twenty years had, to my utmoſt, 'oppoſed him (King James) and his party after his 'abdication (119).'

(119) Appeal, p. 28.

[*FFF*] *An information being filed againſt him,* &c.] It has been aſſerted, that this proſecution was commenced againſt him by the abſurd zeal of William Benſon, Eſq; auditor of the Impreſt. De Foe himſelf obſerves, in his Appeal, that perſons of ſome conſequence, who were concerned in the proſecution, had been heard to ſay, that they knew the books were written

bail. During the profecution, he vindicated himſelf in his Review; which gave offence to the judges of the Court of King's Bench, who committed him to Newgate, in Eaſter term, 1713. But he was afterwards releaſed, on making a ſubmiſſion. This profecution involved him in great expences; but it was at length put an end to by another interpoſition in his favour of his old friend Harley, who was now Earl of Oxford, and Lord-treaſurer, who procured for him the Queen's pardon [*GGG*], which was dated on the 13th of November, 1713, and ſigned by Lord Bolingbroke. During his confinement he put an end to the publication of his Review, which had been continued nine years; ſo that, as Mr. Chalmers remarks, "in Newgate it began, and in Newgate it ended (*b*)."

(*b*) Life of De Foe, p. 43.

De Foe had been very zealous for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the Houſe of Hanover, and had been a great ſufferer by his writings in ſupport of it; but after the acceſſion of King George I. he appears never to have received the leaſt countenance or encouragement from the Court, or from any perſons in adminiſtration. Much undeſerved abuſe was alſo thrown out againſt him in various publications of the times. His zeal for the principles of liberty, and the Hanover ſucceſſion, had naturally rendered him obnoxious to the Tories and the Jacobites; but his moderation in certain points, and his connexions with Harley, alſo rendered him ſuſpected by the Whigs, and he was charged with having abandoned his former principles. In March, 1715, he publiſhed, "The Family "Inſtructor [*HHH*];" and about the ſame time he wrote a vindication of his character, from the unjuſt charges which were frequently brought againſt him, under the following title: "An Appeal to Honour and Juſtice, though it be of his worſt enemies [*III*]. By "Daniel

written againſt the Pretender, but De Foe had diſobliged them in other things, and they reſolved to take this advantage to puniſh him. He had procured evidence, he ſays, to prove this fact, if the trial had proceeded.

[*GGG*] *Procured for him the Queen's pardon.*] Of the patent for this purpoſe the following is the preamble: 'Whereas, in the term of the Holy Trinity laſt paſt, 'our Attorney-General did exhibit an information, in 'our Court of King's Bench at Weſtminſter, againſt 'Daniel De Foe, late of London, Gent. for writing, 'printing, and publiſhing, and cauſing to be written, 'printed, and publiſhed, three libels, the one enti-'tuled, "Reaſons againſt the Succeſſion of the Houſe "of Hanover; with an Enquiry, how far the Abdica-"tion of King James, ſuppoſing it to be legal, ought "to affect the Perſon of the Pretender." One other, 'entituled, "And what if the Pretender ſhould "come? or, Some Conſiderations of the Advantages "and real Conſequences of the Pretender's poſſeſſing "the crown of Great Britain." And one other, en-'tituled, "An Anſwer to a Queſtion that nobody "thinks of (viz.), What if the Queen ſhould die?" 'And whereas the ſaid Daniel De Foe hath, by his 'humble petition, repreſented to us, that he, with a 'ſincere deſire to propagate the intereſt of the Hano-'ver ſucceſſion, and to animate the people againſt the 'deſigns of the Pretender, whom he always looked 'on as an enemy to our Sacred Perſon and Govern-'ment, did publiſh the ſaid pamphlets: in all which 'books, although the titles ſeemed to look as if 'written in favour of the Pretender, and ſeveral ex-'preſſions, as in all ironical writing it muſt be, may 'be wreſted againſt the true deſign of the whole, and 'turned to a meaning quite different from the inten-'tion of the author, yet the petitioner humbly aſſures 'us, in the ſolemneſt manner, that his true and only 'deſign in all the ſaid books was, by an ironical diſ-'courſe of recommending the Pretender, in the ſtrongeſt 'and moſt forcible manner to expoſe his deſigns, and 'the ruinous conſequences of his ſucceeding therein; 'which, as the petitioner humbly repreſents, will 'appear to our ſatisfaction by the books themſelves, 'where the following expreſſions are very plain, '(viz.) "that the Pretender is recommended as a "perſon proper to amaſs the Engliſh liberties into his "own ſovereignty, ſupply them with the privileges "of wearing wooden ſhoes; eaſing them of the trou-"ble of chooſing Parliaments; and the nobility and "gentry of the hazard and expence of winter jour-"nies, by governing them in that more righteous "method of his abſolute will, and enforcing the laws "by a glorious ſtanding army; paying all the nation's "debts at once, by ſtopping the funds, and ſhutting "up the Exchequer; eaſing and quieting their dif-"ferences in religion, by bringing them to the union "of Popery, or leaving them at liberty to have no "religion at all." That theſe were ſome of the very 'expreſſions in the ſaid books, which the petitioner 'ſincerely deſigned to expoſe, and oppoſe, as far as in 'him lies, the intereſt of the Pretender, and with no 'other intention. Nevertheleſs, the petitioner, to his 'great ſurprize, has been miſrepreſented, and his ſaid 'books miſconſtrued, as if written in favour of the 'Pretender, &c.——We, taking the premiſes, and 'the circumſtances aforeſaid, into our royal conſider-'ation, are graciouſly pleaſed, &c. (120).'

(120) Appeal, p. 33, 34, 35.

[*HHH*] *The Family Inſtructor.*] This was divided into three parts, 1. Relating to Parents and Children; 2. to Maſters and Servants; and 3. to Huſbands and Wives. The deſign of this work, which has paſſed through many editions, was to impreſs upon the minds of parents the obligations they were under to inſtruct their children in the principles of religion and virtue; to lead children to receive with docility the religious admonitions of their parents; to induce maſters to communicate proper inſtruction in religion to their ſervants; and huſbands and wives to concur with each other in the performance of the duties of family worſhip. It is written in a very natural and eaſy manner; and much of it is thrown into a kind of dramatic form. De Foe obſerves in his preface, that 'the whole work 'being deſigned both to divert and inſtruct, the author 'has endeavoured to adapt it as much as poſſible to 'both theſe uſes: from whence ſome have called it a 'religious play.' This book contains much of real piety, grounded upon the principles of natural and revealed religion, with ſome mixture of ſuperſtition, and of irrational theology. Mr. Chalmers informs us, that the family of George I. were inſtructed by the copy of the Family Inſtructor which is now in the Britiſh Muſeum (121).

(121) Life of De Foe, p. 51.

De Foe afterwards publiſhed a ſecond volume of the Family Inſtructor, in two parts: 1. Relating to family breaches, and their obſtructing religious duties; 2. to the great miſtake of mixing the paſſions in the managing and correcting of children: with a great variety of caſes relating to ſetting ill examples to children and ſervants.

[*III*] *An Appeal to Honour and Juſtice*, &c.] We have already made various extracts from this piece. Towards the beginning of it, he ſtates the following reaſons for its publication: 'I think I have long 'enough been made *Fabula Vulgi*, and borne the 'weight of general ſlander; and I ſhould be wanting 'to truth, to my family, and to myſelf, if I do not 'give a fair and true ſtate of my conduct for impartial 'men to judge of, when I am no more in being to 'anſwer for myſelf. But by the hints of mortality, and 'by the infirmities of a life of ſorrow and fatigue, I 'have reaſon to think, that I am not a great way off 'from, if not very near to, the great ocean of eternity; 'and the time may not be long before I embark on 'the laſt voyage. Wherefore, I think, I ſhould 'even accounts with this world before I go, that no 'actions (ſlanders) may lie againſt my heirs, admini-'ſtrators, and aſſigns, to diſturb them in the peaceable

"Daniel De Foe. Being a true Account of his Conduct in public Affairs." In this piece he very ably and satisfactorily exculpated himself from the ill-grounded accusations that were thrown out against him. But while a part of this was in the press, and before he had quite finished it, he was struck with an apoplexy [*KKK*]. He languished for some time in a very low and weak state; but appears afterwards to have completely recovered; for he lived upwards of fifteen years after, and produced many other works.

As De Foe's political writings had involved him in great inconveniences, and much persecution, he appears, after his recovery, almost wholly to have quitted politics, [*LLL*], and to have turned his attention to such subjects, and writing such books, as would best procure him a subsistence. In 1719, he published, in 8vo. the most celebrated of all his works, under the following title: "The Life and strange surprizing Adventures of "Robinson Crusoe [*MMM*], of York, Mariner; who lived Eight and twenty years all "alone

'possession of their father's (character) inheritance '(122).'

(122) Appeal to Honour and Justice, &c. p. 50.

Of his general principles and conduct in politics he says, 'I was, from my first entering into the know-'ledge of public matters, and have ever been to this 'day, a sincere lover of the constitution of my coun-'try; zealous for liberty and the Protestant interest; 'but a constant follower of moderate principles, a 'vigorous opposer of hot measures in all parties. I 'never once changed my opinion, my principles, or 'my party; and, let what will be said of changing 'sides, this I maintain, that I never once deviated 'from the Revolution principles, nor from the doctrine 'of liberty and property, on which it was founded '(123).

(123) Ibid. p. 50.

In the course of his pamphlet, De Foe takes notice of the injustice that was done even to his private character. 'I cannot forbear,' says he, 'giving one 'example of the hard treatment I receive, which has 'happened even while I am writing this tract. I 'have six children; I have educated them as well as 'my circumstances will permit, and so as I hope shall 'recommend them to better usage than their father 'meets with in the world. I am not indebted one 'shilling in the world for any part of their education, 'or for any thing else belonging to bringing them up, 'yet the author of the Flying Post published lately, 'that I never paid for the education of any of my 'children. If any man in Britain has a shilling to 'demand of me for any part of their education, or 'any thing else belonging to them, let them come for 'it (124).'

(124) Ibid p. 56, 57.

Besides vindicating his own public and private character, De Foe makes some general political observations: and he appears to have thought, that more moderation ought to have been manifested by George I. and his ministers towards the friends and adherents of the abdicated family. 'It is,' says he, 'and ever was my opinion, that moderation is the 'only virtue by which the peace and tranquillity of 'this nation can be preserved: even the King himself, 'I believe his Majesty will allow me that freedom, 'can only be happy in the enjoyment of the crown 'by a moderate administration. If his Majesty should 'be obliged, contrary to his known disposition, to 'join with intemperate councils, if it does not lessen 'his security, I am persuaded it will lessen his satis-'faction. It cannot be pleasant or agreeable; and, 'I think, it cannot be safe to any just prince, to rule 'over a divided people, split into incensed and exas-'perated parties. Though a skilful mariner may 'have courage to master a tempest, and go fearless 'through a storm, yet he can never be said to delight 'in the danger. A fresh, fair gale, and a quiet sea, 'is the pleasure of his voyage; and we have a say-'ing worth notice, to them who are otherwise minded, '*Qui amat periculum periibat in illo*. To attain at the 'happy calm, which, as I say, is the safety of Bri-'tain, is the question which should now move us all; 'and he would merit to be the nation's physician, 'that could prescribe the specific for it. I think I may 'be allowed to say, a CONQUEST OF PARTIES will 'never do it; a BALANCE OF PARTIES may (125).'

(125) Ibid. p. 3, 4.

[*KKK*] *He was struck with an apoplexy.*] De Foe's "Appeal to Honour and Justice" was published in 1715, in 8vo. by J. Baker, at the Black Boy in Paternoster-row. At the end of it was the following addition by the publisher: 'While this was at the 'press, and the copy thus far finished, the author was 'seized with a violent fit of an apoplexy, whereby 'he was disabled from finishing what he designed in 'his farther defence; and continuing now for above 'six weeks in a weak and languishing condition, nei-'ther able to go on, nor likely to recover, at least in 'any short time, his friends thought it not fit to de-'lay the publication of this any longer. If he re-'covers, he may be able to finish what he began; if 'not, it is the opinion of most that know him, that 'the treatment which he here complains of, and some 'others that he would have spoken of, have been the 'apparent cause of his disaster.'

[*LLL*] *To have quitted politics.*] Mr. Chalmers says, 'The death of Anne, and the accession of 'George I. seem to have convinced De Foe of the 'vanity of party-writing. And from this eventful 'epoch, he appears to have studied how to meliorate 'rather than to harden the heart; how to regulate, 'more than to vitiate, the practice of life (126).'

(126) Life of De Foe, p. 50.

Mr. Chalmers has taken a great deal of very commendable and successful pains to illustrate the Life of De Foe, and to vindicate his character from some of the ill-founded accusations which have been brought against him; but in this passage he has not done him justice. It appears at no period to have been the intention of De Foe to "harden the heart," or to "vitiate the practice of life." Nor had his works that tendency. Political writings, like those of De Foe, which are calculated to promote the interests of general liberty, and not the private views of any particular party, are highly beneficial to human society, and may contribute more to advance the common happiness of great communities, than any mere works of imagination.

[*MMM*] *The Life and strange surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe.*] Mr. Chalmers says, that the reception of Robinson Crusoe 'was immediate and uni-'versal; and Taylor, who purchased the manuscript 'after every bookseller had refused it, is said to have 'gained a thousand pounds. If it be inquired by 'what charm it is that these surprizing adventures 'should have instantly pleased, and always pleased, it 'will be found, that few books have ever so naturally 'mingled amusement with instruction. The attention 'is fixed, either by the simplicity of the narration, 'or by the variety of the incidents. The heart is 'amended by *a vindication of the ways of God to man*; 'and the understanding is informed, by various ex-'amples, how much utility ought to be preferred to 'ornament. The young are instructed while the old 'are amused (127).'

(127) Ibid, p. 52, 53.

In 1790, Mr. Walter published, in three volumes, 8vo. "A Selection from the Works of Daniel De "Foe." These volumes contain the whole of Robinson Crusoe, together with The True-born Englishman, and The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England, examined and asserted. In an advertisement prefixed to this edition, it is observed by the editor, that 'few writters have suffered 'more severely by abridgers than Mr. Daniel De 'Foe. These lawless banditti, who are constantly 'employed in making predatory incursions into the 'territories of genius, have ravaged his most cele-'brated work, The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, 'with a barbarous and undiscriminating ferocity. 'Not content with constantly ushering it into the 'world in a garb more worthy of a Grub-street pro-'duction, than a work on which the great Rousseau 'has bestowed the highest encomiums, they have 'modernized

" alone in an uninhabited Iſland on the Coaſt of America, near the Mouth of the great " River of Oroonoque; having been caſt on Shore by ſhipwreck, wherein all the Men " periſhed but himſelf. With an Account how he was at laſt ſtrangely delivered by " Pirates. Written by himſelf. To which is added, a Map of the World, in which " is delineated the Voyages of Robinſon Cruſoe." The ſame year he publiſhed, " The " farther Adventures of Robinſon Cruſoe; being the ſecond and laſt Part of his Life, " and of the ſtrange ſurprizing Accounts of his Travels round three Parts of the Globe;" and the year following, " Serious Reflections, during the Life and ſurprizing Adven- " tures of Robinſon Cruſoe: with his Viſion of the Angelic World." This work has paſſed through upwards of twenty editions, and been tranſlated into many languages. The great invention which is diſplayed in it, the variety of incidents and circumſtances which it contains, related in the moſt eaſy and natural manner, together with the excellency of many of the moral and religious reflexions, render it a performance of very ſuperior and uncommon merit, and one of the moſt intereſting works that ever appeared [*NNN*]. Dr. Blair ſays, " No fiction, in any language, was ever better ſupported than " the Adventures of Robinſon Cruſoe. While it is carried on with that appearance of " truth and ſimplicity, which takes a ſtrong hold of the imagination of all readers, it " ſuggeſts, at the ſame time, very uſeful inſtruction; by ſhewing how much the native " powers of man may be exerted for ſurmounting the difficulties of any external " ſituation (*i*)." Robinſon Cruſoe has, indeed, been ſtrongly recommended by Rouſſeau, as a book admirably calculated to promote the purpoſes of natural education [*OOO*]. It has been pretended, that De Foe ſurreptitiouſly appropriated the papers of Alexander Selkirk, a Scotch mariner, who had lived in a ſolitary manner on the iſland of Juan Fernandez four years and four months, and who was taken on board on the ſecond of February, 1708-9, by captain Woodes Rogers, in his cruizing voyage round the world.

(*i*) Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Letters, vol. II. p. 309. edit. 4to. 1783.

' modernized it; that is, diveſted it of its ſimplicity,— ' ſtruck out every thing moral, uſeful, and impreſſive, ' —preſenting nothing but a bare exterior; totally ' rejecting thoſe excellent philoſophical and religious ' applications, every where interwoven with the ſtory.' Indeed, the fact is, that ſome of the other pieces of De Foe, as well as Robinſon Cruſoe, have been moſt wretchedly mutilated in the late editions, even when they were not publiſhed as abridgements. Walter's edition of Robinſon Cruſoe is one of the beſt; and a very elegant edition of Robinſon Cruſoe, in two volumes, 8vo. adorned with a variety of neat engravings, was publiſhed by Mr. Stockdale in 1790; and to this edition Mr. Chalmers's Life of De Foe, enlarged, was annexed.

[*NNN*] *One of the moſt intereſting works that ever appeared.*] This ſeems evidently to have been the opinion of Dr. Johnſon; who ſaid to Mrs. Thrale: ' Was there ever yet any thing written by mere man, ' that was wiſhed longer by its readers, excepting ' Don Quixote, Robinſon Cruſoe, and the Pilgrim's ' Progreſs (128) ?'

(128) Anecdotes of Dr. Johnſon, p. 281.

[*OOO*] *Recommended by Rouſſeau, as a book admirably calculated to promote the purpoſes of natural education.*] In his *Emilius* Rouſſeau ſays, ' As we muſt have ' books, there is one already written, which, in my ' opinion, affords a complete treatiſe on natural education. This book ſhall be the firſt Emilius ſhall ' read: in this, indeed, will, for a long time, conſiſt ' his whole library, and it will always hold a diſtinguiſhed place among others. It will afford us the ' text, to which all our converſations on the objects of ' natural ſcience will ſerve only as a comment. It ' will ſerve us as our guide during our progreſs to a ' ſtate of reaſon; and will even afterwards give us ' conſtant pleaſure, unleſs our taſte be totally vitiated. ' You aſk impatiently, what is the title of this wonderful book? Is it Ariſtotle, Pliny, or Buffon? No; ' it is Robinſon Cruſoe.

' Robinſon Cruſoe, caſt aſhore on a deſolate iſland, ' deſtitute of human aſſiſtance, and of mechanical implements, providing, nevertheleſs, for his ſubſiſtence, ' for ſelf-preſervation, and even procuring for himſelf ' a kind of competency. In theſe circumſtances, I ' ſay, there cannot be an object more intereſting to ' perſons of every age; and there are a thouſand ways ' to render it agreeable to children. Thus, you ſee, ' I have realized that deſert iſland, which I at firſt ' made uſe of only by way of compariſon. Such a ' ſituation, I confeſs, is very different from that of ' man in a ſtate of ſociety. Very probably it will ' never be that of Emilius; but it is from ſuch a ' ſtate he ought to learn to eſtimate others. The moſt ' certain method for him to raiſe himſelf above vulgar ' prejudices, and to form his judgement on the actual ' relations of things, is to take on himſelf the character ' of ſuch a ſolitary adventurer, and to judge of every ' thing about him, as a man in ſuch circumſtances ' would, by its real utility. This romance, beginning ' with his ſhipwreck on the iſland, and ending with ' the arrival of the veſſel that brought him away, ' would, if cleared of its traſh, afford Emilius, during ' the period we are now treating of, at once both inſtruction and amuſement. I would have him indeed ' perſonate the hero of the tale, and be entirely taken ' up with his caſtle, his goats, and his plantations; ' he ſhould make himſelf minutely acquainted, not ' from books but circumſtances, with every thing requiſite for a man in ſuch a ſituation. He ſhould ' affect even his dreſs, wear a coat of ſkins, a great ' hat, a large hanger; in ſhort, he ſhould be entirely ' equipt in his groteſque manner, even with his umbrella, though he would have no occaſion for it. I ' would have him, when at a loſs about the meaſures ' neceſſary to be taken for his proviſion or ſecurity, ' upon this or the other occaſion, examine the conduct of his hero; he ſhould ſee if he omitted nothing, ' or if any thing better could be ſubſtituted in the ' room of what was actually done; and, on the diſcovery of any miſtake in Robinſon, ſhould amend it ' in a ſimilar caſe himſelf; for I doubt not but he ' will form a project of going to make a like ſettlement. Not unlike to this were thoſe ancient caſtles ' in Spain, in that happy age when the height of ' human felicity conſiſted in the enjoyment of liberty ' and the neceſſaries of life.

' What opportunities of inſtruction would ſuch an ' amuſement afford an able preceptor, who ſhould ' project it only with a view to that end! The pupil, ' eager to furniſh a magazine for his iſland, would be ' more ready to learn than his tutor to teach him. ' He would be ſolicitous to know every thing that is ' uſeful, and nothing elſe: You would in ſuch a caſe ' have no more occaſion to direct; but only to reſtrain him. Let us haſten, therefore, to eſtabliſh ' him in this imaginary iſle, ſince to this he confines ' his preſent happineſs; for the time will now ſoon ' come, in which, if he is deſirous of life, it is not to ' live alone, and in which even a man Friday, the ' want of whom does not now affect him, would not ' be long ſatisfactory.

' The practice of ſimple manual arts, to the exerciſe of which the abilities of the individual, are ' equal, leads to the invention of the arts of induſtry, ' the exerciſe of which requires the concurrence of ' many. The former may be practiſed by hermits ' and ſavages; but the latter can be exerciſed only in a ' ſtate of ſociety, and render that ſtate neceſſary (129).'

(129) Emilius and Sophia, or, a new ſyſtem of education, vol. II. p. 59—63. Eng. Tranſl. 12mo. 1767.

But

But this charge againſt De Foe, though repeatedly and confidently brought, appears to be totally deſtitute of any ſolid foundation. De Foe probably took ſome general hints for his work from the ſtory of Selkirk, which he, or any other man, had a right to do, as Selkirk's ſtory had been publiſhed by Captain Woodes Rogers [*PPP*], in 1712, ſeven

[*PPP*] *Selkirk's ſtory had been publiſhed by Captain Woodes Rogers.*] The account of Selkirk publiſhed by Captain Rogers we ſhall here inſert, as it cannot be improper that the moſt authentic account of this man ſhould be preſerved in the Biographia Britannica. After giving an account of his arrival at the Iſland of Juan Fernandez, in the ſhip named the Duke, in company with another ſhip called the Dutcheſs, of which Capt. Courtney was commander, Capt. Rogers ſays, 'Our 'pinnace returned from the ſhore, and brought abun-'dance of craw-fiſh, with a man cloathed in goat-ſkins, 'who looked wilder than the firſt owners of them. 'He had been on the iſland four years and four 'months, being left there by Capt. Stradling in the 'Cinque-Ports; his name was Alexander Selkirk, a 'Scotchman, who had been maſter of the Cinque-'Ports, a ſhip that came here laſt with Capt. Dam-'pier, who told me that this was the beſt man in her; 'ſo I immediately agreed with him to be a mate on 'board our ſhip. 'Twas he that made the fire laſt 'night when he ſaw our ſhips, which he judged to 'be Engliſh. During his ſtay here, he ſaw ſeveral 'ſhips paſs by, but only two came in to anchor. As 'he went to view them, he found them to be Spa-'niards, and retired from them; upon which they 'ſhot at him. Had they been French, he would have 'ſubmitted; but choſe to riſque his dying alone on 'the iſland, rather than fall into the hands of the 'Spaniards in theſe parts, becauſe he apprehended 'they would murder him, or make a ſlave of him in 'the mines, for he feared they would ſpare no ſtran-'ger that might be capable of diſcovering the South-'Sea. The Spaniards had landed before he knew 'what they were, and they came ſo near him that he 'had much ado to eſcape; for they not only ſhot at 'him, but purſued him into the woods, where he 'climbed to the top of a tree, at the foot of which 'they made water, and killed ſeveral goats juſt by, 'but went off again without diſcovering him. He 'told us that he was born at Largo, in the County of 'Fife in Scotland, and was bred a ſailor from his 'youth. The reaſon of his being left here was a 'difference betwixt him and his captain; which, to-'gether with the ſhip's being leaky, made him will-'ing rather to ſtay here, than go along with him at 'firſt; and when he was at laſt willing, the captain 'would not receive him. He had been in the iſland 'before to wood and water, when two of the ſhips 'company were left upon it for ſix months till the 'ſhip returned, being chaſed then by two French 'South-Sea ſhips.

'He had with him his clothes and bedding, with 'a firelock, ſome powder, bullets, and tobacco, a 'hatchet, a knife, a kettle, a bible, ſome practical 'pieces, and his mathematical inſtruments and books. 'He diverted and provided for himſelf as well as he 'could; but for the firſt eight months had much ado 'to bear up againſt melancholy, and the terror of 'being left alone in ſuch a deſolate place. He built 'two hutts with piemento trees, covered them with 'long graſs, and lined them with the ſkins of goats, 'which he killed with his gun as he wanted, ſo long 'as his powder laſted, which was but a pound; and 'that being near ſpent, he got fire by rubbing two 'ſticks of piemento wood together upon his knee. 'In the leſſer hut, at ſome diſtance from the other, 'he dreſſed his victuals, and in the larger he ſlept, 'and employed himſelf in reading, ſinging pſalms, 'and praying; ſo that he ſaid he was a better Chriſtian 'while in this ſolitude than ever he was before, or 'than, he was afraid, he ſhould ever be again. At 'firſt he never ate any thing till hunger conſtrained 'him, partly for grief, and partly for want of bread 'and ſalt; nor did he go to bed till he could watch 'no longer; the piemento wood, which burnt very 'clear, ſerved him both for firing and candle, and 'refreſhed him with its fragrant ſmell.

'He might have had fiſh enough, but could not 'eat them for want of ſalt, becauſe they occaſioned a 'looſeneſs; except craw-fiſh, which are there as 'large as our Lobſters, and very good. Theſe he 'ſometimes boiled, and at other times broiled, as 'he did his goats fleſh, of which he made very good 'broth, for they are not ſo rank as ours. He kept an 'account of 500 that he killed while there, and 'caught as many more, which he marked on the 'ear and let go. When his powder failed, he took 'them by ſpeed of foot; for his way of living, and 'continual exerciſe of walking and running, cleared 'him of all groſs humours, ſo that he ran with 'wonderful ſwiftneſs through the woods and up the 'rocks and hills, as we perceived when we employed 'him to catch goats for us. We had a bull-dog, 'which we ſent with ſeveral of our nimbleſt runners, 'to help him in catching goats; but he diſtanced 'and tired both the dog and the men, catched the 'goats, and brought them to us on his back. He 'told us that his agility in purſuing a goat had once 'like to have coſt him his life; he purſued it with ſo 'much eagerneſs, that he catched hold of it on the 'brink of a precipice, of which he was not aware, 'the buſhes having hid it from him; ſo that he fell 'with the goat down the ſaid precipice a great height, 'and was ſo ſtunned and bruiſed with the fall that he 'narrowly eſcaped with his life, and, when he came 'to his ſenſes, found the goat dead under him. He 'lay there about 24 hours, and was ſcarcely able to 'crawl to his hut, which was about a mile diſtant, or 'to ſtir abroad again in ten days.

'He came at laſt to reliſh his meat well enough 'without ſalt or bread, and in the ſeaſon had plenty 'of good turnips, which had been ſowed there by 'Capt. Dampier's men, and have now overſpread 'ſome acres of ground. He had enough of good 'cabbage from the cabbage-trees, and ſeaſoned his 'meat with the fruit of the piemonto trees, which is 'the ſame as the Jamaica Pepper, and ſmells deli-'ciouſly. He found there alſo a black pepper called 'Malagita, which was very good to expel wind, and 'againſt griping of the guts.

'He ſoon wore out all his ſhoes and clothes by 'running through the woods; and at laſt being forced 'to ſhift without them, his feet became ſo hard, that 'he ran every where without annoyances: and it 'was ſome time before he could wear ſhoes after we 'found him; for not being uſed to any ſo long, his 'feet ſwelled when he came firſt to wear them again.

'After he had conquered his melancholy, he di-'verted himſelf ſometimes by cutting his name on the 'trees, and the time of his being left, and con-'tinuance there. He was at firſt much peſtered with 'cats and rats, that had bred in great numbers from 'ſome of each ſpecies which had got aſhore from 'ſhips that put in there to wood and water. The 'rats gnawed his feet and clothes while aſleep, which 'obliged him to cheriſh the cats with his goats-fleſh; 'by which many of them became ſo tame, that they 'would lie about him in hundreds, and ſoon delivered 'him from the rats. He likewiſe tamed ſome kids, 'and to divert himſelf would now and then ſing and 'dance with them and his cats: ſo that by the care 'of Providence and vigour of his youth, being now 'about 30 years old, he came at laſt to conquer all 'the inconveniences of his ſolitude, and to be very 'eaſy. When his clothes wore out, he made him-'ſelf a coat and cap of goat-ſkins, which he ſtitched 'together with little thongs of the ſame, that he cut 'with his knife. He had no other needle but a nail; 'and when his knife was wore to the back, he made 'others as well as he could of ſome iron hoops that 'were left aſhore, which he beat thin and ground 'upon ſtones. Having ſome linen cloth by him, he 'ſewed himſelf ſhirts with a nail, and ſtitched them 'with the worſted of his old ſtockings, which he 'pulled out on purpoſe. He had his laſt ſhirt on 'when we found him in the iſland.

'At his firſt coming on board us, he had ſo much 'forgot his language for want of uſe, that we could 'ſcarcely underſtand him, for he ſeemed to ſpeak his 'words by halves. We offered him a dram, but he 'would

seven years before the publication of Robinson Crusoe. But that work is undoubtedly the production of his own fertile genius; and though the charge against him, of his making an improper and unfair use of the papers of Selkirk, has been in such a manner repeated from one author to another, that it seems to have gained almost universal credit [222], there is no reason for believing, that he was ever in possession of a single paper

'would not touch it, having drunk nothing but 'water since his being there, and it was some time 'before he could relish our victuals.

'He could give us an account of no other product 'of the island than what we have mentioned, except 'small black plumbs, which are very good, but hard 'to come at, the trees which bear them growing on 'high mountains and rocks. Piemento trees are plenty 'here, and we saw some of 60 foot high, and about 'two yards thick; and cotton trees higher, and near 'four fathom round in the stock.

'The climate is so good, that the trees and grass 'are verdant all the year. The Winter lasts no 'longer than June and July, and is not then severe, 'there being only a small frost, and a little hail, but 'sometimes great rains. The heat of the Summer is 'equally moderate, and there's not much thunder or 'tempestuous weather of any sort. He saw no veno-'mous or savage creature on the island, nor any other 'sort of beast but goats, &c. as above-mentioned; 'the first of which had been put ashore here on pur-'pose for a breed by Juan Fernando, a Spaniard who 'settled there with some families for a time, till the 'continent of Chili began to submit to the Spaniards, 'which, being more profitable, tempted them to quit 'this island, which is capable of maintaining a good 'number of people, and of being made so strong that 'they could not be easily dislodged.

'Ringrose, in his account of Capt. Sharp's Voyage 'and other buccaneers, mentions one who had escaped 'ashore here out of a ship which was cast away with 'all the rest of the company, and says he lived five 'years alone before he had the opportunity of another 'ship to carry him off. Capt. Dampier talks of a 'Moskito Indian that belonged to Capt. Watling, 'who, being a hunting in the woods when the cap-'tain left the island, lived here three years alone, 'and shifted much in the same manner as Mr. Selkirk 'did, till Capt. Dampier came hither in 1684, and 'carried him off. The first that went ashore was one 'of his countrymen, and they saluted one another, 'first by prostrating themselves by turns on the ground, 'and then embracing. But whatever there is in these 'stories, this of Mr. Selkirk I know to be true; 'and his behaviour afterwards gives me reason to 'believe the account he gave me how he spent his 'time, and bore up under such an affliction, in which 'nothing but the Divine Providence could have sup-'ported any man. By this one may see that solitude 'and retirement from the world is not such an in-'sufferable state of life as most men imagine, especially 'when people are fairly called or thrown into it un-'avoidably, as this man was; who in all probability 'must otherwise have perished in the seas, the ship 'which left him being cast away not long after, and 'few of the company escaped. We may perceive by 'this story the truth of the maxim, that necessity is 'the mother of invention, since he found means to 'supply his wants in a very natural manner so as to 'maintain his life, though not so conveniently, yet as 'effectually as we are able to do with the help of all 'our arts and societies. It may likewise instruct us, 'how much a plain and temperate way of living con-'duces to the health of the body, and the vigour of 'the mind, both which we are apt to destroy by 'excess and plenty, especially of strong Liquor, and 'the variety as well as the nature of our meat and 'drink; for this man, when he came to our ordinary 'method of diet and life, though he was sober enough, 'lost much of his strength and agility (130).'

(130) Woodes Rogers Cruizing Voyage round the World, p. 125—131. Second edit.

Capt. Edward Cooke, who went the same voyage, and published a journal of it, also gives the following short account of Selkirk: 'The Duke's boat went 'ashore, and found one Alexander Selkirk, who had 'been formerly master of the Cinque Ports galley, 'an English privateer in those parts; and having 'some difference with the Captain of the said ship, 'and she being leaky, he left the said Captain Strad-'ling, going ashore on this island, where he con-'tinued four years and four months, living on goats, 'and cabbages that grow on trees, parsnips, &c. He 'told us a Spanish ship or two, which touched there, 'had like to have taken him, and fired some shot at 'him. He was clothed in a goat's skin jacket, 'breeches, and cap, sewed together with thongs of 'the same. He tamed some wild goats and cats, 'whereof there are great numbers (131).'

Sir Richard Steele likewise gave some account of Selkirk in the 26th Number of the *Englishman*, which was published Dec. 3, 1713. Sir Richard appears to have had frequent conversations with him: and after giving an account of his residence on Juan Fernandez, and other particulars respecting him, he says, 'When 'I first saw him, I thought, if I had not been let 'into his character and story, I could have discerned 'that he had been much separated from company, 'from his aspect and gesture. There was a strong 'but chearful seriousness in his look, and a certain 'disregard to the ordinary things about him, as if 'he had been sunk in thought. When the ship, 'which brought him off the island, came in, he 'received them with the greatest indifference, with 'relation to the prospect of going off with them, 'but with great satisfaction in an opportunity to re-'fresh and help them. The man frequently bewailed 'his return to the world, which could not, he said, 'with all its enjoyments, restore him to the tranquil-'lity of his solitude. Though I had frequently con-'versed with him, after a few months absence, he 'met me in the street; and, though he spoke to me, 'I could not recollect that I had seen him. Familiar 'converse in this town had taken off the loneliness of 'his aspect, and quite altered the air of his face.

(131) Captain Edward Cooke's Voyage to the South Sea, and round the World, p. 34. 8vo. 1712.

'This plain man's story is a memorable example, 'that he is happiest who confines his wants to natural 'necessities; and he that goes farther in his desires, 'increases his wants in proportion to his acquisitions; 'or, to use his own expression, *I am now worth eight 'hundred pounds; but shall never be so happy as when I 'was not worth a farthing* (132).'

(132) Englishman, p. 124.

It shou'd be observed, that this was published by Sir Richard Steele about six years before the publica-tion of Robinson Crusoe; and, from what Sir Richard says, it does not appear, that Selkirk had any manu-script account of his adventures, or any expectation of gaining money by a narration of his life. If he had formed any such design, or had any such ex-pectation, he certainly might have found some person to assist him in publishing his adventures long before the appearance of Robinson Crusoe.

[222.] *It seems to have gained almost universal credit.*] Even the ingenious Dr. Beattie speaks of this charge against De Foe, and reasons upon it, though he states it differently from the common accounts, in a manner that shews he gave much more credit to it than it deserved. Speaking of Robinson Crusoe, which he terms a Serious Romance, he says, 'The 'account given of that well-known work is as follows: 'Alexander Selkirk, a Scotch mariner, happened, by 'some accident, which I forget, to be left in the un-'inhabited island of Juan Fernandez, in the South Seas. 'Here he continued four years alone, without any 'other means of supporting life, than by running 'down goats, and killing such other animals as he 'could come at. To defend himself from danger 'during the night, he built a house of stones rudely 'put together, which a gentleman, who had been in 'it (for it was extant when Anson arrived there), 'described to me as so very small, that one person 'could with difficulty crawl in, and stretch himself at 'length. Selkirk was delivered by an English vessel, 'and returned home. A late French writer says, he 'had become so fond of the savage state, that he was 'unwilling to quit it. But that is not true. The 'French writer either confounds the real story of 'Selkirk, with a fabulous account of one Philip Quarl, 'written after Robinson Crusoe, of which it is a 'paltry imitation; or wilfully misrepresents the fact,

paper of Selkirk's [*RRR*]. But ſo great has been the deſire to deprive De Foe of the merit and invention of his Robinſon Cruſoe, that ſome verſes written by Mr. Cowper, in the character of Selkirk, and containing ſuch ideas and reflexions as might be ſuppoſed to ariſe in his mind during his ſolitary abode in Juan Fernandez, were printed in one of the periodical publications as Selkirk's, and as a proof that he was capable of producing ſuch a work as Robinſon Cruſoe. An abſurd ſtory has alſo been propagated, that Robinſon Cruſoe was written by Harley, Earl of Oxford, during his confinement in the Tower of London (*k*).

(*k*) Edinburgh Magazine, vol. VII. p. 269.

In 1720, De Foe publiſhed, in 8vo, "The Life, Adventures, and Piracies, of the "famous Captain Singleton [*SSS*]." The year after he publiſhed, in 8vo, "The "Fortunes

'in order to juſtify, as far as he is able, an idle conceit, which, ſince the time of Rouſſeau, has been in 'faſhion amongſt infidel and affected theoriſts on the 'continent, that ſavage life is moſt natural to us, and 'that the more a man reſembles a brute in his mind, 'body, and behaviour, the happier he becomes, and 'the more perfect.——Selkirk was adviſed to get his 'ſtory put in writing, and publiſhed. Being illiterate 'himſelf, he told every thing he could remember to 'Daniel De Foe, a profeſſed author of conſiderable 'note; who, inſtead of doing juſtice to the poor 'man, *is ſaid* to have applied theſe materials to his 'own uſe, by making them the ground-work of 'Robinſon Cruſoe; which he *ſoon after publiſhed*, 'and which, being very popular, brought him a 'good deal of money.

'Some have thought, that a love tale is neceſſary 'to make a romance intereſting. But Robinſon 'Cruſoe, though there is nothing of love in it, is 'one of the moſt intereſting narratives that ever 'was written; at leaſt in all that part which relates 'to the deſert iſland; being founded on a paſſion 'ſtill more prevalent than love, the deſire of ſelf-'preſervation; and therefore likely to engage the 'curioſity of every claſs of readers, both old and 'young, both learned and unlearned.

'I am willing to believe, that De Foe ſhared the 'profits of this publication with the poor ſeaman: 'for there is an air of humanity in it, which one 'would not expect from an author who is an arrant 'cheat. In the preface to his ſecond volume, he 'ſpeaks feelingly enough of the harm done him by 'thoſe who had abridged the firſt, in order to re-'duce the price. "The injury," ſays he, "which "theſe men do to the *proprietors* of works, is a "practice all honeſt men abhor: and they believe "they may challenge them to ſhew the difference "between that and robbing on the highway, or "breaking open a houſe. If they cannot ſhew any "difference in the crime, they will find it hard to "ſhew, why there ſhould be any difference in the "puniſhment." Is it to be imagined, that any man 'of common prudence would talk in this way, if he 'were conſcious that he himſelf might be proved 'guilty of that very diſhoneſty which he ſo ſeverely 'condemns (133)?'

(133) Diſſertations Moral and Critical, p. 565, 566. edit. 4to. 1783.

It certainly would have been ſomewhat extraordinary, that De Foe ſhould have talked in the manner he did, if he had been guilty of that with which he was charged. But the fact appears to have been, that the charge againſt De Foe, of having taken his book from Selkirk's manuſcripts, or from communications of any kind made by Selkirk, was a charge wholly groundleſs, and of which he had himſelf never heard; for we do not find, that the leaſt hint of any ſuch accuſation againſt him was ever publiſhed during his life-time.

Dr. Beattie ſays, 'Robinſon Cruſoe muſt be al-'lowed, by the moſt rigid moraliſt, to be one of 'thoſe novels which one may read, not only with 'pleaſure, but alſo with profit. It breathes through-'out a ſpirit of piety and benevolence; it ſets in a 'very ſtriking light the importance of the mechanic 'arts, which they, who know not what it is to be 'without them, are ſo apt to undervalue; it fixes 'in the mind a lively idea of the horrors of ſolitude, 'and, conſequently, of the ſweets of ſocial life, and 'of the bleſſings we derive from converſation and 'mutual aid; and it ſhews, how, by labouring 'with one's own hands, one may ſecure independ-'ence, and open for one's ſelf many ſources of 'health and amuſement. I agree, therefore, with 'Rouſſeau, that this is one of the beſt books that 'can be put into the hands of children (134).'

(134) Id. ibid.

[*RRR*] *There is no reaſon for believing, that he was ever in poſſeſſion of a ſingle paper of Selkirk's.*] Mr. Chalmers remarks, that it appears from Woodes Rogers's account of Selkirk, that he 'had preſerved no pen, 'ink, or paper, and had loſt his language; ſo that 'he had no journal, or papers, which he could 'communicate, or by others could be ſtolen (135).'

(135) Life of De Foe, p. 55.

In the ſame year in which Robinſon Cruſoe was publiſhed, in 1719, a piece was printed, in 8vo, under the following title: 'The Life and ſtrange 'ſurprizing Adventures of Mr. D——— De F——, 'of London, Hoſier, who has lived above Fifty 'Years by himſelf in the kingdoms of North and 'South Britain. The various Shapes he has ap-'peared in, and the Diſcoveries he has made for the 'Benefit of his Country. In a Dialogue between 'him, Robinſon Cruſoe, and his man Friday. With 'Remarks, ſerious and comical, upon the Life of 'Cruſoe.' But though this pamphlet was evidently written by an enemy of De Foe's, and for the very purpoſe of abuſing him on account of his Robinſon Cruſoe, not the leaſt hint is given, in any part of it, of his having taken it from any manuſcript of Alexander Selkirk's, or even from perſonal converſations with him, or of any ſuch report. On the contrary, Robinſon Cruſoe and Friday are ſpoken of as "airy "phantoms," of De Foe's own creating; the work is repeatedly repreſented as a mere fable, the production of De Foe's own imagination; he is ſaid to have made his hero, "*out of nothing*, famed from "Tuttle Street to Limehouſe-hole;" and the charges brought againſt him are ſuppoſed inconſiſtences in the ſtory, and his having ſpoken too well of Popery, and unfavourably of the Engliſh ſeamen. In the dialogue which is contained in this piece between De Foe, Robinſon Cruſoe, and Friday, the ſcene is laid in "a great field betwixt Newington-green "and Newington-town." A large white houſe, in which De Foe lived at Newington, is ſtill ſtanding.

When Robinſon Cruſoe was firſt publiſhed, the author was ſo far from being accuſed with having taken his book from any manuſcripts of Alexander Selkirk's, or from any perſonal converſations with him, that the great charge againſt him was, 'That 'the ſtory was feigned; that it was all a romance; 'that there never was any ſuch man, or place, or 'circumſtances in any man's life: that it was all 'formed and embelliſhed by invention, to impoſe 'upon the world.' This objection to his book De Foe found it very difficult to anſwer. However, at length, in order to remove all ſuch objections, and to prevent any farther doubt, or poſſibility of doubt, upon the ſubject, he publiſhed a declaration, in a preface to the Serious Reflections of Robinſon Cruſoe, ſigned by Robinſon Cruſoe himſelf, and part of which is as follows: 'I Robinſon Cru-'ſoe, being at this time in perfect and ſound me-'mory, (thanks be to God therefore) do hereby de-'clare, their objection is an invention, ſcandalous in 'deſign, and falſe in fact; and do affirm, that the 'ſtory, though allegorical, is alſo hiſtorical; and 'that it is the beautiful repreſentation of a life of 'unexampled misfortunes; and of a variety not to 'be met with in the world: ſincerely adapted to, 'and intended for the common good of mankind; 'and deſigned, at firſt, as it is now farther applied, 'to the moſt ſerious uſes poſſible.'

[*SSS*] *The Life, Adventures, &c. of the famous Captain Singleton.*] Singleton is ſuppoſed to go to ſea at

" Fortunes and Misfortunes of the famous Moll Flanders [*TTT*]." In 1722, he publiſhed, in 8vo. " Religious Courtſhip; being Hiſtorical Diſcourſes on the Neceſſity of " marrying religious Huſbands and Wives only. As alſo of Huſbands and Wives being " of the ſame Opinions in Religion with one another. With an Appendix, of the Ne- " ceſſity of taking none but religious Servants, and a Propoſal for the better managing " of Servants." The ſame year he alſo publiſhed, " A Journal of the Plague Year " [*UUU*]; being Obſervations or Memorials of the moſt remarkable Occurrences, as well " public as private, which happened in London during the laſt great Viſitation in 1665. " Written by a Citizen who continued all the while in London." About the ſame time he likewiſe publiſhed, in 8vo, " Memoirs of a Cavalier: or, a Military Journal of the " Wars in Germany [*WWW*], and the Wars in England, from the Year 1632 to the " year 1648." In 1723, he publiſhed, in 8vo, " The Hiſtory and remarkable Life of " the truly honourable Col. Jacque, commonly called Col. Jack [*XXX*];" and the year following, alſo in 8vo, " The Fortunate Miſtreſs; or, a Hiſtory of the Life and " vaſt Variety of Fortunes of Mademoiſelle de Belau, afterwards called the Counteſs de " Wintelſheim [*YYY*] in Germany. Being the Perſon known by the Name of the Lady " Roxana, in the time of King Charles the Second." In juſtice to De Foe, it ſhould be obſerved, that in theſe works, and others of a ſimilar nature, in which he has given the ſuppoſed adventures of perſons who paſſed through many ſcenes of vice and immorality, he often introduces very ſtriking paſſages, to point out the pernicious tendency of vicious practices, and the deſtructive conſequences of licentious courſes.

In 1724, he publiſhed, in 8vo, the firſt volume of " A Tour through the whole " Iſland of Great Britain, divided into Circuits or Journies [*ZZZ*]. Giving a particular " and diverting Account of whatever is curious and worth Obſervation, viz. " Firſt, a " Deſcription of the principal Cities and Towns, their Situation, Magnitude, Government, " and Commerce. Second, their Cuſtoms, Manners, Speech; as alſo the Exerciſes, Di- " verſions, and Employments of the People. Third, the Produce and Improvement of

at about twelve years of age, and is led through a great variety of adventures. He is at length repreſented as having acquired an immenſe fortune by ſucceſsful piracy, and yet rendered ſo miſerable by conſcious guilt, as to be about to put an end to his life. By his converſations with a Quaker ſurgeon, whom he had taken on board his ſhip, he is at laſt brought to a ſenſe of religion, and completely reformed. The third edition of this book was publiſhed, in 12mo. in 1768.

[*TTT*]. *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the famous Moll Flanders.*] The edition of this publiſhed in 1776, in 12mo, has the following title: " The Hiſ- " tory of Lætitia Atkins, vulgarly called Moll " Flanders. Publiſhed by Mr. Daniel De Foe, and " from Papers found ſince his Deceaſe, it appears " greatly altered by himſelf; and from the ſaid " Papers the preſent Work is produced." It is, however, manifeſt, that the whole of this is a deception, that the editor was in poſſeſſion of no ſuch papers of De Foe's, and that the work has been exceedingly altered and mutilated, not by the original author, but by the anonymous editor. It contains little more than one half in quantity of what is to be found in the edition of 1722.

[*UUU*] *A Journal of the Plague Year.*] An edition of this work was publiſhed in 8vo, in 1754, under the following title: " The Hiſtory of the " Great Plague in London, in the year 1665: con- " taining Obſervations and Memorials of the moſt " remarkable Occurrences, both public and private, " that happened during that dreadful Period." Though this book may be conſidered as partly a work of imagination, yet De Foe appears to have interwoven in it the moſt authentic particulars which he could collect relative to the real circumſtances which happened in London during the time of the plague. Mr. Chalmers ſays, ' The author's artifice conſiſts in fixing the reader's attention by the ' deep diſtreſs of fellow men; and, by recalling the ' reader's recollection to ſtriking examples of mortality, he endeavours to inculcate the uncertainty ' of life, and the uſefulneſs of reformation (136).'

(136) Life of De Foe, p. 60.

[*WWW*] *Memoirs of a Cavalier, &c.*] Mr. Chalmers ſays, ' This is a romance the likeſt to truth ' that ever was written. It is a narrative of great ' events, which is drawn with ſuch ſimplicity, and ' enlivened with ſuch reflexions, as to inform the ' ignorant, and entertain the wiſe (137).' Among a great variety of incidents and tranſactions related in this book, are many particulars concerning to Guſ-

(137) Ibid. p. 59.

tavus Adolphus, and an intereſting account of the deſtruction of Magdeburgh, and the infamous maſſacre of its inhabitants, by Count Tilly.

[*XXX*] *The Hiſtory and remarkable Life of the truly honourable Col. Jacque, &c.*] The hero of this work is repreſented, when about ten years of age, as lodging in Glaſs-houſes in the neighbourhood of Eaſt-Smithfield. After a variety of adventures, and being in ſome of the loweſt ſituations in human life, and connected with ſome of the moſt profligate characters, he becomes a planter in Virginia, a merchant, and afterwards ſerves as a Lieutenant Colonel under Prince Eugene in Italy. This book contains ſome ſtrong repreſentations relative to the cruelty of the Engliſh planters towards their Negroes, and arguments in ſupport of the policy, as well as humanity, of a more mild and generous treatment of them.

[*YYY*] *The Fortunate Miſtreſs, &c.*] In the edition of 1735, this has the following title: " The " Life and Adventures of Roxana, the Fortunate " Miſtreſs, or moſt Unhappy Wife." An edition of this was publiſhed in 1775, under the following title: " The Hiſtory of Mademoiſelle de Belau; " or, the New Roxana, the Fortunate Miſtreſs, " afterwards Counteſs of Wintelſheim. Publiſhed " by Mr. Daniel De Foe: and, from Papers found " ſince his Deceaſe, it appears was greatly altered by " himſelf; and from the ſaid Papers the preſent " Work is produced." But this, as in the caſe of the Hiſtory of Moll Flanders, is a manifeſt deception; nor was this edition publiſhed from any real papers of De Foe's. It does not contain one half of what is to be found in the edition of 1755. But theſe mutilated editions of theſe books appear to be the editions now in current ſale.

[*ZZZ*] *A Tour through the whole Iſland of Great Britain, &c.*] The three firſt volumes of this work were written by De Foe; but a fourth volume was added to the edition of 1732, which is ſaid to have been written by Mr. Samuel Richardſon, De Foe having died the year before. As all the works of imagination of De Foe were firſt publiſhed in Richardſon's time, it is probable that he was a diligent reader of his productions. There is the more reaſon to ſuppoſe this, becauſe it may be obſerved, that the dramatic form, into which De Foe has thrown many parts of his works of imagination, has been evidently imitated by Richardſon in his Pamela, Clariſſa, and Sir Charles Grandiſon.

" the Lands, the Trade and Manufactures. Fourth, the Sea-ports and Fortifications, the " Courſe of Rivers, and the inland Navigation. Fifth, the public Edifices, Seats, and " Palaces of the Nobility and Gentry. With uſeful Obſervations upon the whole. Par- " ticularly fitted for the reading of ſuch as deſire to travel over the Iſland. By a Gen- " tleman." He publiſhed a ſecond volume of this the following year, and a third in 1727; and in 1725, he publiſhed, in 8vo, " A New Voyage round the World, by a " Courſe never failed before [*AAAA*]. Being a Voyage undertaken by ſome Mer- " chants, who afterwards propoſed the ſetting up an Eaſt India Company in Flanders. " Illuſtrated with Copper-plates."

Beſides the works of De Foe already enumerated, he was alſo the author of various other pieces [*BBBB*], ſome of which will be mentioned in the notes. He died on the 26th

[*AAAA*] *A New Voyage round the World, by a Courſe never ſailed before.*] Mr. Chalmers ſays, 'Moſt 'voyagers have had this misfortune, that whatever 'ſucceſs they had in the adventure, they had very 'little in the narration. They are, indeed, full of 'the incidents of ſailing; but they have nothing of 'ſtory, for the uſe of readers who never intend to 'brave the dangers of the ſea. Theſe faults De 'Foe is ſtudious to avoid in his new voyage. He 'ſpreads before his readers ſuch adventures as no 'writer of a real voyage can hope to imitate, if we 'except the teller of Anſon's tale. In the life of 'Cruſoe we are gratified by continually imagining, 'that the fiction is a real fact. In the voyage round 'the world we are pleaſed by conſtantly perceiving, 'that the fact is a fiction, which, by uncommon 'ſkill, is made more intereſting than a genuine 'voyage (138).'

(138) Life of De Foe, p. 57, 58.

[*BBBB*] *He was alſo the author of various other pieces.*] When De Foe ceaſed to publiſh his Review, in 1713, he began to write a General Hiſtory of Trade, which he propoſed to publiſh in monthly numbers. But whether he met with few purchaſers, or from whatever other cauſe, he diſcontinued it after the publication of two numbers.

In 1726, he publiſhed, in 8vo, 'The Political 'Hiſtory of the Devil, as well antient as modern. 'In Two Parts. Part I. Containing a ſtate of the 'Devil's circumſtances and the various turns of his 'affairs, from his expulſion out of Heaven to the 'creation of man; with remarks on the ſeveral 'miſtakes concerning the reaſon and manner of his 'fall. Alſo his proceedings with mankind ever 'ſince Adam to the firſt planting of the Chriſtian 'Religion in the world. Part II. Containing his 'more private conduct, down to the preſent times. 'His government, his appearances, his manner of 'working, and the tools he works with.' The title of this book is ſomewhat different in different editions; but the ſixth edition of it was printed in 12mo, in 1770.

In 1727, he publiſhed, in 8vo, the firſt volume of 'The Compleat Engliſh Tradeſman; in familiar 'Letters, directing him in all the ſeveral Parts and 'Progreſſions of Trade, viz. 1. Of acquainting him 'with buſineſs during his apprenticeſhip.—2. Of 'writing to correſpondents in a trading ſtyle.—3. Of 'diligence and application, as the life of all buſineſs. '—4. Cautions againſt over-trading.—5. Of the 'ordinary occaſions of a tradeſman's ruin; ſuch as 'expenſive living, too early marrying, innocent 'diverſions, too much credit, being above buſineſs, 'dangerous partnerſhips, &c.—6. Directions in ſe- 'veral diſtreſſes of a tradeſman when he comes to 'fail.—7. Of tradeſmen compounding with other 'tradeſmen, and why they are ſo particularly ſevere 'upon one another.—8. Of tradeſmen ruining one 'another by rumours and ſcandal.—9. Of the 'cuſtomary frauds of trade, and particularly of 'trading lies.—10. Of credit, and how it is only 'to be ſupported by honeſty.—11. Of punctually 'paying bills, and thereby maintaining credit.—12. 'Of the dignity and honour of trade in England, 'more than in other countries. To which is added 'a Supplement, containing: 1. A warning againſt 'tradeſmen's borrowing money upon intereſt.—2. A 'caution againſt that deſtructive practice of draw- 'ing and remitting, as alſo diſcounting promiſſory 'bills, merely for a ſupply of caſh.—3. Directions 'for the tradeſman's accounts, with brief but plain 'examples, and ſpecimens for book-keeping.—4. Of keeping a duplicate, or pocket ledger, in 'caſe of fire.'

The ſecond volume of the Complete Engliſh Tradeſman was publiſhed in the courſe of the ſame year, in two parts. 'Part I. Directed chiefly to 'the more experienced tradeſmen; with cautions 'and advices to them after they are thriven, and 'ſuppoſed to be grown rich. viz. 1. Againſt run- 'ning out of their buſineſs into needleſs projects and 'dangerous adventures, no tradeſman being above 'diſaſter.—2. Againſt oppreſſing one another by 'engroſſing, underſelling, combination in trade, &c. '—3. Advice, that when he leaves off his buſineſs 'he ſhould part friends with the world; the great 'advantages of it; with a word of the ſcandalous 'character of a purſe-proud tradeſman.—4. Againſt 'being litigious and vexatious, and apt to go to 'law for trifles; with ſome reaſons why tradeſmen's 'differences ſhould, if poſſible, be all ended by ar- 'bitration.——Part II. Being uſeful generals in 'trade, deſcribing the principles and foundation of 'the home trade of Great Britain: with large tables 'of our manufactures, calculations of the product, 'ſhipping, carriage of goods by land, importation 'from abroad, conſumption at home, &c. By all 'of which the infinite number of our tradeſmen are 'employed, and the general wealth of the nation 'raiſed and increaſed. The whole calculated for 'the uſe of all our inland tradeſmen, as well in the 'city as in the country.'

In 1728, he publiſhed, in 8vo. 'A Plan of the 'Engliſh Commerce; being a compleat Proſpect of 'the Trade of this Nation, as well the Home Trade 'as the Foreign. In three Parts. Part I. Contain- 'ing a view of the preſent magnitude of the Engliſh 'trade, as it reſpects, 1. The exportation of our 'own growth and manufacture.—2. The importa- 'tion of merchant goods from abroad.—3. The 'prodigious conſumption of both at home.—— 'Part II. Containing an anſwer to that great and 'important queſtion now depending, whether our 'trade, and eſpecially our manufactures, are in a 'declining condition, or no? ——Part III. Con- 'taining ſeveral propoſals, entirely new, for ex- 'tending and improving our trade, and promoting 'the conſumption of our manufactures in countries 'wherewith we have hitherto had no commerce. 'Humbly offered to the conſideration of King and 'Parliament.'

De Foe appears alſo to have been the author of the following pieces:

'An Enquiry into the Caſe of Mr. Aſgill's General 'Tranſlation; ſhewing that it is not a nearer way 'to Heaven than the Grave.' 8vo. 1704.

'The Experiment; or, the Shorteſt Way with 'the Diſſenters exemplified.' 8vo. 1705.

'Advice to all Parties." 8vo. 1705.

'The Diet of Poland, a ſatire.' 4to. 1705.

'A Hymn to Peace, occaſioned by the two 'Houſes joining in one: addreſſed to the Queen.' 1706.

'A Reply to a Pamphlet, entituled, The Vindi- 'cation of Lord H———'s ſpeech.' 4to. 1706.

'A Preface to Thomas Delaune's Plea for the 'Nonconformiſts.' 1706.

'The Secrets of the Inviſible World diſcloſed: or, 'An Univerſal Hiſtory of Apparitions, ſacred and 'profane, under all denominations; whether ange- 'lical, diabolical, or human ſouls departed. With 'a great variety of ſurprizing and diverting ex- 'amples, never publiſhed before. Alſo ſhewing how

26th of April, 1731, in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate. He left a widow, and several children. His son, Norton De Foe [*CCCC*], was a writer in the Flying Post, and author of Memoirs of the Lives of the Princes of the House of Orange. His youngest daughter, Sophia, was married to Mr. Henry Baker, eminent for his skill in natural knowledge, and author of two treatises on the microscope. Mr. Chalmers remarks, that "De Foe probably died insolvent; for letters of administration on his goods and chattels were granted to Mary Brooke, widow, a creditrix, in September, 1733, after summoning in official form the next of kin to appear (*l*)."

(*l*) Life of De Foe, p. 64.

Daniel De Foe possessed very uncommon merit both as a citizen, and as a writer; and yet few men have received more injurious treatment from their contemporaries. He has repeatedly been represented as an unprincipled writer, who had no view but to his own advantage, and who would write for any party by which he was employed. But these charges appear to have been totally destitute of foundation. He was not rich; and he naturally and reasonably endeavoured to make some pecuniary advantage of his writings; but he seems always to have written in conformity to his own principles; and, though much abuse has been thrown out against him, no evidence to the contrary has ever been produced. His prose works are much more valuable than his poetical performances. As a political writer, he had great merit; his sentiments appear to have been generally just, and he expressed himself with force and perspicuity. His pieces on the subject of trade and commerce exhibit uncommon penetration [*DDDD*], and very various

'how we may distinguish between the apparitions of 'good and evil spirits, and how we ought to behave 'to them.' The second edition of this was published in 1735, under the name of Andrew Moreton, Esq.

'The Character of a modern Addresser,' 4to. 1710.

'Some Thoughts upon the Subject of Commerce 'with France,' 8vo. 1713.

'Whigs turned Tories; and Hanoverian Tories, 'from their avowed principles, proved Whigs; or 'each side in the other mistaken, &c.' 8vo. 1714.

'Every Body's Business is no Body's Business; or, 'private abuses public grievances: Exemplified in 'the pride, insolence, and exorbitant wages of our 'women servants, &c.' Published under the name of Andrew Moreton. 8vo. 1725.

'The Protestant Monastery; or, a Complaint 'against the brutality of the present age, particularly 'the pertness and insolence of our youth to aged 'persons. With a caution to people in years how 'they give the staff out of their own hands, and leave 'themselves at the mercy of others. Concluding 'with a proposal for erecting a Protestant Monastery, 'where persons with small fortunes may end their 'days in plenty, ease, and credit, without burthening their relations, or accepting public charities.' 8vo. 1727.

'Parochial Tyranny; or, the House-keeper's complaint against the exactions of Select Vestries,' &c. 8vo.

'Second Thoughts are best; or, a farther Improvement of a late scheme to prevent street-robberies: 'by which our streets will be so strongly guarded, 'and so gloriously illuminated, that any part of London will be as safe and pleasant at midnight, as at 'noon-day, and burglary totally impracticable. With 'some thoughts for suppressing robberies in all the 'public roads of England,' &c. 8vo. 1729.

'Augusta Triumphans; or, the Way to make 'London the most flourishing city in the universe, '&c.' 8vo. 1729.

The last four were all published also under the name of Andrew Moreton, Esq.

The following pieces are likewise attributed to De Foe:

'The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr. 'Duncan Campbell.' 8vo. 1720.

'A System of Magic; or, a History of the Black 'Art. Being an Historical Account of Mankind's 'most early dealings with the Devil; and how the 'acquaintance on both sides first begun.' 8vo. 1727.

'The Judgement of whole Kingdoms and 'Nations concerning the Rights, Power, and Prerogative of Kings, and the Rights, Privileges, and 'Properties of the People,' &c. 8vo. 1710. This has been ascribed to Lord Somers, and printed as his.

'A Treatise concerning the use and abuse of the 'Marriage Bed,' &c. 8vo. 1729.

'The Supernatural Philosopher.' Published under the name of William Bond.

'Christian Conversation, in six Dialogues,' &c. 8vo. 1720.

He is also said to have been the author of the relation of the apparition of Mrs. Veal to Mrs. Bargrave at Canterbury, prefixed to many of the editions of Drelincourt's "Consolations against the fear of "Death." Mr. Chalmers says, 'The tradition 'among the booksellers is, that when Drelincourt's 'Consolations against the fear of Death first appeared, 'the book would not sell. De Foe said, he would 'make it sell; and he made the apparition recommend 'Drelincourt's book of death, as the best on that 'subject ever written. This affecting story had sold 'twenty editions of Drelincourt's Consolations before 'the year 1776, when the twenty-first edition was 'published (139).'

(139) Ibid. p. 74.

In Mr. Chalmers's "List of Writings, which are "considered as undoubtedly De Foe's," he has inserted "A Voyage to the World of Cartesius: written "originally in French, and translated into English." 8vo. 1692. But that translation was certainly not made by De Foe. A dedication is prefixed to it, signed by the translator, whose name was T. Taylor, of Magdalen-college, Oxford.

[*CCCC*] *His son, Norton De Foe.*] Pope has introduced Norton De Foe into his Dunciad in the following lines:

'Norton, from Daniel and Ostræa sprung, (140).'
'Blest'd with his father's front, and mother's tongue.

(140) Dunciad, Book II. l. 415.

And Savage, in the preface to his "Author to "be Lett," stiles Norton De Foe "Daniel De Foe's "son of love by a lady who vended oysters." But the whole of this appears to be nothing but a wanton and a groundless calumny.

[*DDDD*] *His pieces on the subject of trade and commerce, &c.*] Mr. Chalmers says, 'As a commercial 'writer, De Foe is fairly entitled to stand in the 'foremost rank among his contemporaries, whatever 'may be their performances or their fame.'—'The 'distinguishing characteristics of De Foe, as a commercial disquisitor, are originality and depth. He 'has many sentiments with regard to traffick, which 'are scattered through his Reviews, and which I 'never read in any other book.'—'Were we to compare De Foe with D'avenant, it would be found, 'that D'avenant has more detail from official documents; that De Foe has more fact from wider 'inquiry. D'avenant is more apt to consider laws 'in their particular application; De Foe more frequently investigates commercial legislation in its 'general effects. From the publications of D'avenant it is sufficiently clear, that he was not very 'regardful of means, or very attentive to consequences; De Foe is more correct in his motives, 'and more salutary in his ends. But, as a commer-



'cial

various and extenſive knowledge. He was cenſurable for the perſonalities in his ſatirical poems, by which he made himſelf many enemies. But he ſeemed to ſuppoſe, that he was juſtified, as a ſatiriſt, if he advanced nothing, in what he wrote againſt others, but what he himſelf believed to be well founded. He had alſo too much zeal for orthodoxy; and was apt to write with too great aſperity reſpecting thoſe whom he conceived to hold unſound and heretical opinions. His education ſeems to have been defective, and he did nor pay ſufficient attention to the elegancies of compoſition. That his inventive powers were very great, is ſtrikingly conſpicuous in his various works of imagination. Had he received that profit from his writings, which he ought to have derived from them, that alone muſt have been ſufficient to have placed him in a ſtate of affluence. For his works are very numerous; and ſome of them may be claſſed among the moſt popular productions that have appeared in this country [*EEEE*]. Before we conclude this article, we ſhall obſerve, that, in the courſe of it, we have been much indebted to the life of De Foe written by Mr. Chalmers, to which we have repeatedly referred. We have alſo received ſome uſeful notices, relative to this article, from the Rev. Mr. Ayſcough, of the Britiſh Muſeum.]

T.

*** [The delay in the publication of the "Biographia," which is ſometimes complained of, has, in ſeveral inſtances, been attended with peculiar advantages. Hence it has happened, that we have occaſionally been furniſhed with an acceſſion of freſh matter, which hath enabled us to render far more complete juſtice than could otherwiſe have been done to the Characters that paſs in Review before us. De Foe is an example of the truth of what is here remarked. Mr. Chalmers's ingenious and copious account of him, ſo recently publiſhed (1790), has been of ſignal ſervice on the preſent occaſion; and we have endeavoured to improve upon it, by large additions, and curious extracts. To the ſame gentleman we have been heretofore not a little indebted: for it was his Life of Sir John Davies, prefixed to Sir John's Hiſtorical Tracts, which induced and capacitated us to give, in our fourth volume, a new article of that eminent Lawyer and Poet.

Another obſervation, ſuggeſted by the caſe of De Foe, is, that eminent literary and intellectual merit at length finds its due place in the temple of Fame. Dr. Bentley, as we have formerly ſeen at large (*m*), is a remarkable inſtance in point; and De Foe is another example to the ſame purpoſe. Though his abilities in certain reſpects were generally acknowledged, full juſtice was far from being done to his reputation, either during his life, or for a conſiderable time after his deceaſe. By ſome perſons he has been ſpoken of with contempt; and others have only regarded him as a ready miſcellaneous author. But the world is at laſt become ſenſible of his great and various Talents. The world is at laſt become ſenſible that he was a very uncommon man: and that, as a noveliſt, a polemick, a commercial writer, and an hiſtorian, he is entitled to a high degree of applauſe. His poetry, though much celebrated in its day, conſtitutes the ſmalleſt part of his praiſes.

(*m*) Biographia Britannica, New Edition, Vol. ii. p. 242—247.

The rapidity with which De Foe muſt have written is not a little ſurprizing. In particular, his continuing "The Review," every week, for Nine Years, amidſt ſuch a multitude of other publications, and ſome of them large ones, is really aſtoniſhing. I was informed by the late William Ruſſel, Eſq. Fellow of the Royal Society, that he was told by Dr. Campbell, that De Foe once wrote two twelve-penny pamphlets in one day; and pamphlets had not then attained the ample margin, and the looſe printing, of modern times. In point of celerity and variety of compoſition, De Foe might be compared with a moſt eminent literary character of the preſent age. But it is only in theſe reſpects that we mention the ſimilitude; for the gentleman in queſtion ſuſtains a far higher rank in the diſcoveries of ſcience, and the extent of literature.

De Foe was poſſeſſed of an extraordinary knowledge of human nature, and had a ſingular capacity of ſuſtaining the characters which he introduced into his works. His "Journal of the Plague Year," which is repreſented as having been written at the

> 'cial prophet, De Foe muſt yield the palm to Child; who, foreſeeing from experience that men's conduct muſt finally be directed by their principles, foretold the colonial revolt: De Foe, allowing his prejudices to obſcure his ſagacity, reprobated that ſuggeſtion, becauſe he deemed intereſt a more ſtrenuous prompter than enthuſiaſm. Were we, however, to form an opinion, not from ſpecial paſſages, but from whole performances, we muſt incline to De Foe, when compared to the ableſt contemporary. We muſt allow him the preference, on recollection, that when he writes on commerce, he ſeldom fails to
> 'inſinuate ſome axiom of morals, or to inculcate ſome 'precept of religion (141).'

(141) Life of De Foe, p. 67, 68, 69.

[*EEEE*] *Among the moſt popular productions that have appeared in this country.*] His Robinſon Cruſoe has paſſed through more than twenty editions, and abridgements have been printed of it without number. The ſixteenth edition of his "Family Inſtructor" was publiſhed in 1787; and the twenty-firſt edition of his "Religious Courtſhip" in 1789. Between twenty and thirty editions have alſo been printed of his True-born Engliſhman.]

T.



time

time by a Sadler in White-chapel, deceived Dr. Mead (*n*), nor will this be deemed ſurprizing, when we conſider the characteriſtic ſimplicity with which the book is compoſed. Many fine diſplays of natural ſentiment occur in Robinſon Cruſoe's man, *Friday*, and there is one which, in reading it, appeared to the preſent writer particularly ſtriking. It is in the converſation which Cruſoe has with *Friday* concerning the Devil. *Friday*, being informed by his maſter that GOD was ſtronger than the devil, aſks, "if "GOD much ſtrong, much might as the Devil, why GOD not kill the Devil, ſo make "him no more wicked?" At this queſtion Cruſoe was greatly ſurprized and embarraſſed; but, having recovered himſelf a little, he anſwered, that GOD would at laſt puniſh the Devil ſeverely; that he is reſerved for judgment, and is to be caſt into the bottomleſs pit, to dwell with everlaſting fire. Still, however, *Friday* not being ſatisfied, returns upon his maſter, repeating his words; "Reſerve at laſt! Me no underſtand: but why "not kill the Devil now, not kill great ago?" "You may as well aſk me," replied Cruſoe, "why GOD does not kill you and me, when we do wicked things here that "offend him; we are preſerved to repent and be pardoned." At this *Friday* muſed a while, and then ſaid, mighty affectionately: "Well, well, that well; ſo you, I, devil, "all wicked, all preſerve, repent, GOD *pardon all* (*o*)." Perhaps it would be going too far to aſſert, that De Foe intended covertly to inſinuate that there might be a more merciful diſtribution of things, in the final reſults of Divine Providence, than he dared at that time openly to exhibit.

(*n*) From the information of Dr. Heberden, and the late Sir William Watſon.

(*o*) Stockdale's fine edition of Robinſon Cruſoe, Vol. i. p. 276.

It is obſerved, in note ZZZ, that the dramatic form, into which De Foe has thrown many parts of his works of imagination, has been evidently imitated by Richardſon, in his Pamela, Clariſſa, and Sir Charles Grandiſon. The writer of this addition to the article derives the greater pleaſure from the remark, as it coincides with an opinion which he has long entertained, that Richardſon was formed upon the model of De Foe. Richardſon ſeems to have learned from him that mode of delineating characters, and carrying on dialogues, and that minute diſcrimination of the circumſtances of events, in which De Foe ſo eminently excelled. If, in certain reſpects, the diſciple roſe above his maſter, as he undoubtedly did, in others he was inferior to him; for his converſations are ſometimes more tedious and diffuſe; and his works, though beautiful in their kind, are not by any means ſo various. Both of theſe writers had a wonderful ability in drawing pictures of human nature and human life. A careful peruſal of the "Family "Inſtructor," and the "Religious Courtſhip," would particularly tend to ſhew the reſemblance between De Foe and Richardſon. Indeed, the extraordinary merit of theſe two productions might have claimed a more copious diſcuſſion, had not the article been already extended to ſo great a length.] K.

*** [DELANY (PATRICK), a Divine of the Eſtabliſhed Church of Ireland, of conſiderable celebrity in his day, and who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a variety of publications, chiefly of a theological nature, was born in that kingdom, in the year 1685 or 1686. His father lived as a ſervant in the family of Sir John Rennell, an Iriſh judge, and afterwards rented a ſmall farm, in which ſituation he is ſuppoſed to have continued to his deceaſe; for, when our author came to be in proſperous circumſtances, he was adviſed by Dr. Swift not to take his parents out of the line of life they were fixed in, but to render them comfortable in it *. At what place, and under whom, young Delany received his grammatical education we are not able to aſcertain; but we know, that at a proper age he became a Sizer in Trinity College, Dublin; that he went through his academical courſe; that he took the cuſtomary degrees; and that he was choſen firſt a Junior, and afterwards a Senior Fellow of the college. Such were his improvements in literature, and ſuch the character he ſuſtained, that, in his youth, he received many civilities from Sir Conſtantine Phipps, Lord Chancellor of Ireland in the reign of Queen Anne, and one of the Lords Juſtices of the kingdom at the time of her Majeſty's deceaſe. This eminent perſon, who, we are told, was a judge of all merit, excepting that of *party*, diſtinguiſhed Mr. Delany, among other juniors of the Univerſity of Dublin, for his learning, virtue, diſcretion, and good ſenſe (*a*). If Sir Conſtantine Phipps had continued in power, he would probably have endeavoured to give ſome effectual teſtimony of the regard which he entertained for our author; but as he reſigned, or, perhaps to ſpeak more accurately, was removed from his high offices ſoon after the acceſſion of King George the Firſt, no opportunity of that kind could ever occur (*b*). Happily for Mr. Delany, he was in a comfortable ſituation without the aſſiſtance of a patron; for he had become a tutor in the College, and his pupils were ſo numerous, that, in conjunction with the profits of his fellowſhip, he had a very affluent income.

* From the information of my honoured friends Mr. and Mrs. Iremonger, of Wherwell, Hants.

(*a*) Swift's Works, vol. xx. p. 266. 24mo. edition.

(*b*) Peerage of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 222. Beatſon's Political Index. vol. ii. p. 204.

During this time, he formed a cloſe connection of intimacy and friendſhip with Dr. Swift; and it appears, from ſeveral circumſtances, that he was one of the Dean of St. Patrick's chief favourites. It is not unreaſonable to conjecture, that, beſides his general merit, it might be ſome additional recommendation to him, that he readily entered into the Dean's playful diſpoſition. He joined with Swift and Dr. Sheridan in writing or anſwering riddles, and in compoſing other ſlight copies of verſes, the only deſign of which

which was to pass away the hours in a pleasant manner. Several of Mr. Delany's exertions, on these occasions, may be seen in the collections of Swift's Works, to which we refer our readers.

These temporary amusements did not, however, interfere with our author's more serious concerns. He applied vigorously to his studies, distinguished himself as a popular preacher, and was so celebrated as a tutor, that by the benefit of his pupils, and his senior fellowship, with all its perquisites, he received every year between nine hundred and a thousand pounds (*c*).

(*c*) Swift's Works, ubi supra, p. 267.

In 1724, an affair happened in the College of Dublin, with regard to which Dr. Delany is represented as having been guilty of an improper interference. Two Undergraduates, having behaved very insolently to the Provost, and afterwards refusing to make a submission for their fault, were both of them expelled. On this occasion Dr. Delany took the part of the young men, and (as it is said) went so far as to abuse the Provost to his face, in a sermon at the College Chapel. As it could not possibly be his design to encourage irregularities in the students, we must suppose that he was either influenced by a party spirit, or by personal animosity, or by a sincere conviction that the Provost had exceeded his authority. Whatever may have been his motives, the result of the matter was, that the Doctor was obliged to give satisfaction to the Provost, by an acknowledgment of his offence (*d*).

(*d*) Abp. Boulter's Letters, Vol. I. p. 15—19.

Our author's conduct in this affair, which had been displeasing to the Lord Primate Boulter, might probably contribute to invigorate the opposition which the Archbishop made to him on a particular occasion. In 1725, he was presented, by the Chapter of Christchurch, to the Parish of St. John's, in the City of Dublin. But, without a royal dispensation, he could not keep his fellowship with this new living. Archbishop Boulter, therefore, applied to the Duke of Newcastle, to prevent the dispensation from being granted. The reasons he assigned were, that Dr. Delany was a great Tory; that he had much influence in Dublin and the parts adjacent; and that it were to be wished, for his Majesty's service, that he might be tempted by some good country living to quit the College; whereas if he had St. John's with his fellowship, there could be no hopes of his removal (*e*). In consequence of the Primate's application having been successful, he wrote, in the following terms, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. "I am very much "obliged to your Grace, and the other Lords Justices, for rejecting Dr. Delany's re- "quest for a faculty to hold a living with a fellowship. I can assure your Grace it was "not out of any ill will to the person that I opposed it, but that his Majesty's friends "here think it would be very much for his Majesty's service if he were removed from "the College to some other part of the kingdom, instead of having a living here in "town, and such an addition to his fellowship, as may put it beyond any temptation "but that of a wife, to quit it. This was my reason then, and still continues so. But "I am now a little surprized with what I did not then know, that his application was "not to be dispensed with from the obligation of any statute, but of an oath he had "taken never to hold such a benefice. This, where there is not an express clause in "the oath, *nisi tecum aliter dispensatum fuerit*, seems to me altogether new (*f*)." We have transcribed the above passage for two reasons; first, as it shews that Dr. Delany was considered as a formidable opponent by the Irish administration; and, secondly, as the latter part of it exhibits a curious circumstance in the Doctor's character.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 48.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 58.

In 1727, our author began to have the prospect of being regarded by Government with a more indulgent eye. On the accession of King George the Second, Lord Carteret, afterwards Earl Granville, returned with a new commission to Ireland, as Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom. As his Lordship was understood to be less hostile to the Tories than his predecessors in office; and as he was at the same time a man of wit, and a patron of learning in general; it was reasonably expected, that, in the distribution of ecclesiastical preferments, he would not be so much influenced by considerations of party as former Governors had been. Indeed, he cultivated the friendship of Dr. Swift, and, in some few instances, paid an attention to his recommendations (*g*).

(*g*) Biographia Britannica, Vol. iii. p. 273—275.

Among other clergy of distinction, the Dean mentioned Dr. Delany to Lord Carteret, as a person whose character it was proper his Excellency should know, and by the truth of which Dr. Swift would himself be content to stand or fall in the Lord Lieutenant's opinion. This recommendation was backed by that of the Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. King); the consequence of which was, that Dr. Delany became known to the Chief Governor, who was particularly pleased with him on account of his knowledge and taste in ancient and classical literature, and invited him frequently to the Castle (*h*).

(*h*) Swift's Works, ubi supra, p. 266.

Such were the political prejudices of the times, that the favour, shewn by the Lord Lieutenant to a small number of gentlemen who were reputed Tories, was regarded in a very evil light by some of those bigoted Whigs who could discern no merit out of their own party. This folly, therefore, Dr. Swift took occasion to expose; which he did in a pleasant manner, in a pamphlet, written in 1730, and entituled, "A Vindication of "his Excellency John Lord Carteret, from the Charge of favouring none but Tories,

"High-Churchmen and Jacobites (*i*)." In fact, the Lord Lieutenant was too much reſtrained by his ſtation, and by the temper of Government, both in England and Ireland, to be able to confer any very extraordinary advantages on the clergymen recommended to him by Dr. Swift. In the year 1727, Dr. Delany was preſented, by the Univerſity of Dublin, to a ſmall Northern living, of ſomewhat better than One Hundred pounds a Year; and, about the ſame time, Lord Carteret promoted him to the Chancellorſhip of *Chriſt-Church*, which was of equal value. Afterwards, in 1730, his Excellency gave him a Prebend in St. Patrick's Cathedral, the produce of which did not exceed either of the other preferments. Upon receiving the two former of theſe promotions, the Doctor, who had grown weary of an academic life, ventured into the world, and that in a very ſcanty condition; "having," ſays Swift, "ſquandered away "all his annual income in a manner which, although perhaps proper enough for a "Clergyman without a family, will not be for the advantage of his character to diſcover "either on the Exchange, or at a Banker's Shop." According to the ſame author, the whole of Dr. Delany's revenues, after he had obtained the prebend of St. Patrick's, amounted to little more than three hundred pounds a year, "inſtead of the like ſum of "infallible rents from a ſenior fellowſhip, with the offices annexed; beſide the advan-"tage of a free lodging, a great number of pupils, and ſome other eaſements (*k*)." We have, however, our doubts whether this ſtatement be exactly true: for, in a poetical epiſtle to Lord Carteret, by Dr. Delany, (we believe in 1729), ſoliciting farther promotion, he humouroufly repreſents it as being objected to him, that he was a double Vicar, a double Rector, and a Dignitary, with a lecture in the City; whence it is apparent, that he had certain advantages not enumerated by Dr. Swift. Nevertheleſs, it ſeems clear that his income, taking it altogether, was not very great; for he thus addreſſes his patron:

(*i*) Swift's Works, ubi ſupra, p. 248—273.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 267, 268.

"Would my good Lord but caſt up the account,
"And ſee to what my revenues amount;
"My titles ample! but my gain ſo ſmall,
"That one good Vicarage is worth them all:
"And very wretched ſure is he, that's double
"In nothing but his titles and his trouble (*l*)."

(*l*) Nichols's Supplement to Swift's Works, Vol. I. p. 358.

In 1729, Dr. Delany began a periodical paper called, "The Tribune," which was continued through about twenty numbers. Not having ſeen any of them, we can only conjecture, from the title of the work, that its deſign was, in part at leaſt, if not wholly, political. Indeed, it has been ſpoken of as a curious performance in that light. This was not the firſt time in which the Doctor exerted his abilities as a proſe writer: for he is underſtood to have been an anonymous aſſiſtant in a valuable publication, entituled, "Hibernicus's Letters," and which was carried on, by ſeveral hands, in the years 1725, 1726, and 1727 (*m*).

(*m*) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. xlvii. p. 315. Biog. Brit, Vol. iii. p. 33.

Soon after, our author engaged in a more ſerious and important work, of a theological nature, the intention of publiſhing which brought him to London, in 1731. On this occaſion, Archbiſhop Boulter, to whom he had for ſome time been reconciled, gave him a letter of recommendation to Dr. Edmund Gibſon, Biſhop of London. "The "perſon, ſays the primate, who waits upon you with this, is Dr. Delany, miniſter of "one of the principal churches in this City, and one of our moſt celebrated preachers. "He has of late employed his thoughts and pen in the vindication of our moſt holy "religion, and has ſome thoughts of printing what he has written, if it ſhall be thought "to be of ſervice (*n*)." The work here referred to, and which received the approbation of the Biſhop of London, to whoſe opinion it was ſubmitted, was undoubtedly Dr. Delany's "Revelation examined with Candour," the firſt volume of which was publiſhed in 1732 (*o*). The ſame year appears to have been of importance to our author in a domeſtic, as well as a literary view; for on the ſeventeenth of July in this year, he married, in England, Mrs Margaret Teniſon, an Iriſh widow lady, of large fortune (*p*). On his return to Dublin, he manifeſted his regard to the Univerſity in which he was educated, and of which he had long been a diſtinguiſhed member, by giving Twenty Pounds a year, to be diſtributed among the ſtudents (*q*). In 1734, appeared the ſecond volume of "Revelation examined with Candour;" and ſo favourable a reception did the whole work meet with from the learned world, that a third edition was called for in 1735. The title, as then publiſhed, was as follows: "Revelation examined with "Candour; or a fair Enquiry into the Senſe and Uſe of the ſeveral Revelations expreſſly "declared, or ſufficiently implied, to be given to Mankind, from the Creation, as they "are found in the Bible. By a profeſſed Friend to an honeſt Freedom of Thought "in religious Enquiries." By this performance, the firſt volume of which was dedicated to his Majeſty, and the ſecond to Lord King, Dr. Delany was thought to have rendered very conſiderable ſervice to the cauſe of revealed religion. The work conſiſts of

(*n*) Abp. Boulter's Letters, Vol. ii. p. 67.

(*o*) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. ii. Regiſter of books for June.

(*p*) Ibid.

(*q*) Brown's Parliamentary Caſes, Vol. v. p. 303.

diſſertations on a variety of important ſubjects, a liſt of which is given below [*A*]; and it muſt be allowed by thoſe who have read the book, that the Doctor has diſplayed in it no ſmall degree of ingenuity and learning, and that many of his remarks are curious and uſeful. Whether his judgment and powers of reaſoning were equal to his talents in other reſpects, may perhaps be doubted. In one of his diſſertations, our author earneſtly contends for the perpetuity of the apoſtolic decree, in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, relative to the abſtaining from things ſtrangled, and from blood. The zeal with which he endeavoured to ſhew, that all Chriſtians are ſtill in duty bound to refrain from this ſpecies of food, did not fail of exciting attention, and of giving occaſion to ſome pleaſantry, but was productive of no conviction. In another reſpect the Doctor fell into rather a laughable miſtake. The fine ironical piece of Dr. Hare's, on the difficulties and diſcouragements which attend the ſtudy of the Scriptures, our author underſtood to be a ſerious and earneſt diſſuaſive againſt ſtudying the Sacred Writtings; and, accordingly, he has pathetically complained of it in that view in the following terms: "Men," ſays he, "were not only diſcouraged from ſtudying and revering the "ſcriptures, by perceiving how little true religion was promoted by that ſtudy, under "the management of ſome of its moſt eminent and learned profeſſors and their followers; "but alſo by being told that this ſtudy was *difficult*, *fruitleſs*, and *dangerous*; and a "public, an elaborate, an earneſt diſſuaſive from this ſtudy, for the very reaſons now "mentioned, enforced by two well known examples, and believed from a perſon of "great eminence in the church, hath already paſſed often enough through the preſs, "to reach the hands of all the clergymen in Great Britain and Ireland. God, in his "great mercy, forgive the author (*r*)." This miſtake has not eſcaped the notice of Biſhop Warburton, who hath animadverted upon it in his dedication to the Free Thinkers, prefixed to his "Divine Legation of Moſes." "But," ſays the Biſhop, "with all the "merit of this beautiful ſatire," (Hare's Tract), "it has been its fortune not only to be "abuſed by *your* bad imitations, but to be cenſured by thoſe in whoſe cauſe it was com-"poſed; I mean the friends of religion and liberty. An author of note thus expreſſes "himſelf."—Delany's Complaint is then cited, after which Dr. Warburton adds: "Seriouſly it is a ſad caſe; that one well-meaning man ſhould ſo widely miſtake the end "and deſign of another, as not to ſee by the turn and caſt of the *difficulties and diſ-*"*couragements*, that it is a thorough irony, addreſſed to ſome hot bigots then in power, "to ſhew them what diſmal effects that inquiſitional ſpirit, with which they were poſ-"ſeſſed, would have on literature in general, at a time when public liberty looked with "a very ſickly face! Not, I ſay, to ſee this, but to believe, on the contrary, that it "was really intended as *a public, an elaborate, an earneſt diſſuaſive from the ſtudy of the* "*ſcriptures* (*s*)."

(*r*) Revelation examined with Candour. Vol. ii. preface, p. xxiv, xxv.

(*s*) Divine Legation of Moſes Demonſtrated. Vol. i. Dedication to the Free-thinkers, p. v, vi. fourth edition.

In 1738, Dr. Delany publiſhed a ſermon which he had preached at Dublin, before the Lord Lieutenant William Duke of Devonſhire, on the Thirtieth of January preceding, being the Anniverſary of the Martyrdom of King Charles the Firſt. If, in this ſermon, our author has given a much higher character of that monarch than zealous Whigs will admire, it muſt, at the ſame time, be acknowledged, that the diſcourſe contains ſome reaſonable conceſſions and ſalutary reflections, and that the latter part of it is full of loyalty to the preſent reigning family. It was afterwards inſerted in the Doctor's volume upon ſocial duties.

In the ſame year appeared one of the moſt curious of Dr. Delany's productions, which was a pamphlet entituled, "Reflections upon Polygamy, and the Encouragement given "to that Practice in the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament." A ſecond edition being called for in 1739, a preface was added, in which the main objection againſt the work is obviated, and the author's views in publiſhing it at that time accounted for. The piece is dedicated, "To the moſt Reverend Father in God, Hugh, by Divine Providence,

[*A*] *A Liſt of which is given below.*] Volume, the firſt; conſiſting of Fifteen Diſſertations. 1. Of the Forbidden Fruit. 2. Concerning the Knowledge of the Brute World conveyed to Adam. 3. Of the Knowledge of Marriage given to Adam. 4. Of the Skill of Language infuſed into Adam. 5. Of the Revelations which immediately followed the Fall. 6. Concerning ſome Difficulties and Objections that lie againſt the Moſaic Account of the Fall. 7. Some farther Difficulties relating to the Fall conſidered. 8. Of Sacrifices. 9. Concerning that Corruption and Degeneracy of Mankind, which drew down the Divine Judgment of the Deluge. 10. Concerning the Natural Cauſes made uſe of by Almighty God to to flood the Earth. 11. Concerning the Ends of Divine Wiſdom anſwered by the Deluge. 12. Objections to the Moſaic Account of the Deluge and this Explication of it Conſidered. 13. Of the Concurrence of all Antiquity with the Moſaic Account of the Flood. 14. Of other Teſtimonies relating to the Deluge. 15. Some Difficulties relating to Noah's Ark conſidered.

In the preface, the Reader is deſired to take notice, that the word, Revelation, is, in the Diſſertations, taken in a very extenſive ſenſe; to ſignify every interpoſition of Providence in the government of the world, out of the ordinary eſtabliſhed courſe of nature.

Volume the ſecond; conſiſting of eight Diſſertations. 1. Of the grant of Animal Food made to Noah after the Flood. 2. A Continuation of the former, but principally of the Apoſtolic Decree concerning Blood and Things ſtrangled, whether it was only of temporary obligation. 3. Of the building of Babel. 4. Of the Predictions relating to Iſhmael. 5. Of Circumciſion. 6. Of the Deſtruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. 7. Of the Command given to Abraham to ſacrifice his ſon. 8. A ſhort Recapitulation of the preceding Diſſertation.



"Primate

" Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland, a True Believer, a Lover of Truth, and a " Friend of Mankind." In this tract the confuſion, diſorders, and miſchiefs, which muſt ever be occaſioned in families by the practice of Polygamy, are well ſtated and repreſented. With regard to the other part of our author's deſign, which is to conſider the encouragement ſuppoſed to be given to the practice in queſtion in the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, we do not think that he has written ſo ably upon the ſubject as has ſince been done by the late ingenious Mr. Badcock, in the two fine articles of the Monthly Review relative to Madan's Thelyphthora. Of the ſeven diſſertations into which Dr. Delany's tract is divided, the two laſt are the moſt curious. The former of them is intended to ſhew that nothing can be more raſh and ill grounded than to draw any concluſions in favour of Polygamy from the number of inhabitants in Turkey, China, and Japan. In the other diſſertation, the ſtate of the ancient Northern nations is treated of: and this part of the work we ſhall inſert below [*B*], as the pamphlet is now little known, and

[*B*] *This part of the work we ſhall inſert below.*]

'The laſt proof of the multiplication of mankind by 'Polygamy, beyond that by ſingle marriages, is taken 'from the prodigious increaſe of mankind in the ruder 'and more barbarous ages, ſufficiently evinced by 'thoſe frequent and furious ſwarms from the Northern 'hive; which have wholly ceaſed for ſome ages paſt, 'ſince the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity: that is, ſince 'Polygamy and promiſcuous copulations ceaſed among 'them.

'This I own did for a conſiderable time appear to 'me a ſtrong argument in favour of Polygamy: and 'upon inquiry I found it ſuch as required more 'time carefully to diſcuſs and clearly to determine 'than can well be ſuppoſed to have been employed 'upon it, by ſome very ingenious men who read only 'for their pleaſure.

'In the firſt place then I think it evident, from the 'moſt antient and authentic accounts of the Northern 'nations, that Polygamy never prevailed much amongſt 'them before the eſtabliſhment of Mahometiſm.

'For firſt, Herodotus, and Trogus, who ſeem to 'have carefully conſidered the manners of the Scy'thians, give us no hint of any ſuch practice pre'vailing amongſt them; though their other ſingulari'ties are carefully noted. But at the ſame time it 'muſt be owned, that they are mentioned, by Strabo, 'as having their wives and children in common.

'In the next place, Pomponius Mela, who alſo 'ſhould ſeem to have been a careful inquirer, found 'no ſuch practice among any of the Northern nations 'of Europe, except that of Thrace only; who pro'bably borrowed it from their Aſiatic neighbours. 'And this nation only of all the Europeans is noted 'by Strabo (l. 7.) on the ſame account.

'It is true, we are told by Tacitus, in his account 'of Germany, that this (Germany) was almoſt the 'only nation among the Barbarians, where ſingle 'marriages were in uſe; but in this I think he muſt 'be miſtaken for the reaſons now mentioned. Be'ſides that, this nation are ſuppoſed by Strabo to 'have been called Germans by the Romans, becauſe 'they were *Germani*, that is, brethren to the Gauls. 'And indeed the Gauls we hear ſo often of in the 'Roman hiſtorians before the times of Cæſar, ſeem 'to have been in all reſpects the ſame people. Cæſar 'we know hath given a particular account of their 'manners, as they ſtood at that time; and yet with'out the leaſt mention of their being Polygamiſts, 'which could not have been well avoided, eſpecially 'when he deſcribed their manners in contradiſtinction 'to thoſe of the Germans. We are alſo told by 'Strabo (l. 7.) that the Germans are in their man'ners like the Gauls.

'But theſe writers will eaſily be reconciled, if we 'ſuppoſe that Tacitus, conſidering Gaul as now a 'Roman province, did not place its inhabitants 'among the number of the Barbarians.

'It is obſervable however, beſides all this, that it 'is made matter of doubt even by Tacitus himſelf, 'whether the Araviſci migrated from Germany into 'Pannonia, or the Oſi deſcended into Germany from 'them; inaſmuch as their language, manners, and 'inſtitutions were ſtill the ſame.

'But, ſuppoſing the Germans were the only nation 'among the Barbarians that abſtained from Polygamy, 'it is evident to a demonſtration, that they multiplied 'faſter than any other nation of the known world. 'And of this we need no other proof than the accounts 'we have of their incredible numbers, their continued 'contentions with the whole Roman power, and their 'almoſt as continued ſlaughters from Marius to Gra'tian; notwithſtanding which, they at laſt prevailed 'over the whole force of the empire, and were 'eſtabliſhed into an empire of their own, at leaſt as 'much by the advantage of their numbers as their 'proweſs.

'The numbers vanquiſhed by Marius were pro'digious; and yet thoſe ſubdued and ſlaughtered by 'Cæſar were much more conſiderable. Under the 'Reign of Auguſtus, Druſus we are told ſubdued the 'greateſt and ſtrongeſt nations of Germany; and yet 'notwithſtanding this every one knows with what 'exceſs and bitterneſs of grief that emperor was wont, 'after this, to call upon Quintilius Varus to reſtore 'thoſe legions, which this people had intirely cut off.

'In the ſucceeding reign Germanicus the ſon of 'Druſus, after many hard and dangerous conflicts, 'triumphed over the Germans, who yet vexed the 'Roman territories before the end of it. His ſon 'Caligula undertook an expedition againſt them, but 'returned without either conqueſt or glory.

'In the reign of Veſpaſian, Pliny the elder, found 'materials enough for an ample hiſtory of the Roman 'wars with the Germans, which he compoſed in 'twenty books. Plin. Ep. l. iii. Ep. V.

'And it is obſerved by Tacitus, that from the 'conſulate of Cæcilius Metellus to the ſecond con'ſulate of Trajan, (a ſpace of about 210 years), 'the Romans were employed in ſubduing the Ger'mans; in which ſpace I think it evident that they 'ſuſtained more damage from that nation than from 'all the reſt of the world beſides. It is true, Tacitus 'hath touched but lightly upon theſe loſſes; yet he 'cannot help owning that they were greater than 'thoſe ſuſtained from the Samnites, the Carthagini'ans, the Spaniards, the Gauls, or the Parthians; 'that they loſt five conſular armies together, beſides 'the legions under Varus; that neither Marius, Cæſar, 'Druſus, Nero, or Germanicus, ſubdued them with 'impunity; that after this they became the invaders, 'and drove the legions from their ſtations, and 'graſped at Gaul; in a word, that of late years they 'were more triumphed over than ſubdued.

'From this time we hear little of them till the 'reign of Marcus Aurelius, who was ſucceſsful againſt 'them, but not without infinite ſlaughter and loſs of 'his armies. In honour of whole conqueſts over 'them and the Sarmatæ their allies, that noble pillar 'which bore his name was erected to him by decree 'of the ſenate. And from this pillar it ſufficiently 'appeareth, that the Romans themſelves then thought 'the deliverance of their Emperor and armies, and 'the deſtruction of their enemies wrought, by the 'miraculous interpoſition of Almighty God.

'But whether this were obtained by the prayers of 'the Chriſtians, or the piety of the Emperor, is no 'part of my preſent purpoſe to determine.

'Commodus, who ſucceeded him, is obſerved by 'hiſtorians to have had no reſemblance of his father, 'but in his ſucceſs againſt the Germans.

'The Germans began again to be troubleſome 'under the reign of Maximin; and were again ſub'dued. And yet, about twenty years after, they ra'vaged the Empire under the reign of Valerian; and 'penetrated as far as Ravenna; and in the next reign 'as far as Spain. Not long after, Claudius Gothicus

'ſlew

and as our extract from it will afford a proper ſpecimen of the author's abilities, learning, and mode of writing.

In

' ſlew fifteen thouſand of them in one battle; and ' ſoon after, Aurelian (the rapidity of whoſe con- ' queſts made him not unworthily to be compared to ' Alexander) recovered the Empire from them, and ' all other Barbarians; and yet in the compaſs of a ' very few years they poſſeſſed themſelves of all the ' Gauls, and were expulſed by Probus, who ſlew ' four hundred thouſand of them, and took ſixteen ' thouſand into pay.

' In the reign of Dioclefian they infeſted the em- ' pire by Sea; and in the ſame reign Conſtantius ſlew ' ſixty thouſand of them in one day by land; and yet ' from this time to the reign of Gratian, which was ' about ninety years, they found the Romans more ' work to ſubdue and keep them within bounds, than ' all Barbarians of all other denominations; as any ' man will find, who will be at the trouble of peru- ' ſing Ammiánus Marcellinus; who obſerveth of ' them, that they were a nation who by their reſt- ' leſs commotions confounded the Roman affairs with- ' out meaſure or end; and although they were often ' diminiſhed from the very beginning by a variety of ' chances, yet they often ſprung up again ſo faſt, that ' you would imagine they had been unhurt for many ' ages.

' From hence I think it evident to a demonſtration, ' that the Germans, who were ſtrangers not only to ' Polygamy, but to promiſcuous copulations, ſtrict ' obſervers of chaſtity, and the obligations of the mar- ' riage union, were yet the moſt prolific people of any ' in the then known world: conſequently that the ' ſwarms of the Northern hive were not owing to ' thoſe practices.

' Nor is this ſo much to be wondered at, if we ' conſider that the Antient Germany contained, ac- ' cording to the accounts of the moſt antient geogra- ' phers, particularly Pomponius Mela, (beſides the ' country now ſo called), Denmark, Norway, and ' the greateſt part of Sweden and Poland as far as the ' Weyſſel. And to theſe Cluverius adds Bohemia, ' and all that region from the fountains of the Viſtula ' to the Euxine ſea: that is, it contained thoſe coun- ' tries which, from their fruitfulneſs in men, were ' antiently called Officina Gentium.

' And this reaſon will be farther ſtrengthened if it ' be found upon enquiry that neither were the Goths ' and Vandals Polygamiſts. And this is apparent.

' Firſt, becauſe they are charged by no hiſtorian ' with this practice.

' Secondly, becauſe they ſo eaſily became Chriſtians; ' whereas it is notorious that Polygamy hath always ' remarkably obſtructed the converſion of thoſe na- ' tions to Chriſtianity, who were infected with this ' cuſtom.

' Thirdly; becauſe their chaſtity is celebrated by ' Chriſtian writers, in contradiſtinction to the Roman ' Chriſtians of thoſe times. And,

' Laſtly, becauſe I think it ſufficiently evident, that ' the Goths and Vandals were no other than different ' tribes of the Germanic nation: and that for theſe ' reaſons:

' Firſt, Becauſe the Boutones are numbered by ' Strabo among the people of Germany; and critics ' agree that theſe are the Guttones of Pliny (called ' Boutones through the miſtake of a letter, in the ' manuſcript of Strabo, inſtead of Guttones), men- ' tioned in his account of that nation.

' And theſe are mentioned by him as a part of the ' Vandali (i. e. the Vandals) who are named foremoſt ' in the liſt of the Germanic tribes. And here it is ' remarkable, that as the Goths are here accounted a ' part of the Vandals; ſo the Vandals are accounted ' by Procopius as part of the Goths. Bell. Van. l. 1. ' c. ii.

' Tacitus found two of theſe nations, the Gothini ' and the Gothones among the Germans in his time; ' but the former he deemeth to have been originally ' Gauls. In one word, I know no one point more ' agreed among learned men, either antient or modern, ' than that the Goths and Vandals were derived from ' the ſame ſource with the Angles, Swedes, Teutones, ' and Cimbri; that is, that they were Germans.

' The only difficulty now remaining is, to know ' why theſe nations have for ſeveral centuries paſt ' (that is, ſince the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity) ' ceaſed to ſwarm.

' And though this enquiry hath, I own, coſt me ' more trouble than almoſt any of the preceding diſ- ' ſertations, yet, as it is properly no neceſſary part or ' appendix of the queſtion before me, the reader will ' I hope excuſe me, if my anſwers are very ſhort.

' In the firſt place then let it be obſerved, that no ' empire ever roſe gradually to great grandeur in the ' midſt of other ſurrounding ſtates and kingdoms, ' without the expence of a great number of lives; at ' leaſt, I am ſure, that of Rome did not.

' In the next place I take it for granted, that no ' empire ſo raiſed ever was ruined without a like ex- ' pence of lives. This alſo muſt be allowed to have ' been the caſe of the Roman empire.

' That ſtate, as I apprehend, was in its moſt flou- ' riſhing condition towards the cloſe of the common- ' wealth. And from that time its inhabitants were, ' I think, gradually diminiſhed, to the end of Juſti- ' nian's reign.

' Marius loſt great numbers of Roman ſoldiers in ' the ſlaughter of the Teutones and Cimbri. Cæſar ' loſt many more in his ſlaughters of more than a ' million of Gauls and Germans; the civil wars that ' enſued weakened the Romans to ſuch a degree, as ' to encourage the invaſion of Barbarians, particularly ' the Germans. Auguſtus loſt his legions; Druſus ' and Germanicus won honour againſt them; but ſtill ' the empire was weakened. The incredible luxury ' and cruelty of all the emperors, from Auguſtus to ' Veſpaſian, added to the deſtructions by famines, ' peſtilences, and earthquakes, weakened and waſted ' it yet more. From Veſpaſian to Adrian were de- ' ſtroyed (to ſay nothing of other ſubjects) more than ' two millions of Jews; nor did they fall with impu- ' nity; they ſold their lives at the deareſt rate; and ' though they ſeemed at this time brought to the brink ' of deſtruction, yet ſtill they found work for Anto- ' ninus Pius his ſucceſſor to ſubdue them; as did the ' Britons, the Picts, the Germans, and the Dacæ.

' His ſucceſſor Marcus Aurelius was in the end ' ſucceſsful againſt the Parthians (under the conduct ' of his brother, who led the Roman army), but not ' till after he had firſt loſt his lieutenant and his ' legions.

' The loſſes and diſtreſſes he ſuſtained againſt the ' Germans are well known, and have been already ' mentioned; nor were thoſe inconſiderable which ' were ſuſtained from all the barbarous nations leagued ' in arms againſt him, from Pannonia to Gaul incluſive, ' though they were in the end triumphed over.

' And to all theſe may be added the deſtruction of ' an infinite number of men, in the ruin of Epheſus ' and Nicomedia by earthquakes.

' It were endleſs to recount the deſtruction of man- ' kind, wrought from this period to the eſtabliſhment ' of the empire under Conſtantine, by fire and earth- ' quakes, by Chriſtian perſecutions, by frequent and ' cruel contentions of competitors for the empire, by ' wars over the face of the whole earth, from Eaſt to ' Weſt, and from North to South, by the ravage and ' waſte of provinces, from the incurſions of Barba- ' rians, and the conſequences of theſe, peſtilences and ' famines; one peſtilence particularly under Gallus ' and Voluſianus, which laſted fifteen years; of which ' Zozimus relateth, (Hiſt. l. 1.) that whilſt war raged ' on all ſides, every nation ſubject to the Romans ' being invaded and waſted by the Scythians, a plague ' came both upon cities and villages, which deſtroyed ' all that was left of human kind, and made more ' havock than any that had ever gone before it.

' Within this period the tyrant and monſter Maxi- ' min deſtroyed, beſides his cruelty to his own ſub- ' jects, Germany for three or four hundred miles, ' and many inhabitants; and Claudius ſlew three ' hundred and twenty thouſand Goths, thence named ' Gothicus; and Decius loſt his life and his army ' againſt the Scythians.

' Within this period it was, that Valerian was cir- ' cumvented

In this laſt performance, Dr. Delany was led to conſider, in a particular manner, the caſe of David, with regard to the point in debate; and it is probable, that he was hence

'cumvented and cruelly tortured to death by the 'Perſians; and Gallienus his ſon (a ſecond Nero) 'brought the empire to the brink of deſtruction; and 'beſides all the other blood ſpilt in his reign (more 'than in any other from the foundation of the em-'pire), he is ſaid to have deſtroyed from three to four 'thouſand a day of his own ſoldiers (Trebell. Poll. 'in Gal.) during a reign of ten years. In his time 'the empire was preſerved by thoſe very means which 'moſt naturally tended to deſtroy it. The contempt 'of his effeminacy, and terror of his cruelty, 'created many rebellions againſt him, many uſurpers 'of the empire (no fewer than thirty), who de-'fended on their own account what they would have 'neglected on his.

'The moſt eminent among theſe were Odenatus 'and Æmilianus, and, above all, the greateſt wo-'man of her own, or perhaps of any other age, 'Zenobia.

'Within this period Aurelian recovered the empire 'in ſome meaſure at the expence of much blood and 'ſlaughter; and as it ran faſt to ruin after him, 'Diocleſian in foreſight and in terror of its impend-'ing deſtruction retired from grandeur.

'Nor were almoſt all theſe fore-mentioned evils leſs 'continued or leſs conſuming, from the death of Con-'ſtantine the Great, to the re-eſtabliſhment and re-'union of the empire, under Theodoſius the Great.

'Within this period, the Germans waſted Gaul, 'the Sarmatæ Pannonia, the Picts England, and the 'Goths to the very walls of Conſtantinople; againſt 'whom Valens loſt his life, with ſuch a miſerable 'ſlaughter of his forces, as the Romans had never 'ſuſtained ſince Cannæ; and the victors were ſoon 'after defeated to an utter exciſion by Theodoſius, 'as the Germans were expulſed from Gaul by Gra-'tian; and yet ſo exhauſted was the empire, at this 'time, that it was as much as both theſe emperors 'could do, with the united forces of Europe, Aſia, 'and Africa, to repreſs them; and at length Theodo-'ſius was glad to buy their friendſhip by the aſſign-'ment of lands in the provinces, and taking their 'beſt troops into pay, by which means the peace of 'the empire was ſecured from that quarter.

'This however could not ſecure it from the irrup-'tions of other Barbarians, who from the heart of 'Scythia crouded to the banks of the Danube; which 'is ſtill an additional proof that the empire was now 'exhauſted.

'The truth is, more populous nations ſeem as 'naturally to migrate to ſuch as are more thinly in-'habited, as the groſſer air gravitates to thoſe parts 'where it happeneth by any accident to be rarefied.

'Theodoſius, it is true, had the felicity to repreſs 'and to vanquiſh theſe and all his other enemies: 'he repreſſed theſe with great ſlaughter of their 'forces, and his other enemies with great ſlaughter 'of his own, ſo great ſlaughter of his own forces, 'and ſubjects of the empire, in his conflicts with 'Marcellinus and Maximus, with Eugenius and 'Arbogaſtes, and the ſlaughter of the ſeditious at 'Theſſalonica, that, however the reputation of the 'empire was raiſed under him, the number of its 'inhabitants, which are its natural ſtrength, was, I 'think, conſiderably impaired at his death. And 'that it daily and viſibly decayed both in ſtrength 'and reputation from this time to the reign of Juſti-'nian is, I think, out of all doubt.

'Within this period (to omit other calamities) 'Attila the Hun, the terror of the world, or, as 'he more properly ſtiled himſelf, *the ſcourge of God*, 'ravaged the Eaſt, and made Theodoſius, the younger, 'tributary; waſted Mœſia, Macedon, and Theſ-'ſaly, and ſubjected the German nations of all deno-'minations, which we may well believe could not be 'effected without infinite bloodſhed; and pouring in 'upon the empire with an army of 700,000 men, 'waſted Gaul; and though his fury was awhile 'arreſted by the united forces of the Goths and the 'empire under the conduct of Theodoric and Aetius, 'and the loſs of a dreadful battle, in which 200,000 'of his forces fell, yet he ſoon after deſtroyed Pan-'nonia, and ſacked almoſt all the cities of Italy: at

'length, being diverted from the deſtruction of 'Rome by the interceſſion of Leo the Great, he 'returned home; where this man of blood died by a 'bleeding at his noſe.

'Not long after Genſeric took Rome, and carried 'many thouſands of the citizens into captivity to 'Carthage.

'Within this period Odoacer alſo took Rome, 'and was afterwards defeated with great ſlaughter 'of his armies by Theodoric, though not without 'conſiderable loſs.

'Here then I lay down theſe poſitions as truths, 'which, I apprehend, will not be long conteſted by 'the thinking and learned reader:

'Firſt, That the numbers of mankind in that 'which hath ſince been known by the name of the 'Roman world, were conſiderably impaired from the 'firſt Carthaginian war to the end of the Roman 'commonwealth.

'Secondly, That the numbers of mankind were 'very conſiderably impaired throughout the Roman 'world, from that period to that of Juſtinian.

'Thirdly, I apprehend that the Northern hive, at 'leaſt the European part of it, was now throughly 'exhauſted; nor can any man make this a doubt, 'who conſidereth that they had now been inceſſantly 'ſwarming for ſix hundred years; that they had now 'ſpread and ſettled themſelves not only all over Eu-'rope, but made conſiderable eſtabliſhments even in 'Afric. Theſe ſettlements and eſtabliſhments were 'not made at leſs expence than the deſtruction of at 'leaſt one half of their own people, as well as of 'thoſe whom they conquered, at leaſt in Europe.

'My ſincere opinion is, that one fourth part of 'their number, I mean of thoſe numbers with which 'they overſpread Europe, and invaded Afric, was 'now in being, when Juſtinian undertook to recover 'Afric from the Vandals, and not one half of theſe 'after his attempts to recover Italy out of the hands 'of the Goths; and though he went a great way 'towards effecting this by the uncommon wiſdom, 'virtue, fortitude, and felicity of Belizarius, yet the 'little armies he led, and even thoſe made up for the 'moſt part of Barbarians, ſufficiently ſhew how 'thoroughly the empire was exhauſted at this time.

'All theſe conſiderations lead me to the ſame con-'cluſion, viz. That the numbers of mankind 'throughout the North of Europe, and both the 'European and Aſiatic part of the Roman empire, 'were at the time of Juſtinian's acceſſion to the em-'pire, or at leaſt at the time of the deſtruction of 'Antioch by Coſroez, reduced to leſs than one half 'of what they were at Auguſtus's acceſſion to it; ſo 'that had the Northern hive been left unmoleſted 'from that time, it had not been capable of ſwarm-'ing with its ancient vigour in leſs than two centuries 'at ſooneſt.

'Soon after the third expedition of Coſroez againſt 'the Romans, came that remarkable plague upon the 'earth, ſo exactly and ſo judiciouſly deſcribed by 'Procopius; which traverſed every part and portion 'of the earth with a regular and equable deſtruction; 'and if we may judge by the numbers deſtroyed at 'Conſtantinople (and I think we may, inaſmuch as 'we are aſſured it deſtroyed equably and alike in all 'climates, in all ſeaſons of the year, in city and in 'country), it could not cut off leſs than one half of 'the human ſpecies then ſubſiſting.

'Suppoſe then the Northern hive diſabled in the 'beginning of this plague from ſwarming for two 'centuries, it is evident, that at the end of it they 'were diſabled from ſwarming with their wonted 'vigour in leſs than four centuries, that is, before 'the tenth century of the Chriſtian æra; and before 'that time Chriſtianity introduced civility, and civi-'lity culture, which enabled the earth to ſupport 'more than double, I may ſay more than ten times, 'its antient inhabitants.

'That the inhabitants of Germany are now more 'than double, I may ſay more than quadruple, the 'number they were in the days of Cæſar and Taci-'tus, is, I think, paſt all doubt.

'I think it evident, from the moſt antient account

hence induced to engage in examining whatever farther related to that great Jewiſh monarch.

'of theſe northern nations, that they led a kind of 'paſtoral life, like the Nomades of Scythia; and it is 'evident, from the nature of the thing, that all 'countries where the people do ſo muſt be thinly in-'habited.

'The Germans, we are expreſsly told, then had 'little culture, no cities, and but occaſional houſes. 'It was their glory (as the prophet Iſaiah expreſſeth 'it) *to be placed alone in the midſt of the earth*, to be 'defended by deſolations all around them; and one 'of theſe, as Cæſar relateth, was ſix hundred miles 'over. Theſe deſolations are now vaniſhed; much 'culture and many ample cities have ſucceeded them.

'They were then defended by lakes, by marſhes, 'and impenetrable foreſts of incredible extent; they 'are now defended by ſtrong and populous cities, 'their marſhes and their lakes are drained, and their 'foreſts deſtroyed.

'What we now call the Netherlands, in the days of 'the Barbaric incurſions were utterly deſolated; they 'are now covered with uncountable multitudes of 'men.

'And how are theſe numbers made up? Beyond 'all contradiction, from inſenſible ſwarms of the 'Northern hive; it being notorious, that both their 'cities and ſhips are filled with Danes, Swedes, Nor-'wegians, Poles, Muſcovites, and Germans, of all 'ſorts, who amount in the whole to numbers equiva-'lent to the moſt numerous ſwarms of many centuries 'in antient times.

'England is alſo a receptacle of the ſame kind. Sir 'Matthew Hale hath computed and proved, I think, 'plainly enough, that the inhabitants of England 'were before the Revolution more than twenty times 'as many as they were at the time of the Conqueſt. 'Now, in the courſe of their natural increaſe, they 'could not then be multiplied more than ſix-fold; 'to what then can we aſcribe this great additional 'exceſs, but partly to inſenſible ſwarms from other 'countries for the advantages of trade and liberty; 'and partly to more ſenſible cauſes, as the ſetting up 'the inquiſition in the Netherlands, and perſecuting 'the Huguenots in France?

'That regions ſeemingly barren can and actually 'do contain ten-fold the number of inhabitants that 'antiently poſſeſſed them, is put out of all doubt by 'the account we have of the numbers of the antient 'Helvetii, compared with thoſe of the preſent Swiſs, 'who inhabit the ſame country.

'This country was thought too narrow, as well for 'the numbers as the martial ſpirit of the inhabitants 'in the times of Cæſar, and therefore they migrated 'in ſearch of a better. Their intire number is exactly 'tranſmitted to us by Cæſar: they and their allies, 'men, women, and children, made up in all but 'three hundred and ſixty-eight thouſand ſouls, of 'which ninety thouſand are computed to be men capa-'ble of bearing arms. One of the thirteen Swiſs can-'tons (Berne) can now ſend out one hundred thouſand 'fighting men into the field; and Zurich will engage 'to raiſe fifty thouſand fighting men in the ſpace of 'twenty-four hours.

'To all this may be added,

'Firſt, that the increaſe of mankind within the 'limits of the Roman empire was conſiderably re-'tarded within this period, by the celibacy of the 'Chriſtian prieſthood, and the eſtabliſhment of ſo 'many monaſteries and nunneries, by which conſi-'derable numbers were ſhut out from ſocial commerce, 'and the world deprived of the advantages of a regu-'lar propagation from them.

'Secondly, That from the days of Juſtinian, the 'Roman empire grew every day weaker and weaker, 'till that of the Saracens was eſtabliſhed upon its 'ruins in the Eaſt and South; and thoſe of the 'Franks, Lombards, and Goths, of various denomi-'nations (all Germanic bodies) in the Weſt.

'In the very next reign the Lombards poſſeſſed 'themſelves of Italy: Tiberius was ſucceſsful againſt 'the Perſians in the Eaſt, but the Weſt was given up.

'In the reign of Mauritius, the Barbarians roſe in 'their demands of tribute under the title of penſion; 'and, ſoon after, Thrace was waſted by the Sclavo-'nians; and though 30,000 of theſe and other Bar-'barians were ſlain by the Romans in one battle, yet 'they prevailed in the end; and both they and the 'Perſians deſtroyed the Roman armies: and ſoon after 'forty cities of Dalmatia were laid waſte, and an in-'finite number of captives taken; all which, the Em-'peror (though very rich) refuſing to redeem at the 'loweſt rate, Chajanus in a rage maſſacred.

'It would be endleſs to purſue the detail of miſe-'ries that awaited this wretched empire in its decline: 'it is ſufficient to obſerve, that all the omens and 'indications of approaching ruin attended it from 'the days of Juſtinian; and therefore I ſhall beg 'leave to conclude this head with a very remarkable 'incident of this reign, I mean Mauritius's, which 'was this: a kind of ſecond deluge (followed by a 'dreadful peſtilence) overſpread Italy, from the ſwel-'ling of its ſeveral rivers; the waters poured in 'through the higheſt windows of their churches, and 'over the tops of their city walls; the villages were 'deſtroyed, and men and animals ſwept away; and 'the country was covered with immenſe lakes, for a 'conſiderable time after.

'It might now be ſaid of Italy, as it antiently was 'of the land of Iſrael, in the days of Shamgar; *the 'highways were unoccupied*; nay more, they were de-'faced and loſt: and among theſe the Flaminian way 'was now in all probability partly torn away, and 'partly covered with thoſe ſtrata of earth, which 'concealed it from ſight for ſo many ſucceeding ages.

'The curious reader will, I hope, think this di-'greſſion pardonable.

'It may probably be thought an objection to the 'poſitions laſt laid down, that the Danes and Norwe-'gians are found to have ſwarmed into England and 'Ireland towards the beginning of the ninth century.

'To which I anſwer, firſt, they had three hundred 'years to recruit from the time of the fore-mentioned 'Procopian plague; nor were civility and culture 'yet introduced amongſt them by the Chriſtian 'religion.

'Secondly, As they were intirely out of the reach 'of the Roman arms, and out of the road of thoſe 'Northern incurſions, which croſſed the Danube. 'And,

'Thirdly, As there is reaſon to believe that Den-'mark was antiently better cultivated than other 'Northern regions, in all probability they ſuffered leſs 'waſte from invaſions, and leſs diminution from mi-'grations. And,

'Laſtly, Their ſwarms were now very little and 'inconſiderable, compared with thoſe of the Teutones 'and Cimbri their anceſtors.

'They were eſtabliſhed in Ireland, by means of 'the inteſtine diſcords and divided intereſts of their 'petty princes; yet not till after a courſe of continual 'ſupplies for near two centuries; and they gained 'ground in England by the means and meaſures, 'before the claims and contentions of the heptarchy 'were throughly decided and reconciled under one 'monarch: though not without the advantage of 'greater numbers, and a contention of equal con-'tinuance.

'Now, although theſe drains were not ſo ſtrong 'and ſo ſudden, yet being ſo long continued, I ap-'prehend, that about the time of their eſtabliſhment 'in England their country was throughly exhauſted; 'ſo exhauſted, that it could not be rightly recruited 'in leſs than 300 years, during which time they were 'employed in bloody and almoſt continued conteſts 'with their neighbours, and before the end of it, '*viz.* A. D. 1282, greatly diminiſhed by a dreadful 'peſtilence; and before that could be well recovered, 'by another, A. D. 1370, attended with a famine; 'and before that could be recovered, by another, A. 'D. 1484, much more dreadful and deſtructive than 'either of the preceding, which ſwept off one half 'of the human ſpecies; and which conſequently they 'cannot have recovered to this day: and I am well 'aſſured, that the late Prince George of Denmark 'was wont to aſſign this plague as the reaſon why the 'Northern hive had not ſwarmed for ſome centuries.

'It were eaſy to deduce the hiſtories of other 'Northern nations in the ſame manner, and account 'for their not overflowing, even under the advantages

'of

monarch. Be this, however, as it may, the Doctor's next publication was "An hiſto-"rical Account of the Life and Reign of David King of Izrael: interſperſed with "various Conjectures, Digreſſions, and Diſquiſitions: in which (amongſt other Things) "Mr. Bayle's Criticiſms upon the Conduct and Character of that Prince are fully "conſidered. By the Author of Revelation examined with Candour." The firſt volume of this work appeared in 1740, the ſecond in 1742, and the third in the ſame year. It would be denying Dr. Delany his juſt praiſe, were we not to ſay, that it is an ingenious and a learned Performance. It is written with ſpirit; there are ſome curious and valuable criticiſms in it; and many of the remarks, in anſwer to Bayle, are well founded. But when we have ſaid thus much, we can go no farther in our applauſes. We ſpeak with becoming deference to the opinions of others; but we cannot avoid thinking, that the Life of David is not, on the whole, a very judicious production. The author writes with too much eagerneſs, and is too fond of his hero. It is not neceſſary to the honour of the Sacred Writings, or to the cauſe of Revelation, to defend, or to palliate, the conduct of David, in whatſoever reſpects he appears to have acted wrong. The Scriptures freely and fully relate his faults and his crimes, and leave them fairly open to the cenſure of mankind. As to his behaviour in the affair of Bathſheba and Uriah, it is condemned again and again in the Old Teſtament; and it ought ever to be ſpoken of with the utmoſt deteſtation. At the ſame time it ſhould, in juſtice to him, be remembered, how deeply he repented of his iniquity. In forming a judgment of David, ſome regard ſhould likewiſe be had to the ſtate of ſociety in which he lived, to the imperfect, and indeed the rude and barbarous manners of the early ages of the world. Theſe things being conſidered, it will be found that, taking him altogether, he may juſtly be reckoned one of the eminent characters of antiquity. With relation to his being called the Man after God's own Heart, the expreſſion only ſeems to mean, that he was appointed and raiſed up by the Supreme Being to be a ſignal inſtrument in carrying on the purpoſes of his Providence: not to mention, that, if the words ſhould be thought to convey a more extenſive ſignification, they were ſpoken by Samuel concerning David in the early part of his life, and conſequently long before he had committed any of thoſe actions which have caſt ſuch a ſhade on his memory. But, whatever may be determined with regard to ſundry parts of his conduct, there is one view in which he appears with great ſplendour; and that is, as a divine poet, and as exhibiting the fineſt energies of devotion, in the happier tempers of his mind. The juſt and ſublime conceptions which he entertained and has repreſented of the Deity, raiſe him far above every thing that had been produced in the Heathen world.

To return from this digreſſion, which, it is hoped, will be forgiven from the importance of the ſubject, Dr. Delany, on the ninth of June, 1743, married a ſecond time. The lady with whom he formed this connection wasMrs. Pendarves, the relict of Alexander Pendarves, Eſq. (*t*), and a very ingenious and excellent woman, of whom ſome account will be given at the cloſe of the preſent article. The Doctor had loſt his firſt wife on the ſixth of December, 1741 (*u*). On the thirteenth of March, 1743-4, our author preached a ſermon before the Society correſponding with the incorporated Society in Dublin for promoting Engliſh Proteſtant Working Schools in Ireland (*w*). The ſubject of the diſcourſe, which was ſpeedily printed, and well adapted to the occaſion, was our Saviour's new commandment to love one another. In May, 1744, Dr. Delany was raiſed to the higheſt preferment which he ever attained, and that was the Deanry of Down, in the room of Dr. Thomas Fletcher, appointed to be Biſhop of Dromore (*x*). Whatever may originally have been thought of the Doctor's political principles, it is certain that this promotion came from zealous Whigs; Dr. John Hoadly, Archbiſhop of Armagh, Robert Jocelyn, Lord Newport, and Henry Boyle, Eſq. Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, being at that time Chief Juſtices of Ireland, and Mr. Henry Pelham, firſt Lord of the Treaſury in England. In the ſame year, previouſly to his being made Dean of Down, our author publiſhed a volume of ſermons upon ſocial duties. The ſermons were fifteen in number, to which, in a ſecond edition, that appeared in 1747, were added five more diſcourſes, on the oppoſite vices. This is one of the moſt uſeful of Dr. Delany's performances; the objects to which it relates being of very important and general concern. In the dedication to the Counteſs of Granville, mother to Lord Carteret, the Doctor has drawn his own character; the peruſal of which will probably be acceptable to our readers. "The author of theſe diſcourſes," ſays he, "pretends not to acquit himſelf of ambition. He hath perhaps as ſtrong a "bias of original guilt, that way, as any mortal; but the truth is, it was early checked, "and entirely turned from all hope and proſpect of preferment, to the ſole view of

(*t*) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. XIII. p. 332.
(*u*) Brown's Parliamentary Caſes, Vol. V. p. 304.
(*w*) Nichols's Supplement to Swift's Works, Vol. II. p. 446, 447.
(*x*) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. XIV. p. 282.

'of a greater increaſe, till the diſcovery of America, 'and the way to the Eaſt Indies by the Cape of Good 'Hope; both which have ſince drained Europe of 'more than her natural overflowings, and will in all 'probability be ſufficient to do ſo to the end of the 'world.

'From what hath been ſaid, I hope, it is now 'ſufficiently apparent, that neither the antient nor the 'the preſent world hath been peopled by Polygamy; 'quite otherwiſe: that the increaſe of mankind hath 'in all ages and regions of the world been beſt pro-'moted by ſingle marriages.'

" endeavouring to deſerve it. In this ſituation, he was found by your ſon, near twenty years " ago, in an honourable obſcurity; and drawn thence, with ſome diſtinction (though " without any ſuit or ſolicitation on his ſide), a little into the light, at leaſt into the " hurry of the world; where he hath continued to this day: unhonoured, indeed, but (I " thank God!) unreproached, and (what is, perhaps, matter of more vexation than " vanity) not unenvied; though he ſtood in no man's way, nor was rival to any mortal, " during that whole time, either for wealth, preferment, or power. He had been long " before this a conſtant preacher: nor did his natural vehemence allow him to be indo- " lent or unintereſted in what he delivered. His condition of life, and the circum- " ſtances of ſome particular friends, led him early to the conſideration of almoſt all the " following ſubjects; and a thouſand ſubſequent occaſions drew him frequently into " repeated conſiderations of them; ſo that, what he now preſumes to preſent to your " Ladyſhip, are, very truly, the firſt fruits of his early labour and unwearied zeal in " the ſervice of religion (*y*)."

(*y*) —dication, p. iii iv. Gent. Mag. Vol. XLVII. p. 315, 316.

Dr. Delany's next publication was not till 1748, and that was only a ſix-penny pamphlet. It was entituled, " An Eſſay towards evidencing the divine Original of " Tythes," and had at firſt been drawn up, and probably preached, as a ſermon. The text was Exodus xx. 17. being the Tenth Commandment, which forbids us to covet any thing that is our neighbour's (*z*). It muſt have been with more ingenuity than a ſtrictneſs of logic, that the Doctor could deduce the divine original of tithes from that particular prohibition; for the queſtion muſt be taken for granted before the inference can be juſt.

(*z*) Gent. Mag. Vol. XVIII. p. 192. Cooke's Hiſtorical Regiſter, Vol. II. p. 101.

After an interval of ſix years, Dr. Delany again appeared in the world as an author, but not in his theological capacity. The occaſion of his aſſuming the pen was afforded by the Earl of Orrery's " Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Swift." Many of Swift's zealous admirers were not a little diſpleaſed with the repreſentations which the noble lord had given of him in various reſpects. Of this number was Dr. Delany, who determined, therefore, to do juſtice to the memory of his old friend; for which few were better qualified, having been in the habits of intimacy with the Dean of St. Patrick's from his firſt coming over to Ireland, and long before Lord Orrery could have known any thing concerning him. Accordingly, the Doctor publiſhed a moderate octavo volume, entituled, " Obſervations upon Lord Orrery's Remarks on the Life and " Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift; containing ſeveral ſingular Anecdotes relating to the " Character and Conduct of that great Genius, and the moſt deſervedly celebrated " Stella. In a Series of Letters to his Lordſhip. To which are added, Two original " Pieces of the ſame Author (excellent in their Kind), never before publiſhed." Dr. Delany merited great credit from this performance, which is written with elegance and ſpirit, with politeneſs and candour. The anecdotes are curious and entertaining, and the Doctor's zeal for the reputation of his friend did not carry him beyond the bounds of moderation. He hath ſhewn himſelf ready to acknowledge the foibles, as well as to diſplay the excellencies, of Swift, and to vindicate him where he had been unjuſtly repreſented. On the whole, this production enabled the public to form a far clearer eſtimation of the real character of the Dean of St. Patrick's than any account of him which had hitherto been given to the world. Mr. Sheridan complains, that Dr. Delany's work did not meet with the favourable reception which it juſtly deſerved. " Though," ſays he, " this book is written with great ſpirit, and carried the evidence of truth with " it; as it was an anonymous publication, it was little attended to, except by thoſe who " wiſhed well to the memory of the Dean. Beſides, truth is not the object ſought " after by thoſe who are deſirous of remaining in an error. Swift has an obſervation " on this head which will be found to be generally true. 'The ill talent of the world " is ſuch, that thoſe who will be at pains enough to inform themſelves of a malicious " ſtory, will take none at all to be undeceived; nay, will be apt with ſome reluctance " to admit a favourable truth.' This obſervation was never more ſtrongly verified than " in the caſe before us: for, while the book which calumniated Swift's character, and " endeavoured to depreciate his talents, though poorly written, went through a great " number of editions, the ſingle one of the anſwer, though incomparably ſuperior in " every thing which can recommend writings of that kind, ſtill remains unſold (*a*)." How far this laſt circumſtance is ſtrictly true, we are not able to ſay; but we well remember, that Dr. Delany's " Obſervations" did not paſs unnoticed at the time of their appearance. They were read and admired by a conſiderable number of perſons. It was, indeed, a diſadvantage to them that they were not publiſhed with the author's name, and perhaps the impreſſion might be a large one. Beſides, there was not, in general, at that time, the avidity for biographical matter which now prevails; though it is probable, that the numerous writings concerning Dr. Swift have not a little contributed to diffuſe a taſte of this kind through the nation. However zealous Dr. Delany might be for the honour of his friend, he did not ſatisfy the petulant diſpoſition of Deane Swift, Eſq. who, in his Eſſay upon the Life, Writings, and Character of his Relation, treated our author with extreme ill-manners and groſs abuſe; to which he thought proper to give an anſwer, in a Letter to Mr. Swift, publiſhed in 1755. In

(*a*) Introduction to Sheridan's Life of Swift.

this letter the Doctor juſtified himſelf; and he did it with ſo much temper and ingenuity, ſo much candour, and yet with ſo much ſpirit, that the polite gentleman and the worthy divine were apparent in every page of his little pamphlet (*b*).

(*b*) Monthly Review, Vol. XII. p. 391, 392.

The year that produced the Obſervations upon Lord Orrery's Remarks on Dean Swift's Life and Writings (1754), was diſtinguiſhed by the appearance of another volume of ſermons, containing ſixteen diſcourſes upon doctrines and duties more peculiarly Chriſtian; and againſt the reigning vices of the age. So far as theſe diſcourſes are practical, which is the caſe with the larger part of them, they are entitled to great commendation. The few which are of a doctrinal nature have not been underſtood to be marked by any eminent powers of reaſoning. In one of them, our author has undertaken the difficult, and ſurely not the deſirable, taſk of explaining and proving the poſſibility, *eternity*, and juſtneſs of hell torments, and of fully anſwering the objections to them. There are two diſcourſes on the folly, iniquity, abſurdity, and crying guilt, of duelling, which are truly excellent. But what duelliſt reads ſermons? Or, if he did read them, what eloquence is equal to the eradication of thoſe inveterate prejudices which falſe notions of honour and courage have implanted in the hearts of the men of the world?

During this part of Dr. Delany's life, he was involved in a law ſuit of great conſequence, and which, from its commencement to its final termination, laſted more than nine years. It related to the perſonal eſtate of his firſt lady. That lady had left an only child, a daughter, Margaret Teniſon, who died in the nineteenth year of her age, having ſurvived her mother about thirteen months; and it was by the heirs at law of Miſs Teniſon that the ſuit was inſtituted. The general allegations of the bill, which was exhibited in the Court of Chancery in Ireland, were to the following purport: That Dr. Delany having made his addreſſes to Margaret, his late wife, ſhe refuſed marrying him until her perſonal eſtate ſhould be previouſly ſettled, for the benefit of her daughter Margaret, and ſuch other children as ſhe might afterwards have; that accordingly a ſettlement was executed by Mrs. Teniſon and the defendant, previouſly to their marriage, whereby it was agreed, that the perſonal fortune ſhe was poſſeſſed of, and particularly the ſeveral ſecurities and leaſehold intereſts mentioned in the bill, ſhould be veſted in truſtees, to permit and ſuffer her to receive the produce and intereſt of the ſaid ſeveral ſecurities and perſonal eſtates, to her ſeparate uſe, during her life; that in caſe Margaret Teniſon her daughter ſhould outlive her, and the ſaid Margaret the elder ſhould have other iſſue living at her death, that then ſhe might diſpoſe of her perſonal fortune among her children, as ſhe ſhould think fit; but in caſe her ſaid daughter Margaret ſhould outlive her, and ſhe ſhould have no other iſſue living at her death, then, and in ſuch caſe, her whole perſonal fortune ſhould veſt in, and go to, Margaret her daughter, her executors or adminiſtrators; that Margaret the elder thereby reſerved to herſelf a power to make a competent proviſion for Margaret her daughter out of her perſonal fortune, during her life, if ſhe ſhould marry with her conſent; that, ſoon after the death of his wife, the defendant *had deſtroyed the marriage-ſettlement*, in order to conceal the contents thereof from Miſs Teniſon and others intereſted therein, and to defeat the title of the next of kin. The plaintiffs prayed therefore, that they might be decreed their diſtributive ſhares of the reſidue of the perſonal eſtate which Margaret the younger was intitled to at her death.

On the other hand, it was admitted by Dr. Delany, the defendant, that a ſettlement was executed previouſly to his marriage with Margaret his late wife; but he denied that he perfected any ſettlement, whereby any limitation was made of the perſonal fortune of Margaret the elder unto Margaret the younger, or any other perſon, or that Margaret the elder ever mentioned to him the leaſt intention of ſettling her perſonal fortune upon her daughter, whoſe name, to the beſt of his remembrance and belief, was never once mentioned in the ſettlement entered into on his marriage with Margaret. He farther ſaid, that upon his intermarriage it was agreed between him and his wife, and a ſettlement thereupon executed by them, whereby a power was reſerved to his wife to diſpoſe of her perſonal fortune as ſhe pleaſed, by any deed under her hand and ſeal, in her life-time, or by her laſt will and teſtament; but that, in caſe of no ſuch diſpoſal, *her whole perſonal fortune was thereby to be abſolutely veſted in the defendant, in caſe he ſurvived her, to his own uſe and benefit; and that he conſented to enter into the ſaid deed and ſettlement, upon a ſolemn promiſe made to him by* Margaret, *that ſhe never would diſpoſe of one ſhilling of her perſonal fortune without his full and free conſent; and that he ſhould be abſolute maſter of it as if no ſuch power had ever been reſerved to her; and that her only reaſon for deſiring ſuch a power was to fulfill a promiſe exacted from her by* Mr. Barton (her father), *that, in caſe of her entering into any ſubſequent marriage, ſhe would reſerve to herſelf a power over her perſonal fortune.*

What particularly ſtrengthened the claims of the heirs at law, and was interpreted greatly to Dr. Delany's diſadvantage, was his having deſtroyed the ſettlement between him and his wife. In fact, however, this ſettlement was only a private agreement between them, which was of no force when one of them was dead. Nor did the Doctor deſtroy it in a clandeſtine manner, which he might eaſily have done, but gave it

to his daughter-in-law to be burnt by her, as then of no uſe, in the preſence of two witneſſes, Dorothy Donagh and Elizabeth Berkeley. The perſon, likewiſe, who had originally prepared the deed, gave teſtimony, that, to the beſt of his recollection, there were no ſuch limitations as were contended for on the part of the plaintiffs. Nevertheleſs, appearances were ſo unfavourable to Dr. Delany, that a decree was paſt againſt him in the Iriſh Court of Chancery. Upon this he brought the cauſe, by appeal, before the Houſe of Lords in England. The counſel employed by him were Mr. Pratt, now (1791) Earl Camden, and Mr. Perrott, afterwards one of the Barons of the Exchequer. On the other ſide were engaged the honourable Charles Yorke, and Mr. Forreſter: and, after a ſolemn hearing, the decree of the Court of Chancery in Ireland was reverſed. This event took place on Monday, the ſixth of March, 1758; and it was a matter of great conſequence to Dr. Delany, both with reſpect to his fame and his fortune. Such as knew the Doctor beſt could not believe that he was capable of any intentional fraud; though his deſtruction of the deed, which had been executed between him and his wife, was an act of very blamable inadvertency, and which afforded plauſible grounds for entertaining ſuſpicions to the prejudice of his character. A detail of the whole legal proceedings relative to this affair would be too dry and too tedious to intereſt the generality of our readers. Thoſe who wiſh to ſee a more particular account of it may have recourſe to the appellant's and reſpondent's caſes, printed at the time, or to Mr. Joſiah Brown's Reports of Cauſes determined in Parliament (*c*).

(*c*) Vol. V. p. 300—325. To our learned friend Michael Dodſon, Eſq. we have been indebted for the peruſal and uſe of the appellant's and reſpondent's caſes.

After the final determination of the ſuit, Lord Corke, who was in the country when judgement was paſſed, expreſſed himſelf in the following terms, in a Letter to a Friend. "The Houſe of Lords have done themſelves great honour; and they have done Dr. "Delany great juſtice. He is certainly an honeſt man. I am glad he will be eaſy "in his fortune the remaining part of his life.—All at Marſton ſincerely rejoice "at his ſucceſs (*d*)."

(*d*) Nichols's Supplement to Swift, Vol. II. p. 448.

Dr. Delany was not ſo far engaged in the proſecution of his law-ſuit, as entirely to forget his diſpoſition to be often appearing in the world as an author. In the year 1757, he began a periodical paper called the "Humaniſt," which was carried on through fifteen numbers, and then dropped. When it firſt appeared, Lord Corke ſpoke of it as follows: "I think I could have gueſſed at the author of the *Humaniſt*, "even without any information, by *the Chariots of Iſrael*. The firſt number ſhews us "what we may expect; a good ſtyle, much learning, great virtue, and (unleſs when in "a paſſion, which too often happens to the author) much *humanity* in every ſenſe of "that expreſſion. The paper will be admired by men of ſenſe and literature, but will "never pleaſe the crowd." As the work proceeded, his lordſhip found himſelf obliged to ſpeak of it in very different terms. "The Humaniſt," ſays he, "is ſo "called, I preſume, becauſe *humanum eſt errare*. Every line I have read of it puts me "in mind of the apoplectic archbiſhop in *Gil Blas* (*e*)." From what remembrance occurs to us of the papers, we, in general, agree in opinion with Lord Corke. One number, if our recollection be accurate, was a vehement declamation againſt cutting ſhort the tails of horſes; which practice Dr. Delany repreſented as full of cruelty and iniquity. Faſhion has ſince, in part, effected what the Doctor's humanity pleaded for; but faſhion is a variable thing, and may again render the evil as extenſive as it has heretofore been. Even if our author had not been afflicted with ſomething of a paralytic affection (which, however, is more than hinted at by Lord Corke (*f*),) it was undoubtedly too late in life for him to carry on a periodical paper with that ſpirit and variety which ſuch an undertaking demands.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) He calls him a paralytic wrong-headed old man.

In 1761, Dr. Delany publiſhed a tract, entituled, "An humble Apology for Chriſtian "Orthodoxy;" by which term he meant, an uniformity of belief with that of the primitive Chriſtian Church, ſet forth in the creeds of the Apoſtles and the Council of Nice. Notwithſtanding our author's very advanced period of life, he ſtill retained his popularity in the pulpit; for in 1763 he preached and printed three diſcourſes on public occaſions. The firſt was a Thankſgiving Sermon, on Account of the Peace of Paris, from Pſalm cxxii. 6—9.; the ſecond, for the Benefit of the Magdalen Hoſpital, from Matthew, v. 27, 28.; and the third, at the Annual Meeting of the Charity Schools, from 1 Timothy, vi. 18, 19. (*g*). It was likewiſe in 1763, after an interval of nearly thirty years from the publication of his former volumes, that Dr. Delany gave to the world the third and laſt volume of his "Revelation examined with Candour;" the ſubjects of which will be found in the note [*C*]. In the preface, the Doctor has indulged himſelf in ſome peeviſh remarks upon *Reviewers* of works of Learning; but from complaints of this kind few writers have ever derived any material advantage. With regard

(*g*) Cooke's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 101.

[*C*] *The ſubjects of which will be found in the note*]. The volume is divided into chapters, being twelve in number, with a ſhort introductory diſſertation. Chapter 1. That the World was bleſſed with divine Revelations from the Beginning: an Eſſay on the natural Advantages of the Sabbath, with one ill-judged Abuſe of it; Travelling, and permitting Stage-waggons on a Sunday. 2. The Bleſſings derived to the World through Abraham. 3. God's Bleſſing to Abraham continued to his Son Iſaac: an Eſſay attempting to ſhew that Socrates was a Kind of Prophet to the Gentiles; and divine Inſpiration not confined

regard to the volume itſelf, we are afraid, that it exhibits more numerous inſtances of the prevalence of imagination over judgment than had occurred in the former part of the undertaking. However, the "Revelation examined with Candour," taking it in the whole, is one of our author's moſt valuable performances; and there are ſeveral parts of it from which a judicious reader may derive important inſtruction. In 1766, a ſermon was publiſhed by Dr. Delany, the title of which was, "The Doctrine of "Tranſubſtantiation clearly and fully confuted; from Common Senſe; from the uner-"ring Atteſtation of the Senſes; from the indubitable Maxims of Philoſophy; from "the Proofs of our Saviour's Miracles, vouched by himſelf; and from the Words of "his Mouth, repeated and atteſted by St. Paul, and Three of the Evangeliſts." This ſermon was ſucceeded, in the ſame year, by the Doctor's laſt publication, which was a volume containing "Eighteen Diſcourſes and Diſſertations upon various very impor-"tant and intereſting Subjects." Of this volume we may ſay, agreeably to what has been obſerved before, that the practical ſermons are calculated for general utility, and that the doctrinal ones are of a more doubtful and diſputable nature. To the diſcourſes are added two diſſertations: one is on the ſeventh and eighth verſes of the ſixth chapter of the firſt Epiſtle of St. John; in which, according to our author's own language, "the ſeventh verſe of this chapter is proved to be genuine, from the teſtimony of two "witneſſes, from the nature and genius of the work, from the neceſſary connection of "the ſeveral verſes of the text, and from the character of the writer, clearly illuſtrated "by a parallel example from prophane hiſtory." Few of the learned, we believe, will give any kind of credit to ſuch bold and confident aſſertions. In the other diſſertation, "the objections to the account of the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt "being inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt with the gift of languages are calmly and ſeriouſly "conſidered." It is remarkable, that the volume we are ſpeaking of is the only capital work to which Dr. Delany had ever prefixed his name. He had done it to ſingle ſermons; but all his other productions were either ſignalized by ſome general phraſes, or by references to former publications; ſuch as, "By the Author of Revelation examined "with Candour;" or, "By the Author of the Life of David." It was always, however, fully known to whom the world was indebted for his writings.

Dr. Delany departed this life at Bath, in the month of May, 1768, in the eighty-third year of his age (*b*); but where he was buried, and whether any monument has been erected to his memory, we are not informed. Though in general he was an inhabitant of Ireland, it appears from ſeveral circumſtances, and eſpecially from his writings, almoſt all of which were publiſhed in London, that he frequently came over to England, and occaſionally reſided there for a conſiderable time. Of his literary character an eſtimate may be formed from what has been already ſaid. With regard to two of his principal works, the "Revelation examined with Candour," and the "Life of David," they contain ſo many fanciful and doubtful poſitions, that all the ability and learning diſplayed in them will ſcarcely ſuffice to hand them down, with any eminent degree of reputation, to future ages. It is on his practical ſermons, and particularly on thoſe which relate to ſocial duties, that will principally depend the perpetuity of his fame. He was certainly too conſiderable a man, and too various and popular in his publications, to be omitted in the Biographia; and it is a pleaſure to us, that, from an early acquaintance with his writings, and a diligent attention to the ſcattered circumſtances concerning him, we have been enabled to do juſtice to his memory. With reſpect to his perſonal character, he appears to have been a gentleman of unqueſtionable piety and goodneſs, and of an uncommon warmth of heart. This warmth of heart was, however, accompanied with ſome inequality, impetuoſity, and irritability of temper. Few excelled him in charity, generoſity, and hoſpitality. His income, which for the laſt twenty years of his life was 3000 l. *per annum*, ſunk under the exerciſe of theſe virtues, and he left little behind him beſides books, plate, and furniture *. Of a literary diligence, protracted to above fourſcore years, Dr. Delany has afforded a ſtriking example; though it may poſſibly be thought, that if, when his body and mind grew enfeebled, he had remembered the *ſolve ſeneſcentem equum*, it would have been of no diſadvantage to his reputation.

(*b*) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. XXXVIII. p. 247.

* From the information of Court Dewes, Eſq.

We ſhall conclude this article with an anecdote that has been related, to ſhew the characteriſtic abſence of our author's mind. In the reign of King George the Second, being deſirous of the honour of preaching before his majeſty, he obtained, from the Lord Chamberlain, or the Dean of the Chapel, the favour of being appointed to that office

confined to the Jewiſh Nation. 4. The ſame Bleſſings continued to Jacob. His Character and Conduct examined and defended. 5. A ſhort Account of the great Principles by which God governeth the Animal World, in the ordinary Courſe. 6. A neceſſary Introduction to the Hiſtory of Joſeph. His Character. 7. Of many magnificent Egyptian Buildings, of great Antiquity, now in Ruins, aſcribed to Joſeph; Bridges, Granaries, Well, and Hall. 8. Of the Lake Mæris, and Joſeph's Canal; when contrived and executed, and with what Advantages. 9. Joſeph's Favour to the Idolatrous Prieſthood objected to him. The probable Origin of Obeliſks, the true Foundation of Egyptian Wiſdom. 10. A farther Account of Joſeph's Canal and Character. 11. Of Inſpiration by Dreams. 12. An Anſwer to the Charge brought againſt the Patriarch Joſeph, for enſlaving the Egyptians.

on the fifth Sunday of ſome month, being an extra-day, not ſupplied, *ex officio*, by the chaplains. As he was not informed of the *etiquette*, he entered the Royal Chapel after the prayers begun, and, not knowing whither to go, crowded into the deſk by the Reader. The Veſturer ſoon after was at a loſs for the Preacher, till ſeeing a Clergyman kneeling by the Reader, he concluded him to be the man. Accordingly, he went to him, and pulled him by the ſleeve. But Dr. Delany, chagrined at being interrupted in his devotions, reſiſted and kicked the intruder, who in vain begged him to come out, and ſaid, "There was no text." The Doctor replied, that he had a text; nor could he comprehend the meaning, till the Reader acquainted him, that he muſt go into the veſtry, and write down the text (as uſual) for the cloſets. When he came into the veſtry, his hand ſhook ſo much that he could not write. Mrs. Delany, therefore, was ſent for; but no paper was at hand. At laſt, on the cover of a letter, the text was tranſcribed by Mrs. Delany, and ſo carried up to the King and Royal Family (*i*).]

K.

(*i*) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. XLVII. p. 475. This anecdote was communicated by Mr. Duncombe.

*** [DELANY (MARY)*, the ſecond wife of Dr. Patrick Delany, the ſubject of the preceding article, and a lady of diſtinguiſhed ingenuity and merit, was born at a ſmall country houſe of her father's, at Coulſton in Wiltſhire, on the fourteenth of May, 1700. Her deſcent was highly honourable, ſhe being of the illuſtrious family of the Greenvilles, or, as more lately it was written, the Granvilles, of which a large and curious account is given in the fourth volume of the firſt edition of the "Biographia." The lady of whom we are ſpeaking was the daughter of Bernard Granville, Eſq. a younger brother of George Granville, Eſq. afterward Lord Landſdowne, a nobleman whoſe abilities and virtues, whoſe character as a poet, whoſe friendſhip with Pope, Swift, and other eminent writers of the time, and whoſe general patronage of men of genius and literature, have ſo often been recorded in biographical productions, that they cannot be unknown to any of our readers. As the child of ſuch a family, ſhe could not fail of receiving the beſt education. Before her marriage, ſhe reſided chiefly at Whitehall, with her aunt Lady Stanley, whoſe huſband, Sir John Stanley, was a Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms under King William, and was a very wiſe and accompliſhed man. Miſs Granville made, however, frequent viſits to her uncle Landſdowne in the country; and, in his ſociety, who united the accompliſhments of the polite courtier with thoſe of the elegant ſcholar, her underſtanding was improved, her taſte refined, and ſhe acquired a grace and dignity of manners which ſhe preſerved to the cloſe of her life. It was at Long Leat, the ſeat of the Weymouth family, which was occupied by Lord Landſdowne, during the minority of the heir of that family (*a*), that Miſs Granville firſt ſaw Alexander Pendarves, Eſq. a gentleman of large property at Roſcrow, in the county of Cornwall, and who immediately paid his addreſſes to her; which were ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported by her uncle, whom ſhe had not the courage to deny, that ſhe gave a reluctant conſent to the match; and, accordingly, it took place in the compaſs of two or three weeks, ſhe being then in the ſeventeenth year of her age. From a great diſparity of years, and other cauſes, ſhe was very unhappy during the time in which this connection laſted. However, ſhe endeavoured to make the beſt of her ſituation. The retirement to which ſhe was confined was wiſely employed by her in the farther cultivation of a naturally vigorous underſtanding: and the good uſe ſhe made of her leiſure hours was eminently evinced in the charms of her converſation, and in her letters to her friends (*A*). That quick feeling of the elegant and beautiful which conſtitutes taſte was poſſeſſed by her in an eminent degree; and, therefore, ſhe was peculiarly fitted for ſucceeding in the fine arts. At the period we are ſpeaking of, ſhe made a great proficiency in muſic. As to painting, which afterwards ſhe moſt loved, and in which ſhe principally excelled, it had not as yet engaged her practical attention. In 1724, Mrs. Pendarves became a widow; upon which occaſion ſhe quitted Cornwall, and fixed her principal reſidence in London; where ſhe took a houſe firſt in Clarges-ſtreet, and afterwards in Upper Brook-ſtreet. In the laſt houſe ſhe continued till her marriage with Dr. Delany. For ſeveral years, between 1730 and 1736, ſhe maintained a correſpondence with Dr. Swift. Two of her letters, written in 1736, are inſerted in the Dean's works, and will ſerve to diſplay the ſtrength and vivacity of her mind, and the ingenious and judicious manner in which it was exerciſed and improved. Her cuſtom was, as ſhe informs Dr. Swift, to riſe at between five and ſix in the morning, and to go

* For the materials of this article we are indebted to the obliging communications of George Keate, Eſq. and of Court Dewes, Eſq. of Welſbourn, near Stratford upon Avon, Mrs. Delany's nephew.

(*a*) Lord Landſdowne had married, in 1711, the Lady Mary Thynne, a daughter of the firſt Earl of Jerſey, and the relict of Thomas Thynne, Eſq. who died young, and whoſe ſon, Thomas, by this Lady, became, when a child, the ſecond Viſcount Weymouth. Collins's Peerage, Vol. VI. p. 62, 63. fifth edit.

[*A*] *And in her letters to her friends.*] Her moſt intimate friend, at this time, and till the year 1761, was her ſiſter, Mrs. Dewes. A conſiderable number of Mrs. Pendarves's letters to this beloved friend ſtill remain; and they afford ſtriking proofs of the warmth of her affection, the goodneſs of her heart, the ſtrength of her underſtanding, and her talents for writing. Of Mrs. Dewes, Lady Luxborough, the celebrated Lord Bolingbroke's ſiſter, thus ſpeaks, in her letters, publiſhed by Dodſley, in 1775. "I have "had the pleaſure of ſeeing Mrs. Dewes three times "lately; who is now at Mapleborough Green, for "change of air for her children. It only ſerves to "make me regret her not continuing at that houſe of "her huſband; for Welſbourn is almoſt too far for "a viſit. She is very agreeable in converſation, and "ſhews all that politeneſs, delicacy, ſoftneſs, and "grace, which one diſtinguiſhes in her uncle Lord "Landſdowne's poems, and which I have ſo often "obſerved in him, having been perſonally acquainted "with him." Mrs. Dewes died in the year 1761.

to

to bed at eleven at night. From the ſame letters, it appears how well Mrs. Pendarves was qualified to find reſources in herſelf; for ſhe declares, that living alone was a pleaſanter thing than ſhe imagined (*b*). It has been obſerved, that there is ſomething of an air of ſtiffneſs and conſtraint in her correſpondence with the Dean of St. Patrick's, which, without doubt, was inſpired by her awe of him, and which was very different from the unaffected eaſe and elegance of thoſe to her intimate friends. Several of Dr. Swift's letters to Mrs. Pendarves, that have never been publiſhed, are in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Dewes, who has favoured us with a copy of one of them, which, as characteriſtic of the Doctor's diſpoſition of mind, ſhall be inſerted below [*B*]. In 1743, as we have ſeen in the former article, Mrs. Pendarves was married to Dr. Delany, with whom it appears that ſhe had long been acquainted; and for whom ſhe had many years entertained a high eſteem. She had been a widow nineteen years when this connection, which was a very happy one, took place. We are aſſured, from unqueſtionable authority, that her huſband regarded her almoſt to adoration. The ſenſible and delicate mind of Mrs. Delany muſt, however, have been deeply affected, during the long continuance of the law-ſuit in which the Doctor's intereſt and reputation were ſo materially concerned. Upon his deceaſe, in May, 1768, ſhe intended to fix herſelf at Bath, and was in queſt of a houſe for that purpoſe. But the Ducheſs Dowager of Portland, hearing of her deſign, went down to the place, to prevent her coming to ſuch a reſolution. The Ducheſs, who in her early years had formed an intimacy with Mrs. Delany, wiſhed to have near her a lady from whom ſhe had neceſſarily, for ſeveral years, been much ſeparated, and whoſe heart and talents ſhe knew would in the higheſt degree add to the happineſs of her own life. Her Grace ſucceeded in her ſolicitations. In the following winter, Mrs. Delany went to the Ducheſs of Portland's at Whitehall, and in the ſpring

(*b*) Swift's Works, Vol. XXI. p. 195—197. 201—204. 24mo edition.

[*B*] *Which, as characteriſtic of the Doctor's diſpoſition of mind, ſhall be inſerted below.*]

'Madam,

'I have had one great, and not very uſual, misfortune in my life, which was to come to a kingdom 'where I was utterly a ſtranger, when it was too late 'to make new friendſhips; every body worth knowing being already beſpoke. As to the *many* friends 'I left in England when I firſt came over, they are 'either baniſhed or dead, or by a tacit agreement we 'have dropt correſpondence; and the *few* remaining, 'my ill health hath condemned me never to ſee again. 'Another ill circumſtance is, that years have not hardened me; and therefore, when I lament my abſence from thoſe I love and eſteem, I fly for a remedy 'to ill-nature: I recollect whatever I found amiſs in 'them; one was poſitive, another was a bad liſtener; 'a third talked too much, and a fourth was too ſilent, 'and ſo on. For theſe reaſons, I would give half my 'goods that I had known you five times more than I 'did; and had the forecaſt to watch all your behaviour 'till I could have found ſomething that was wrong, 'though it was in the leaſt ſignificant part of your 'conduct; and upon that one point I would have 'forced my memory and obſervation to dwell, as 'ſome little cure for the vexation of deſpairing ever 'to ſee you again. Pray, Madam, will you be 'pleaſed, in mere mercy, to ſend me the names and 'places of abode of your enemies and cenſurers (for 'God forbid you ſhould want either): after which, 'I will deſire a commerce of letters with them, 'whereof you ſhall be the ſubject; and then I ſhall 'be able to talk ill of you to myſelf, as well as to 'other people, without being believed by either. As 'you are in doubt whether you would have me ſick or 'neglect you; ſo, for the ſake of thoſe who come to 'viſit you, I might be in doubt whether I could wiſh 'your eyes were well or not; becauſe ten thouſand 'may ſuffer in the firſt caſe, and only one in the ſecond. My concern is only that they ſhould give 'you no pain, whatever they may do to the fine gentlemen twenty miles round, who, ten to one, are 'ſuch coxcombs as to think they only make you 'handſomer, without conſidering that they diſcover 'almoſt every good quality of your mind. I do not 'remember that I called you a fool; but as to your 'being a knave, there may be ſome probability. You 'have forſaken your friend Mrs. Donnellan; you 'have run away with 514 hearts, to which you had 'no other claim than power tyrannical; not to mention that of the Killala parſon; for which all the clergy of the kingdom, and principally myſelf, look 'upon you as a mortal enemy to the Church. My 'partiality for you forceth me to congratulate you on 'your ſiſter's recovery. I hope ſhe is like you in 'every thing, but the hardneſs of her heart. However, as we gave you the government of this kingdom, we deſire you will ſend her over, as your deputy, to tyrannize in your ſtead. Whoſe fault is it 'that you loſe Mrs. Donnellan? Or how can you pretend to loſe any thing that you know at any time 'where to find? And we heartily wiſh that the diſtreſs 'you complain of, on her account, were 500 times 'greater than it is. I have viſited Mrs. Donnellan 'but once ſince her arrival: ſhe is in the family of a 'perſon with whom I have no acquaintance, nor am 'likely to have any; ſo that ſhe is of no more comfort to me than to you. Dr. Delany is abſolutely a 'country ſquire; he hath given up his town-houſe; 'I have not ſeen or heard of him theſe five weeks; 'we all think he hath acted exceedingly wrong. He 'hath a fortune ſufficient to live as he pleaſes in this 'cheap kingdom, and grow rich beſides. Neither he 'nor his lady are naturally inclined to ſolitude, which 'however in the winter ſeaſon he muſt be condemned 'to, and in evenings the whole year. I extremely 'diſapprove of this monkiſh way of living. The 'great and only happineſs of Dublin is the ſociable 'evening meetings, in which it much exceeds London, eſpecially (with ſubmiſſion to your Whiggiſm) 'ſince the Queen's death. And indeed out of mere 'poverty we are dropping them here. There is but 'one family in all Dublin where I can get a dinner; 'and that is with Dr. Helſham, which I compaſs once 'or twice a month. All other days I eat my chicken 'alone like a king, or carry my bread, meat, and 'wine, to ſome country parſon 4 or 5 miles off. But 'if you come over, I will give you a dinner once a 'week, whereof your ſhare will coſt me eighteen 'pence, and ſix pence for your chair. I am now going 'to dine, chicken 6d. pint of Fr. wine 8d. bread $\frac{1}{2}$, 'butter for ſauce 1d.; total 1s. $3\frac{1}{2}$d. dreſſing 0 0 0. 'In London the bill would be, a chicken 1s. 6d. 'wine 2s. 6d. butter 3d. bread 1d. dreſſing 3d.; 'total 4s. 7d. And would I live in London? And 'will not you live in Ireland, with ſo fair an invitation? Well, I hear all you ſay, but am not convinced. The apology you make in the poſtſcript is, 'in few words, a compound of falſehood and affectation. You are aſhamed, you ſay, of your blunders: and I cannot obſerve one. I ſuppoſe it is a 'civil way of reproaching mine; for my ill head 'makes me always miſtake ſyllables, letters, words, 'and ſometimes half ſentences; you may ſee how 'often I am forced to interline. Pray God preſerve 'you! I am, with the trueſt reſpect and great eſteem, 'Madam, your moſt obedient and humble ſervant,

'J. SWIFT.

'Deanery-houſe, Dublin,
'Auguſt 6th, 1735.
'To Mrs. Pendarves.'

of 1769, she took a small house in Thatched-house-court, in St. James's-street. Here she resided till she could find a house more suited to her inclination. Such a house she met with the next year in St. James's-place, and, having purchased the lease of it, she continued in it till her death. Her summers she spent with the Duchess of Portland at Bulstrode; sometimes, however, making excursions to her relations in Warwickshire and Staffordshire, or to others of those many friends who were happy to enjoy her society. But these excursions were neither frequent nor long; and in her latter years she almost wholly declined them. In the winter, scarcely a day passed in which the Duchess of Portland, unless confined by illness, did not pass some time with Mrs. Delany at St. James's-place. The most usual time of her Grace's visit was in an evening, from seven o'clock till ten; at which time there was often an assemblage of persons of the first distinction for rank, abilities, and character. It is apparent, from this account, that Mrs. Delany never lived with the Duchess of Portland as a companion (taking that word in the signification according to which it is frequently applied), but as an independent friend; for she was possessed of more than six hundred pounds a year. What drew them so closely together was the most perfect friendship, founded on long acquaintance, similar virtues, and congenial pursuits. Upon the death of the Duchess Dowager of Portland, the King, who had frequently seen and honoured Mrs. Delany with his notice at Bulstrode, was graciously pleased to assign to her, for her summer residence, the use of a house completely furnished, in St. Alban's-street, Windsor, adjoining to the entrance of the Castle: and, that the having of two houses on her hands might not produce any inconvenience with regard to the expence of her living, his Majesty, as a farther mark of his royal favour, conferred upon her a pension of three hundred pounds a year. The manner in which this pension was paid added to the gracefulness of this gift. To prevent the customary deductions, the Queen herself, in the kindest, most condescending, and most considerate manner, brought, every half year, the bank notes in her pocket. This, however, was not, as by many has been imagined, an eleemosynary appointment. Mrs. Delany did not stand in need of it in that view; and, if her liberal and moderate spirit had permitted her to wish for an enlargement of her income, she had near relations, whose circumstances enabled them, and whose sincere affection would have disposed them to add to it, with the utmost pleasure. The munificence of the King proceeded from the high esteem which their Majesties entertained of her character, and from their desire to have near them a lady of such uncommon merit and endowments. Accordingly, they took much pleasure in conversing with her, and sometimes would call upon her more than once in the same day. On the fifteenth of April, 1788, after a short indisposition, she departed this life, at her house in St. James's-place, having nearly completed the eighty-eighth year of her age.

The circumstance that has principally entitled Mrs. Delany to an article in the present work, is her skill in painting, and in other ingenious arts, one of which was entirely her own. With respect to painting, she was late in her application to it. She did not learn to draw till she was more than thirty years of age, when she put herself under the instruction of Goupy, a fashionable master of that time, and much employed by Frederic Prince of Wales. To oil-painting she did not take till she was past forty. So strong was her passion for this art, that she has frequently been known to employ herself in it, day after day, from six o'clock in the morning till dinner-time, allowing only a short interval for breakfast. She was principally a copyist, but a very fine one. The only considerable original work of hers in oil was the raising of Lazarus, which is now in the possession of her noble, kind, and much-valued friend, Lady Bute. The hint of the composition was taken from a well-known print of Rembrandt's. It is understood, that Sir Joshua Reynolds was much pleased with this picture of Mrs. Delany's. The number of pictures painted by her, considering how late it was in life before she applied to the art, was very great. Her own house was full of them; and others of them are among the chief ornaments of Calswich, Welsbourn, and Ilam, the respective residences of her nephews, Mr. Granville and Mr. Dewes, and of her niece, Mrs. Port.

Mrs. Delany, among her other accomplishments, excelled in embroidery and shell-work; and, in the course of her life, produced many elegant specimens of her skill in these respects. But what is more remarkable with regard to her is, that, at the age of seventy-four, she invented a new and beautiful mode of exercising her ingenuity. This was by the construction of a FLORA, of a most singular kind, formed by applying coloured papers together, and which might not improperly be called a species of Mosaic work. Being perfectly mistress of her scissars, the plant or flower which she purposed to imitate she cut out; that is, she cut out its various leaves and parts in such coloured Chinese paper as suited her subject; and as she could not always meet with a colour to correspond with the one she wanted, she then dyed her own paper to answer her wishes. She used a black ground, as best calculated to throw out her flower; and not the least astonishing part of her art was, that though she never employed her pencil to trace out the form or shape of her plant, yet, when she had applied all the pieces which composed it, it hung so loosely and gracefully, that every one was persuaded that it must previously have been drawn out, and repeatedly corrected, by a most judicious hand,

before it could have attained the eaſe and air of truth which, without any impeachment of the honour of this accompliſhed lady, might juſtly be called a *forgery* of Nature's works. The effect was ſuperior to what painting could have produced; and ſo impoſing was her art, that ſhe would ſometimes put a real leaf of a plant by the ſide of one of her own creation, which the eye could not detect, even when ſhe herſelf pointed it out. Mrs. Delany continued in the proſecution of her deſign till the eighty-third year of her age, when the dimneſs of her ſight obliged her to lay it aſide. However, by her unwearied perſeverance, ſhe became authoreſs of far the completeſt FLORA that ever was executed by the ſame hand. The number of plants finiſhed by her amounted to nine hundred and eighty. A pleaſing anecdote, relative to this ſubject, ſhall be given in the note [*C*].

This invaluable Flora was bequeathed by her to her nephew Court Dewes, Eſq. and is now in his poſſeſſion. The liberality of Mrs. Delany's mind rendered her at all

[*C*] *A pleaſing anecdote, relative to this ſubject, ſhall be given in the note*]. Mrs. Delany, whilſt in Ireland, was preſented with a citron, the ſeeds of which ſhe planted, and reared to a tree, which, at the time of her leaving that kingdom, was in its perfection. When ſhe was become enamoured of her new work, ſhe often wiſhed to perpetuate the tree ſhe had left behind her; and intimating ſuch wiſh to the Ducheſs Dowager of Portland, her noble friend, with that benevolence which diſtinguiſhed her character, contrived to get the tree ſent over to Bulſtrode. As ſoon as it was recovered from the accidents of ſo long a journey, it was placed in the gallery; and on Mrs. Delany's being ſtruck with the beauty of the plant, ſhe was informed by her Grace, that it was the identical tree ſhe had often been deſirous of obtaining. Mr. Keate happened to pay a viſit at Bulſtrode juſt as Mrs. Delany had finiſhed the portrait of a branch of her favourite citron tree; and hearing the hiſtory of it, a deſire was excited in him of commemorating an event, which gave him an opportunity of recording the abilities of Mrs. Delany, and the diſcerning and attentive friendſhip of the Ducheſs Dowager of Portland. This he accordingly did, in an elegant copy of verſes, entituled, "A Petition from Mrs. Delany's "Citron Tree to her Grace the Ducheſs Dowager of "Portland;" the concluding part of which, as more immediately regarding our preſent ſubject, we ſhall inſert, for the gratification of our readers.

'From citron-groves on diſtant ſhores,
'Round which the wide Atlantic roars,
'Torn from my parent tree, I came
'A little ſeed conſign'd to fame;
'Conſign'd to fame —— for ſome kind ſtar,
'When from my home I'd wander'd far,
'At laſt on fair Hibernia's land
'Led me to good Delany's hand;
'Delany's hand, whoſe touch can give
'New grace and bloom,—ſhe bade me live.—
'I rooted, nor wiſh'd more to ſtir;
'And who would not, to live with her?—
'Rear'd by her ſmiles, I daily grew,
'And ſpread my beauty to her view;
'But plants, like men, it is allow'd,
'Have all their *ſun ſhine*, and their *cloud!*
'My friendly guardian call'd away,
'On Britain's coaſt to fix her ſtay,
'My cheering ſun-ſhine loſt! no more
'My leaves their wonted verdure wore,
'No more with joy my bloſſoms ſpread,
'Sorrowing I droop'd, and hung my head,
'Till gracious Portland deign'd to be
'Protectreſs of my miſery;
'Bade me once more the Ocean croſs,
'My ſpirits rais'd, retriev'd my loſs;
'And, ever be her name ador'd,
'My miſtreſs to my ſight reſtor'd.—
'Whilſt now I glow with wonted charms,
'And gratitude each fibre warms,
'More favour'd ſure no plant can ſhine!
'But a ſtill happier lot is mine!
'For lo! your faithful friend for me
'Prepares a glorious deſtiny;
'She makes me on her table riſe,
'And notes me with enquiring eyes,
'My texture marks, my form ſurveys,
'And views me with parental gaze,
'Then with her artful *ſciſſars* traces
'My ſhape, my colour, and my graces,
'Unlike what poets give The Fates,
'For theirs *deſtroy*, but her's *creates!*—
'I ſee another ſelf — and ſtart,
'Shudd'ring with wonder at her art.—
'Tis done — and ſhe hath ſeal'd my doom,
'And fix'd me in *eternal bloom.*
'So Bacchus once, as bards relate,
'Compleated Ariadne's fate,
'And, as ſhort life to beauty 's giv'n,
'Fix'd her *a ſtarry crown* in Heav'n;
'Surrounded with a radiant blaze,
'For future worlds t' admire, and gaze.—
'Then, noble Lady, may I ſue,
'And one requeſt prefer to you?
'Whilſt my own fame I raptur'd trace,
'I feel a wiſh for all my race.
'O could my ſiſter plants, and flowers,
'That ſpring beneath your beauteous bow'rs,
'Before the good Delany ſtand,
'And ſhare the magic of her hand!
'She'd give to others, as to me,
'A kind of Immortality!' (1)

(1) Mr. Keate's Poetical Works, Vol. II. p. 261—265.

The ſame ingenious writer has embraced another opportunity of celebrating the merit of the lady we are treating of, in the following lines, containing "Advice to a little Girl, the Author's Daughter, on "her being honoured with ſome Inſtruction by Mrs. "Delany in cutting out Paper."

'With that benevolence which condeſcends
'To glide its knowledge to the youthful heart,
'O'er thee, my child, the good Delany bends,
'Directs thy *ſciſſars*, and reveals her *art*.
'Ah! ſeize the happy moment!—She can ſhew
'The mazy path myſterious Nature treads;
'Can ſteal her varied grace, her varied glow,
'And all the changeful beauties that ſhe ſpreads.
'Then mark thy kind *inſtructreſs*, watch her hand,
'Her judgement, her inſpiring touch attain;
'Thy *ſciſſars*, make like her's, a *magic wand!*—
'Tho' much I fear thy efforts will be vain.—
'Failing in this, my child, forbear the ſtrife;
'Another path to fame by her is ſhown;—
'Try by *the pattern* of her honour'd life,
'With equal virtue to *cut out* thine own (2).

(2) Ibid, p. 276, 277.

Theſe are not the only poetical compliments which Mr. Keate has paid to Mrs. Delany; as will appear, in a very agreeable manner, if he ſhould be induced to oblige the world by the publication of a farther Collection of Poems.

Mr. Walpole, in the later editions of his "Anec-"dotes of Painting in England," ſpeaking of a particular picture, which was in the poſſeſſion of the Ducheſs Dowager of Portland, expreſſes himſelf in a note as follows: "This portrait the Ducheſs, at "her death, bequeathed to her friend, the widow of "Dr. Delany, and correſpondent of Dr. Swift: a "lady of excellent ſenſe and taſte, a paintreſs in oil, "who, at the age of ſeventy-five, invented the art of "Paper Mo'aic, with which material, coloured, ſhe, "in eight years, executed within twenty of a thouſand "various flowers and flowering ſhrubs, with a preci-"ſion and truth unparalleled (3.)

(3) Anecdotes of Painting, Vol. II. p. 242. 4th edit.

times

times ready to communicate her art. She frequently purſued her work in company; was deſirous of ſhewing to her friends how eaſy it was to execute; and was often heard to lament, that ſo few would attempt it. It required, however, two eſſential requiſites to undertake it with ſucceſs; great patience, and great knowledge in botanical drawing.

When Mrs. Delany had entered into the eightieth year of her age, ſhe prefixed to the firſt volume of her Flora the following lines, having never written, ſo far as is known, any Verſes before.

" Hail to the happy hour, when Fancy led
" My penſive mind the flowery path to tread,
" And gave me emulation to preſume
" With timid art to trace fair Nature's bloom;
" To view with awe the great creative power
" That ſhines confeſt in the minuteſt flower;
" With wonder to purſue the glorious line,
" And gratefully adore the Hand divine."

Theſe lines are ſucceeded by what follows, in proſe.

" This Paper Moſaic work was begun in the ſeventy-fourth year of my age (which I " at firſt only meant as an imitation of an Hortus ſiccus), and as an employment and " amuſement to ſupply the loſs of thoſe that had formerly been delightful to me, but " had loſt their power of pleaſing; being deprived of that friend * whoſe partial " approbation was my pride, and had ſtamped a value on them. Though the effect of " this work was more than I expected, I thought that a whim of my own fancy might " fondly beguile my judgement to think better of it than it deſerved; and I ſhould have " dropped the attempt as vain, had not the Ducheſs Dowager of Portland looked on it " with favourable eyes. Her approbation was ſuch a ſanction to my undertaking, as " made it appear of conſequence, and gave me courage to go on with confidence. To " her I owe more than I dare expreſs; but my heart will ever feel, with the utmoſt " gratitude and tendereſt affection, the honour and delight I have enjoyed in her moſt " generous, ſteady, and delicate friendſhip, for above forty years. MARY DELANY.

* Dr. Delany, her huſband, is probably here intended.

" The ſame deſires, the ſame ingenious arts,
" Delighted both.—We owned and bleſs'd that power
" That join'd at once our ſtudies and our hearts.
" Maſon, Elegy III.

" Bulſtrode, 5th July, 1779."

In 1782, Mrs. Delany loſt her ſight, on which occaſion ſhe wrote the following lines:

" The time is come, I can no more
" The vegetable world explore;
" No more with rapture cull each flower
" That paints the mead, or twines the bower;
" No more with admiration ſee
" Its beauteous form and ſymmetry;
" No more attempt, with hope elate,
" Its lovely hues to imitate.
" Farewell to all thoſe friendly powers
" That bleſt my ſolitary hours;
" Alas, farewell! but ſhall I mourn
" As one who is of hope forlorn?
" Ah, no! my mind with rapture feels
" The promiſe which thy word reveals.
" Come, Holy Spirit! on thy wing
" Thy ſacred conſolations bring;
" Teach me to contemplate that grace
" Which hath ſo long ſuſtained my race;
" Which various bleſſings ſtill beſtows,
" And pours in balm to all my woes.
" O! ſanctify the pointed † dart
" That at this moment rends my heart;
" Teach me, ſubmiſſive, to reſign,
" When ſummoned by thy will divine.
" St. James's Place, 1782."

† Alluding to her blindneſs, which deprived her of ſo many occupations and amuſements.

Theſe poetical effuſions, which diſplay ſo excellent a diſpoſition, naturally lead us to conclude this article with an account of Mrs. Delany's private character, which we are happy in being enabled to give in the words of her friend Mr. Keate. " She had " every virtue that could adorn the human heart, with a mind ſo pure, and ſo uncon- " taminated by the world, that it was matter of aſtoniſhment how ſhe could have lived " in

" in its more ſplendid ſcenes without being tainted with one ſingle atom of its folly or " indiſcretion. The ſtrength of her underſtanding received, in the fulleſt degree, *its* " *poliſh*, but *its weakneſs* never reached her. Her life was conducted by the ſentiments " of true piety; her way of thinking, on every occaſion, was upright and juſt; her " converſation was lively, pleaſant, and inſtructive. She was warm, delicate, and ſincere " in her friendſhips; full of philanthropy and benevolence, and loved and reſpected by " every perſon who had the happineſs to know her. That ſun-ſhine and ſerenity of " mind which the good can only enjoy, and which had thrown ſo much attraction on " her life, remained without a ſhadow to the laſt; not leſs bright in its ſetting, " than in its meridian luſtre. That form which in youth had claimed admira- " tion, in age challenged reſpect. It preſented a noble ruin, become venerable by the " decay of time. Her faculties remained unimpaired to the laſt; and ſhe quitted this " mortal ſtate to receive in a better world the crown of a well-ſpent life."

Mrs. Delany was buried in a vault belonging to St. James's Church; and, on one of its columns, a ſtone is erected to her memory, with an inſcription, which, after reciting her name, deſcent, marriages, age, &c. concludes as follows: " She " was a lady of ſingular ingenuity and politeneſs, and of unaffected piety. Theſe " qualities had endeared her through life to many noble and excellent perſons, and made " the cloſe of it illuſtrious, by procuring for her many ſignal marks of grace and favour " from their Majeſties."] K.

*** [DEMPSTER [THOMAS], a man of conſiderable learning, of ſingular character, and author of ſeveral literary works, was born in Scotland in the year 1579 (*a*). He is ſaid to have been deſcended from a noble family, and was inſtructed in grammar learning at Aberdeen; but he was obliged at an early age to leave Scotland, on account of the commotions that then prevailed in that country. He went into England, where he ſtudied for ſome time at Pembroke Hall in Cambridge (*b*). From thence he went to France, where he gave out, that he had left great eſtates in his own country, on account of his attachment to the Roman Catholic religion (*c*). He alſo aſſumed the title of Baron of Mureſk, which is ſaid to have been one of the titles of his father; but the low ſtate of his finances obliged him to undertake to teach claſſical literature at Paris. In that city he alſo publiſhed, in one volume, folio, in 1613, " Antiquitatum Romanarum abſolutiſſimum, in quo præter ea quæ Joannes Roſinus " delineaverat, infinita ſupplentur, mutantur, adduntur. Ex criticis, et omnibus " utriuſque linguæ auctoribus collectum: poetis, oratoribus, hiſtoricis, juriſconſultis, " qui laudati, explicati, correctique."

(*a*) Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica Gentis Scotorum, p. 672.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 674.

(*c*) Dictionnaire Hiſtorique et Critique, par Bayle, Art. DEMPSTER.

But during his ſtay at Paris, Dempſter did not wholly ſpend his time in his ſtudies, or in the buſineſs of education. " He was as quick," we are told, " at drawing his " ſword, and as quarrelſome, as a profeſſed duelliſt. He either fought with a ſword, " or boxed, almoſt every day; ſo that he was the terror of all ſchoolmaſters (*d*)." As a teacher, he appears to have been a rigid diſciplinarian; and one ſpirited exertion of his authority in that capacity, in the College of Beauvais [*A*], produced ſuch conſequences, as obliged him for a time to quit Paris. He then went to England, where he found not only a place of refuge, but alſo a very handſome wife, whom he afterwards carried back with him to Paris [*B*]. Beſides teaching in that city, it appears that he

(*d*) Bayle, ut ſupra.

[*A*] *One ſpirited exertion of his authority in that capacity, in the College of Beauvais*, &c.] Of this we have the following account: 'Grangier, Principal of that 'College, being obliged to go a journey, appointed 'Dempſter his ſubſtitute. The latter exerciſed juſtice 'on a ſcholar, who had challenged one of his ſchool-'fellows to fight a duel: he cauſed his breeches to be 'let down, a luſty fellow to horſe him, and whipped 'him ſoundly in a full ſchool. The ſcholar, to revenge 'his affront, brought three gentlemen of his relations, 'who were of the King's life-guards, into the College. 'Dempſter made the whole College take up arms, 'ham-ſtrung the three life-guardmen's horſes before 'the College-gate, and put himſelf into ſuch a poſture 'of defence, that the three military men were forced 'to aſk for quarter. He granted them their lives, but 'impriſoned them in the belfry, and did not releaſe 'them till ſome days after. They went another way 'to revenge themſelves: they cauſed an information 'to be laid againſt Dempſter, concerning his life and 'manners, and got ſome witneſſes to be heard againſt 'him; which obliged him to go over into Eng-'land (1).'

(1) Dictionnaire Hiſt. et Crit. par Bayle, Art. DEMPSTER, Note [A].

[*B*] *A very handſome wife, whom he afterwards carried back with him to Paris.*] Dempſter's wife, on her firſt appearance in Paris, in conſequence of her beauty, and the different mode of her dreſs from that of the women of that city, excited a degree of attention, that was extremely troubleſome, and even dangerous. It is thus related by Nicius Erythræus, as quoted by Bayle: 'Ubi (in Anglia) non modo tutum ab infecta-'toribus ſuis perfugium, verum etiam mulierem nac-'tus eſt, forma et vultu, adeo liberali, adeo venuſto, 'ut nihil ſupra, quam in uxoris habuit loco. Quæ 'mulier, cum luce quadam, Pariſiis, quo rurſus Tho-'mas cum ea ſe receperat, conſpecta eſſet, et quia, 'forma præſtabat, ut diximus, et quia habitu erat 'dementiſſimo: nam et pectus et ſcapulas, nive ipſa 'candidiores, omnium oculis expoſitas habebat; tan-'tus, viſendi gratia, hominum concurſus factus eſt, 'ut niſi ſe in domum cujuſdam, una cum viro, reci-'piſſet, nihil proprius factum eſſet, quam ut ambo à 'multitudine opprimerentur.' 'In England he not 'only found refuge from his perſecutors, but a woman 'alſo of incomparable beauty, and of an air ſo noble 'and graceful, that nothing could be more charming, 'whom he took for his wife. As ſhe was one day 'ſeen at Paris, whither Dempſter had carried her in 'his return, and being, as I ſaid, extremely beauti-'ful, and in a moſt enchanting dreſs, expoſing to 'public view a neck and breaſt whiter than the pureſt 'ſnow, ſuch a crowd of people flocked from all ſides 'to her, that, had they not taken ſhelter in a neigh-'bouring houſe, it is more than probable they would 'have been both cruſhed to death.'

alſo diſputed for a profeſſor's chair at the academy of Niſmes, and carried it with great applauſe againſt many competitors. From France he went into Italy, and taught philological learning in the Univerſity of Piſa, where he had good appointments. Returning one day from the College, he found that his wife had been ſtolen away, his own ſcholars having aſſiſted in the elopement. "He bore his loſs," ſays Bayle, "like "a Stoic; and, perhaps, was not ſorry to be delivered from a treaſure that he had "found ſo difficult to keep." From Piſa he removed to Bologna, and was appointed Profeſſor in the Univerſity of that city, in which ſituation he continued till his death. He was alſo admitted into the Academy *della notte* (*e*).

(*e*) Bayle, ut ſupra.

In 1622, he publiſhed, at Bologna, in 8vo, "Κεραυνος και οβελος in Gloſſas Lib. "IV. Inſtitut. Juſtiniani," &c.; and the following year he publiſhed, in 8vo, "De "Juramento, Lib. III. Locus et Antiq. Rom. retractatus," &c. He died at Bologna in the year 1625 (*f*).

(*f*) T. P. Blount, Cenſura Celebriorum Authorum, p. 642.

Dempſter was in his perſon a very tall, ſtout, and well-made man, and poſſeſſed great perſonal courage (*g*). He appears to have been a man of warm paſſions, a zealous friend, and a violent enemy. His literary acquiſitions were very conſiderable, as is manifeſt from his works; and it is ſaid, that he was accuſtomed to ſtudy fourteen hours a day without intermiſſion. His memory was uncommonly tenacious, ſo that he ſaid of himſelf, that he knew not what it was to forget (*b*); and he was ſometimes ſtyled a great ſpeaking library. But his judgment was by no means equal to his erudition. Archbiſhop Uſher ſays of him, that he was *homo multæ lectionis, ſed nullius planè judicii* (*i*). But Voſſius ſtiles him *eruditus Scotus, beneque de literis meritus* (*k*).

(*g*) Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica Gentis Scotorum, p. 690.

(*b*) Bayle, ut ſupra, note E. Hiſtoria Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. p. 690.

(*i*) Britannicarum Eccleſiarum Antiquitates, p. 6. edit. Lond. 1687, fol.

(*k*) T. Pope Blount, Cenſura Celebriorum Authorum, p. 642.

Two years after Dempſter's death, was publiſhed at Bologna, in 1627, in one volume 4to, from his manuſcript, "Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica Gentis Scotorum, Lib. XIX." This work contains a very long liſt of Scottiſh ſaints, and accounts of ſome literary men; and, at the end of the book, a few particulars concerning Dempſter himſelf were added by Matthæus Peregrinus. But the diſregard to truth, which Dempſter has diſplayed in this work, has juſtly expoſed him to the cenſure of many writers [*C*]. He alſo publiſhed, in his own life-time, the following pieces: "Strena Kal. Januar. 1616. "ad illuſtriſſ. virum Jacobum Hayum, Dominum ac Baronem de Saley," &c. Lond. 4to, 1616. "Menologium Scotorum, in quo nullus niſi Scotus gente aut converſa-"tione, quod ex omnium gentium monimentis, pio ſtudio Dei gloriæ. Sanctorum "honori. Patriæ ornamento," &c. Bonon. 4to, 1622. "Scotia illuſtrior, ſeu, Mendi-"cabula repreſſa." Lugd. 1620, 8vo. He is likewiſe ſaid to have been the author of four books of epiſtles, of ſome tragedies and tragi-comedies, of fourteen books of different kinds of poetry, and of various pieces (*l*). Notwithſtanding his attachment to the Romiſh religion, ſome of his books were condemned by the inquiſition (*m*). A very elaborate and learned work of Dempſter was elegantly printed at Florence, with many copper plates, in two volumes, folio, in 1723 and 1724, under the care of Thomas Coke, Eſq. at the expence of Coſmo III. and John Gaſto, Dukes of Tuſcany, and to which the following title was prefixed: "Thomæ Dempſteri a Mureſk Scoti "Pandectarum in Piſano Lyceo Profeſſoris Ordinarii de Etruria Regali Libri Septem, "Opus Poſtumum, in duas partes diviſum." A piece of Dempſter's on the Roman Kalendar is in the Theſaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum, congeſtus a J. Grævio, Tom. VIII. col. 116—124.] T.

(*l*) Blount, ut ſupra.

(*m*) Bayle, ut ſupra.

[*C*] *Juſtly expoſed him to the cenſure of many writers.*] Baillet, in his *Jugemens des Savans*, ſpeaking of Dempſter, ſays, *Il nous a donné une Hiſtoire Eccléſiaſtique d'Ecoſſe en* 19 *livres, où il parle beaucoup des gens de lettres de cette contrée. Mais, quoiqu'il fût habile d'ailleurs, il n'en avoit ni le ſens plus adroit, ni le jugement plus ſolide, ni la conſcience meilleure. Il eût voulu que tous les ſavans fuſſent Ecoſſois. Il a forgé des titres de livres qui n'ont jamais été mis au monde, pour relever la glorie de ſa patrie, et il a commis divers autres fourbes qui l'ont décrié parmi les gens de lettres* (2). 'Thomas Dempſter has given us an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſ-'tory of Scotland, in nineteen books, wherein he 'ſpeaks very much of the learned men of that coun-'try. But though he was in ſome reſpects an able 'man, he did not poſſeſs ſound ſenſe, or a ſolid judg-'ment, nor was he very conſcientious. He would 'have wiſhed that all learned men had been Scotch-'men. He forged the titles of books that never ap-'peared in the world, in order to raiſe the glory of 'his country; and he committed ſeveral literary frauds, 'which have diſcredited him among men of learn-'ing.'

(2) Id. ibid.

Biſhop Nicolſon ſays, that 'Dempſter reckons a 'great many writers of Scottiſh hiſtory, who are al-'lowed to be counterfeits (3).' And Sir James Ware remarks, that 'Dempſter, in his Catalogue of Scotch 'Authors, has not only inſerted thoſe of England and 'Wales, at his own pleaſure; but, to prove his aſſer-'tions, has alſo frequently quoted imaginary authors, 'and fictitious treatiſes, times, and places (4).'

(3) Scottiſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 21. edit. 1776

Archbiſhop Uſher repeatedly cenſures Dempſter for his inventions and his falſehoods; and in one place ſpeaks of it as being a practice of Dempſter's, to enumerate books which were never written, and that had no exiſtence but in his own idle brain (5). Dr. William Cave alſo ſpeaks of Dempſter with great contempt, on account of his fictions with reſpect to Scottiſh authors (6). Indeed, Dempſter ſeems to have thought it highly meritorious to advance the groſſeſt falſehoods, if thoſe falſehoods would, in any degree, contribute to the honour of his country.

(4) De Scriptoribus Hiberniæ, Bayle, ut ſupra, note F.

(5) Bayle, ut ſupra.

(6) Id. ibid.

DENHAM (Sir JOHN), an eminent Poet of the XVIIth century, was the only ſon of Sir John Denham, Knight, of Little Horſely in Eſſex, ſome time Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, and one of the Lords Juſtices of that kingdom, by Eleanor his wife, daughter of Sir Garret More, Knight, Baron of Mellefont in Ireland (*a*). He was born at Dublin in the year 1615 (*b*); but was brought over from thence very young, upon his father's being made one of the Barons of the Exchequer in England, in 1617. He had his education in grammar learning at London, and, in Michaelmas Term 1631, he was entered a Gentleman-Commoner in Trinity-College in Oxford, being then ſixteen years of age; where (as Anthony Wood expreſſes it) 'being looked upon as a ſlow, dreaming, young man, and more addicted to gaming than ſtudy, they could never 'imagine he could ever enrich the world with the iſſue of his brain, as he afterwards 'did.' After three years ſtay in the Univerſity, and having been examined in the publick ſchools for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he entered himſelf in Lincoln's-Inn; where he was generally thought to apply himſelf very cloſely to the ſtudy of the Common Law. But, his itch of gaming continuing, he was often ſtript of all his money; and, his father chiding him ſeverely, and threatening to diſcard him, if he did not reform, he wrote thereupon a little *Eſſay againſt Gaming*, which he preſented to his father, to convince him of his deteſtation of it (*c*). His father dying in 1638 (*d*), he fell to gaming again, and ſquandered away ſeveral thouſand pounds. In the latter end of the year 1641, he publiſhed his tragedy called *The Sophy* [*A*]; which was greatly admired, and gave Mr. Waller occaſion to ſay of our author, that *he broke out like the Iriſh Rebellion, threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, when no body was aware, or in the leaſt ſuſpected it.* Soon after he was pricked for High-Sheriff of the county of Surrey, and made Governor of Farnham-Caſtle for the King. But, not being well ſkilled in military affairs, he ſoon quitted that poſt, and retired to his Majeſty at Oxford, where he publiſhed his poem called *Cooper's Hill* [*B*]. In 1647, he was entruſted by the Queen with a meſſage to the King, then in the hands of the army, and employed in other affairs relating to his Majeſty [*C*]. In April 1648, he conveyed away James Duke of York [*D*], then under the tuition of Algernon Earl of

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. coll. 422.
(*b*) This is collected from his age at the time of his admiſſion in the Univerſity.
(*c*) Wood, ibid.
(*d*) He died Jan 6, and was buried at Egham in Surrey, where he had an eſtate.

[*A*] *His Tragedy called The Sophy.*] It was acted at the private houſe in Black Friars, with great applauſe, and firſt printed in 4*to*, London 1642; afterwards in 8*vo*, 1667; and again in 8*vo*, 1671. The plot is the ſame with that of Baron's *Mirza*, taken from Herbert's *Travels*, in the *Life of Abbas* (1).

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 423, and Langbaine's Account of the Dramatick Poets Oxf. 1691 p. 128.

[*B*] *His Poem called Cooper's Hill.*] It was printed at Oxford in 1643, in one ſheet and an half, in 4*to*; reprinted with additions at London in 1650 and 1655, in 4*to*; and again in 1667 and 1668, in 8*vo* (2). The editions of 1667, &c. after the Reſtoration, differ conſiderably from the preceding ones; as may be ſeen in the *Miſcellany Poems publiſhed by Mr Dryden* (3). It was tranſlated into Latin verſe by Mr. Moſes Pengry, of Brazen-noſe college in Oxford, and publiſhed there in 1676, in 4*to*, under the title of, *Cooper's Hill, Latinè redditum, ad nobiliſſimum Dominum* Gulielmum *Dominum* Cavendiſh, *honoratiſſimi Domini* Gulielmi *Comitis* Devoniæ *filium unicum* (4). Mr Dryden, ſpeaking of *Cooper's Hill* (5) ſays, it is *A Poem, which for majeſty of the ſtyle is, and ever will be, the exact ſtandard of good writing.* And the noble author of an *Eſſay on Human Life*, obſerves (6), that 'Cooper's 'Hill has met with univerſal applauſe, though it's 'ſubject ſeems rather deſcriptive than inſtructing; but 'it is not the hill, the river, nor the ſtag-chace; it 'is the good ſenſe, and the fine reflexions ſo frequently 'interſperſed, and as it were interwoven with the reſt, 'that gives it the value, and will make it, as was ſaid 'of true wit, everlaſting like the ſun.' Mr. Pope celebrates this poem in the following lines of his *Windſor Foreſt* (7):

(2) Wood, ubi ſupra.
(3) Part v. p. 73. & 82. edit. 1727.
(4) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 188.
(5) Epiſtle Dedicat. before his Rival Ladies.
(6) In the Preface to the 2d edit. 1736, 4to.

(7) Works of Alex Pope, Eſq; Lond. 1736. 12mo. Vol. I. p. 78.

Ye ſacred Nine, that all my ſoul poſſeſs,
Whoſe raptures fire me, and whoſe viſions bleſs;
Bear me, O bear me, to ſequeſter'd ſcenes,
The bow'ry mazes, and ſurrounding greens;
To Thames's banks which fragrant breezes fill;
Or where the Muſes ſport on *Cooper's Hill.*
(On *Cooper's Hill* eternal wreaths ſhall grow,
While laſts the mountain, or while Thames ſhall flow).
I ſeem thro' conſecrated walks to rove,
I hear ſoft muſick die along the grove;
Led by the ſound, I roam from ſhade to ſhade,
By godlike Poets venerable made;
Here his firſt lays majeſtick *Denham* ſung;
There the laſt numbers flow'd from *Cowley's* tongue.

And Mr Somervile has the following lines (8) on our Poet:

(8) The Chace, a Poem, Book iii. v. 366.

——Tread, with reſpectful awe,
Windſor's green glades, where *Denham*, tuneful bard,
Charm'd once the liſt'ning Dryads with his ſong,
Sublimely ſweet. O! grant me, ſacred ſhade,
To glean ſubmiſs' what thy full fickle leaves.

There is in the following verſes (9) a fooliſh inſinuation, that Sir John Denham was not the author of *Cooper's Hill*:

(9) The Seſſion of the Poets, in the Miſcell. Poems, Part ii. p. 92.

Then in came *Denham*, that limping old bard,
Whoſe fame on the *Sophy* and *Cooper's Hill* ſtands;
And brought many Stationers, who ſwore very hard,
That nothing ſold better, except 'twere his lands.

But Apollo adviſed him to write ſomething more,
To clear a ſuſpicion, which poſſeſſed the Court,
That *Cooper's Hill*, ſo much bragg'd on before,
Was writ by a Vicar, who had forty pound for't.

[*C*] *He was intruſted by the Queen with a meſſage to the King——and employed in other affairs relating to his Majeſty.*] Our Poet himſelf ſhall give us an account of this circumſtance of his life. In his Dedication of his Poems to King Charles II, he addreſſes that Prince as follows: 'Sir, after the delivery of your royal 'father's perſon into the hands of the army, I under'taking to the Queen-Mother, that I would find ſome 'means to gain acceſs to him, ſhe was pleaſed to ſend 'me, and by the help of Hugh Peters I got my admittance, and coming well inſtructed from the Queen, '(his Majeſty having been long kept in the dark), he 'was pleaſed to diſcourſe very freely with me of the 'whole ſtate of his affairs.——At his departure 'from Hampton-Court, he was pleaſed to command 'me to ſtay privately in London, to ſend to him, and 'receive from him, all his letters from and to all his 'correſpondents at home and abroad, and I was furniſhed with nine ſeveral cyphers in order to it. Which 'truſt I performed with great ſafety to the perſons with 'whom we correſponded; but about nine months after, 'being diſcovered by their knowledge of Mr Cowley's 'hand, I happily eſcaped both for myſelf and thoſe 'that held correſpondence with me.'

[*D*] *He conveyed away James Duke of York.*] So we

of Northumberland, from St. James's, and carried him into France to the Prince of Wales, and the Queen-mother. Not long after, he was ſent Ambaſſador from King Charles II. to the King of Poland [*E*]. In 1652, or thereabout, he returned into England; and, his paternal eſtate being greatly reduced by gaming and the Civil Wars, he was kindly entertained by the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton, and continued with that Nobleman about a year. At the Reſtoration, he entered upon the office of Surveyor of his Majeſty's Buildings [*F*], in the room of Inigo Jones, deceaſed; and, at the coronation of King Charles II. was created Knight of the Bath. Upon ſome diſcontent ariſing from a ſecond marriage, he loſt his ſenſes: but ſoon recovering from that diſorder, he continued in great eſteem at Court, and with all perſons of taſte, for his Poetical Writings [*G*]. He

we are told by Anthony Wood: but my Lord Clarendon aſſures us, the Duke went off *with Col. Bamfield only* (10), who contrived the means of his eſcape.

(10) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. III. P. i. p. 130. edit. Oxf. 1720.

[*E*] *He was ſent Ambaſſador from King Charles II. to the King of Poland.*] William (afterwards Lord) Crofts was joined in the embaſſy with Sir John Denham (11). Among our author's Poems is one intituled, *On my Lord* Crofts *and my Journey into Poland, from whence we brought* 1000*l. for his Majeſty, by the decimation of his Scottiſh ſubjects there.*

(11) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 423.

[*F*] *He entered upon the office of Surveyor of his Majeſty's Buildings.*] Mr. Wood pretends (12), that King Charles I. had granted our Poet the reverſion of that place after the deceaſe of Inigo Jones: but Sir John himſelf, in the Dedication of his Poems, aſſures us, King Charles II. at his departure from St. Germains to Jerſey, was pleaſed freely, without his aſking it, to confer it upon him.

(12) Ibid.

[*G*] *He was in great eſteem ——— for his poetical writings.*] In the Dedication of his Poems to King Charles II. he tells us, he had been diſcouraged by King Charles I. from writing verſes. 'One morning '(ſays he) waiting on him *(the King)* at Cauſham, 'ſmiling upon me, he ſaid he could tell me ſome news 'of myſelf, which was, that he had ſeen ſome verſes of 'mine the evening before (being thoſe to Sir R. Fan'ſhaw); and aſking me when I made them, I told him 'two or three years ſince: he was pleaſed to ſay, that 'having never ſeen them before, he was afraid I had 'written them ſince my return into England; and, 'though he liked them well, he would adviſe me to 'write no more, alledging, that when men are young, 'and have little elſe to do, they might vent the over'flowings of their fancy that way; but when they 'were thought fit for more ſerious employments, if 'they ſtill perſiſted in that courſe, it would look as 'if they minded not the way to any better. Where'upon I ſtood corrected, as long as I had the honour 'to wait upon him.' But King Charles II. was an encourager of our author's Muſe, eſpecially while he *had the good fortune to wait upon his Majeſty in* Holland *and* Flanders; *and was pleaſed ſometimes to give him arguments, to divert and put off the evil hours of their baniſhment, which now and then,* he tells us, *fell not ſhort of his Majeſty's expectation.* After his promotion to the office of Surveyor of the royal buildings, *he gave over poetical lines, and made it his buſineſs,* he ſays, *to draw ſuch others as might be more ſerviceable to his Majeſty, and, he hoped, more laſting.* Then he adds: 'Since that time I never diſobeyed my old maſter's 'commands, till this ſummer at the Wells, my retire'ment there tempting me to divert thoſe melancholy 'thoughts, which the new apparitions of foreign in'vaſion and domeſtick diſcontent gave us; but theſe 'clouds being now happily blown over, and our ſun 'clearly ſhining out again, I have recovered the re'lapſe; it being ſuſpected it would have proved the 'epidemical diſeaſe of age, which is apt to fall back 'into the follies of youth: yet Socrates, Ariſtotle, 'and Cato, did the ſame; and Scaliger ſaith, that 'fragment of Ariſtotle was beyond any thing that Pin'dar or Homer ever wrote.' Our author's Dedication concludes with a farewel to the Muſes. 'As for 'thoſe latter parts, *ſays he, ſpeaking of his Poems,* 'which have not yet received your Majeſty's favourable 'aſpect, if they who have ſeen them do not flatter me, '(for I dare not truſt my own judgment), they will 'make it appear, that it is not with me as with moſt 'of mankind, who never forſake their darling vices, 'till their vices forſake them; and that this divorce 'was not *Frigiditatis cauſa*, but an act of choice, and 'not of neceſſity. Therefore, Sir, I ſhall only call it 'an humble petition, that your Majeſty will p'eaſe to 'pardon this new amour to my old miſtreſs, and my 'diſobedience to his commands, to whoſe memory I 'look up with great reverence and devotion; and 'making a ſerious reflexion upon that wiſe advice, it 'carries greater weight with it now than when it was 'given: for when age and experience have ſo ripened 'man's diſcretion as to make it fit for uſe, either in 'private or public affairs, nothing blaſts and corrupts 'the fruit of it ſo much as the empty, airy reputation 'of being *Nimis Poeta*; and therefore I ſhall take my 'leave of the Muſes, as two of my predeceſſors did, 'ſaying;

'Splendidis longum vale dico nugis.
'His verſus et cætera ludicra pono.'

Our author's poems are as follow: I. Cooper's Hill (13). II. The Deſtruction of Troy: an Eſſay on the Second Book of Virgil's Æneis. Written in the Year 1636. London, 1656, in four ſheets and a half in 4to. (14). III. On the Earl of Strafford's Trial and Death. IV. On my Lord Crofts', &c. Journey into Poland, &c. (15). V. On Mr. Thomas Killigrew's Return from Venice, and Mr. William Murrey's from Scotland. VI. To Sir John Mennis, being invited from Calais to Bologne, to eat a Pig. VII. Natura Naturata. VIII. Sarpedon's Speech to Glaucus, in the twelfth Book of Homer. IX. Out of an epigram of Martial. X. Friendſhip and Single Life, againſt Love and Marriage. XI. On Mr. Abraham Cowley, his Death, and Burial amongſt the antient Poets. XII. A Speech againſt Peace, at the Cloſe Committee. XIII. To the Five Members of the Honourable Houſe of Commons: The humble Petition of the Poets. XIV. A Weſtern Wonder. XV. A Second Weſtern Wonder. XVI. News from Colcheſter: Or, a proper new Ballad of certain carnal Paſſages betwixt a Quaker and a Colt, at Horſly near Colcheſter in Eſſex. XVII. A Song. XVIII. On Mr. John Fletcher's Works. XIX. To Sir Richard Fanſhaw, upon his Tranſlation of Paſtor Fido. XX. A Dialogue between Sir John Pooley and Mr. Thomas Killigrew. XXI. An Occaſional Imitation of a Modern Author upon the Game of Cheſs. XXII. The Paſſion of Dido for Æneas. XXIII. Of Prudence. Of Juſtice. Theſe two pieces are tranſlated from the Latin of Mancini, a noble Italian, who was contemporary with Petrarch and Mantuan, and not long before Taſſo. The author wrote upon the four Cardinal Virtues; but Sir John Denham tranſlated only the two firſt, 'not (he tells us) to turn the kindneſs he in'tended the author into an injury; for the two laſt 'are little more than repetitions and recitals of the 'firſt; as (to make a juſt excuſe for him) they could 'not well be otherwiſe, ſince the two laſt virtues are 'but deſcendants from the firſt, Prudence being the true 'mother of Temperance, and true Fortitude the child 'of Juſtice (16). XXIV. The Progreſs of Learning. XXV. Cato Major, of Old Age, a Poem. It is taken from the Latin of Tully, though much altered from the original, not only by the change of the ſtyle, but by addition and ſubſtraction. Our author tells us, that 'intending to tranſlate this piece into proſe (where 'tranſlation ought to be ſtrict) finding the matter very 'proper for verſe, he took the liberty to leave out 'what was only neceſſary to that age and place, and 'to take, or add, what was proper to this preſent age 'and occaſion, by laying the ſenſe cloſer, and in fewer 'words, according to the ſtyle and ear of theſe times.' 'The three firſt parts,' ſays he, 'I dedicate to my old 'friends, to take off thoſe melancholy reflexions which the 'ſenſe of age, infirmity, and death, may give them. The laſt part

(13) See the Remark [*B*].

(14) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(15) See the Remark [*E*].

(16) Poems, &c. by Sir John Denham, p. 90.

He died at his office near Whitehall, in March 1688, and was interred in Weſtminſter, near the tombs of Chaucer, Spencer, and Cowley (*e*).

(*e*) Wood, ibid. col. 423.

'I think neceſſary for the conviction of thoſe many 'who believe not, or at leaſt mind not, the immor-'tality of the ſoul, of which the ſcripture ſpeaks only 'poſitively, as a Law-giver, with an *ipſe dixit*. But if 'a Heathen philoſopher bring ſuch arguments from 'reaſon, nature, and ſecond cauſes, which none of our 'atheiſtical ſophiſters can confute, if they may ſtand 'convinced, that there is an immortality of the ſoul, 'I hope they will ſo weigh the conſequences, as nei-'ther to talk, nor live, as if there was no ſuch 'thing (17).' XXVI. "The Sophy, a Tragedy (18)." The above pieces have been ſeveral times printed toge-ther, in one volume, in 12mo, under the title of "Poems and Tranſlations, with the Sophy, a Tra-"gedy: written by the Honourable Sir John Denham, "Knight of the Bath." The ſixth edition is of 1719. Beſides theſe, Anthony Wood mentions "A Panegy-"rick on his Excellency the Lord General George "Monk, Commander in Chief," &c. Lond. 1659, in one ſheet, in 4to. Though our author's name is not to it, it was generally aſcribed to him. "A Pro-"logue to his Majeſty at the firſt play preſented at the "Cock-Pit, in Whitehall, being part of that noble "entertainment which their Majeſties received, Nov. "19, ann. 1660, from his Grace the Duke of Albe-"marle." This Prologue was printed at London, in 1660, on one ſide of a broad ſheet of paper. "A "new Verſion of the Pſalms of David." "The True "Preſbyterian without diſguiſe: or, a Character of a "Preſbyterian's Ways and Actions." Lond. 1680, in half a ſheet in folio. Our author's name is to this poem; but it was then queſtioned by many, whether he was the author of it. In the year 1666, there were printed by ſtealth, in octavo, certain Poems, intituled, "Directions to a Painter," in four copies or parts, each dedicated to King Charles II. They were very ſatirically written againſt ſeveral perſons engaged in the Dutch war, in 1665. At the end of them was a piece intituled, "Clarendon's Houſe-warming;" and after that his "Epitaph," both containing bitter reflections on Edward Earl of Clarendon. Sir John Denham's name is to theſe pieces; but they were generally thought to be written by Andrew Marvel, Eſq. The Printer of them, being diſcovered, was ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory for the ſame (19). B.

(17) Ibid. p. 119.
(18) See the Remark [*A*].
(19) Wood, ibid. col. 423, 424.

**** [From the various lives which have been written of Sir John Denham, ſcarcely any perſonal information can be collected that is not to be met with in the preceding article. Dr. Johnſon has taken notice of a ſlight circumſtance omitted by other writers, which is, that when our poet was for a time diſordered in his underſtanding, Butler lampooned him for his lunacy. "I know not," adds the doctor, whether the malig-"nant lines were then made publick; nor what pro-"vocation incited Butler to do what no provocation "can excuſe (20)."

(20) Lives of the Poets, vol. I. p. 107.

Another fact, not mentioned by the generality of Denham's Biographers, is, that he was an early mem-ber of the Royal Society. This, which muſt be conſidered as honourable to his memory, we learn from Dr. Birch's Hiſtory of that Society; in which, according to the doctor's cuſtom when he records the death of a member, he has given a ſhort "Life of Sir John (21)." It appears, from the Regiſter Book of the Royal Society, that he was elected a Fellow on the 20th day of May, 1663.

(21) Hiſtory of the Royal Society of London, vol. II. p. 406—408.

The great object of conſideration, with regard to Sir John Denham, is his character as a poet, concern-ing which much has been ſaid by recent, as well as by our older writers. Mr. Waller's encomium on the appearance of his "Sophy," that "He broke out, "like the Iriſh rebellion, threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, "when nobody was aware, or in the leaſt expected it," will probably be conſidered as ſomewhat hyperbolical. Not having the play at hand, we cannot ſpecify its diſtinct merit. The author of the Biographia Drama-tica ſays, that Denham's Genius broke forth in a full blaze of meridian brightneſs, in that juſtly celebrated and admired tragedy, the Sophy. But when the writer afterward comes to ſpeak of it ſeparately, he does not point out its particular excellencies, contenting him-ſelf alone with vindicating our poet for having han-dled his ſubject very differently from what was done by Baron, in his Mirza. Baron objects, that Den-ham has deviated from the truth of hiſtory, in mak-ing Abbas die in his tragedy; whereas he really ſur-vived ſeveral years after the murder of his ſon. "This, "however," it is juſtly anſwered, "is no more than "a *licentia poetica*, which has ever been conſidered as "warrantable; and which, on the preſent occaſion, "is made uſe of only for the ſake of dramatic juſ-"tice (22.)"

(22) Biographia Dramatica, vol. I. p. 121. vol. II. p. 349.

Of all Sir John Denham's poems, we need not ſay that his Cooper's Hill is the moſt celebrated. To the former opinions, which have been given of it, we ſhall add what has more lately been ſaid concerning it; and here Dr. Johnſon will naturally claim our firſt at-tention. "Cooper's Hill," ſays the doctor, "if it "be maliciouſly inſpected, will not be found without "its faults. The digreſſions are too long, the mora-"lity too frequent, and the ſentiments ſometimes ſuch "as will not bear a rigorous enquiry. The four verſes "which, ſince Dryden has commended them, almoſt "every writer, for a century paſt, has imitated, are "generally known:

"O could I flow like thee, and make thy ſtream
"My great example—as it is my theme!
"Tho' deep, yet clear; tho' gentle, yet not dull;
"Strong, without rage; without o'er-flowing, full.

"The lines are in themſelves not perfect; "for moſt of the words, thus artfully oppoſed, are "to be underſtood ſimply on one ſide of the compari-"ſon, and metaphorically on the other; and, if there "be any language which does not expreſs intellectual "operations by material images, into that language "they cannot be tranſlated. But ſo much meaning is "confined in ſo few words; the particulars of reſem-"blance are ſo perſpicaciouſly collected, and every "mode of excellence ſeparated from its adjacent fault "by ſo nice a line of limitation; the different parts "of the ſentence are ſo accurately adjuſted, and the "flow of the laſt couplet is ſo ſmooth and ſweet, that "the paſſage, however celebrated, has not been "praiſed above its merit. It has beauty peculiar to "itſelf, and muſt be numbered among thoſe felicities "which cannot be produced at will by wit and labour, "but muſt ariſe unexpectedly in ſome hour propitious "to poetry, (23)."

(23) Lives of the Poets, ubi ſupra, p. 111, 112.

On the two laſt of theſe four celebrated lines, which Mr. Dryden propoſes as a problem to exerciſe the wits of the critics, to diſcover the reaſons why they are ſo harmonious, the learned Greek Scholar, Lord Mon-boddo, has condeſcended to diſplay his critical ſkill. He obſerves, that it is a great beauty in verſe, when the monoſyllable, on which the accent is thrown, is a word that not only will bear an emphaſis, but requires it; ſo that the accent, which is the elevation of the voice upon one *ſyllable* of the word, and the emphaſis, which is the ſame elevation upon a *word* of a ſentence, in order to diſtinguiſh it from the reſt, concur to-gether. This is one of the beauties of the diſtich in queſtion; where the emphaſis, as well as the accent, falls upon the monoſyllables *deep*, *clear*, *ſtrong*, *rage*, and *full*. "But this," adds his Lordſhip, "is not "the only beauty of thoſe lines. For, in the firſt "place, there are the antitheſes of *deep* and *clear*, *gen-"tle* and *dull*, *ſtrong* and *without rage*, and *full*, *with-"out overflowing*. Secondly, If theſe antitheſes had "been expreſſed in the ſame manner, I ſhould have "thought there were too many of them, and that the "compoſition was too uniform. But there is only a "ſimilarity in the two firſt of them; which being "carried no farther, I think, is a beauty. And the "expreſſion of the two in the ſecond line is different, "not only from thoſe in the firſt, but from one ano-"ther. Theſe are beauties of compoſition indepen-"dent of the verſification. But, laſtly, There is a "farther beauty in the verſification, beſides that al-"ready obſerved; namely, that the ſecond line begins "with a trochee; that is, with an accented ſyllable, "in place of an unaccented, with which the firſt line "begins. This gives a flow to the ſecond line, very "different from that of the firſt; and gives a beautiful "variety to the whole, which otherwiſe the four an-"titheſes, notwithſtanding the change of expreſſion, "would



Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

"would render a little too uniform in the ſtruc-
"ture (24.)"

(24) Of the Origin and Progreſs of Language, vol. ii. p. 389, 390, note.

Previouſly to Dr. Johnſon's and Lord Monboddo's obſervations, other writers have made Denham's famous diſtich the ſubject of their enquiry. There is a diſquiſition concerning it in Hughes's Minutes for an Eſſay on the Harmony of Verſe; and another in Say's Eſſay on the Numbers of Paradiſe Loſt. But no one has ſo particularly conſidered the matter as the Rev. John Maſon, M. A. the author of a well-known and much-approved treatiſe on Self-Knowledge. This gentleman, in a pamphlet publiſhed by him, in 1749, without his name, entitled, "An Eſſay on the Power "of Numbers, and the Principles of Harmony, in "Poetical Compoſitions," has given a ſolution of Dryden's Problem, which we ſhall here inſert, the tract wherein it occurs being now very ſcarce. The ſolution, which perhaps is the beſt that has yet been offered, is as follows: 'I ſhall conclude my remarks 'on the Iambic meaſure with obſerving, that, from 'the principles before advanced, we may be able to 'account for the peculiar elegance of that celebrated 'diſtich of Mr. Denham's, in his "Cooper's Hill," 'which hath been rendered ſo famous by Mr. Dryden's 'propoſing it as a ſort of problem to exerciſe the wits 'of grammarians to diſcover the true ſource of its 'harmony.

⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —
'*Tho' deep*, | *yet clear*; | *tho' gen*|*tle, yet* | *not dull*;
— ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — ⏑ —
'*Strong with*|*out Rage*; | *without* | *o'erflow*|*ing full.*

'Mr. Hughes ſuppoſes that all the admired muſic of 'theſe lines ariſes from the free and unforced quan-'tity of the ſyllables, the propriety of the pauſes, di-'verſifying the grammatical ſtructure of the ſentences, 'tranſpoſing the order of the words, and cloſing the 'couplet with the emphatical word *full*; and then con-'cludes, *if there be any other myſtery in theſe lines, I own* 'it is beyond my ſkill to diſcover it (25). Now, I ap-'prehend, there is a further myſtery in them, which 'indeed he was not aware of, ariſing from the order 'and quality of the poetical numbers; in the choice 'and diſpoſition of which the Poet was extremely 'happy. For he hath introduced into theſe two lines 'every one of the diſſyllable feet; the Iambic and 'Pyrrhic in the firſt, and the Trochee and Spondee 'in the ſecond. So that it hath all the advantage of 'harmony which variety of numbers can give it. Nor 'is he leſs happy in the diſpoſition of theſe numbers. 'For in the firſt line, excepting the fourth foot, they 'are all Iambics: the laſt part of each falling, not 'only on accented ſyllables, but emphatical words, 'and thoſe in contraſt too, makes the ſound and the 'ſenſe moſt perfectly accord. The fourth place is 'poſſeſſed by a Pyrrhic, which is always an agreeable 'moyement.

'The ſecond line begins with a Trochee; which 'gives motion, as it were, to the river; but is im-'mediately checked by the Spondees and Iambics 'that alternately follow. So that the ſtately flow of 'the numbers expreſſes that of the river they deſcribe. '*And the ſound is ſtill an echo to the ſenſe.*

'In a word, then, the beauty of this diſtich con-'ſiſts in two things, *viz.* the elegance of the ſtile, and 'the harmony of the verſe. The elegance of the ſtile 'ariſes from the tranſpoſition of the words, the pro-'priety of the pauſes, and the contraſts of the de-'ſcription; and the harmony of the verſe ariſes from 'the variety and diſpoſition of the numbers happily 'adapted to the emphaſis of the words, and the nature 'of the ſubject; as I have juſt ſhewn. And this I 'take to be a true ſolution of this poetical problem, 'which there needs no other Œdipus to unriddle than 'a little inſight into the power of numbers and the 'principles of verſe (26.)"

(25) See Eſſays on the Harmony, &c. of Numbers, p. 151, 152.

(26) Eſſay on the Power of Numbers and the Principles of Harmony in Poetical Compoſitions. p. 59, 60.

Whilſt ſo many encomiums have been paſſed on this celebrated diſtich, there is one writer who cannot perceive in it the leaſt degree of beauty. After examining them with a minuteneſs and coldneſs of verbal criticiſm, which every man of taſte will regard with contempt, he concludes, that the lines in queſtion are equalled in ſweetneſs by many hundreds in our language, written both before and ſince; and that to attend to them in that view would be futile. From what has already been produced from Dr. Johnſon, Lord Monboddo, and Mr. Maſon, it may fairly be collected, that the author we are ſpeaking of (Mr. Scott, of Amwell) underſtood but little of the power and variety of poetic numbers.

It is not to the particular diſtich ſo often mentioned that Mr. Scott's criticiſm is confined. He has made a direct and formal attack upon the whole of the "Cooper's Hill," in no part of which he can diſcern any traces of excellence. We acknowledge, that ſeveral of his remarks are well founded, and that the poem has been applauded beyond its merit: but what are we to think of Mr. Scott's concluſion, which is as follows: 'There are many performances which have 'great beauties and great faults: the Sun of Genius 'illuminates their mountains, though their valleys are 'dark; but "Cooper's Hill" is an uniform maſs of 'dulneſs, on which that Sun has not beſtowed its 'fainteſt irradiation (27).' In oppoſition to ſo bold an aſſertion, it may ſafely be maintained, that there are ſome paſſages in the poem which will always be admired. This is eſpecially the caſe with reſpect to the general deſcription of the Thames; concerning which the ingenious traveller Dr. Moore, after citing the verſes containing it, obſerves, that 'they are, beyond 'compariſon, the nobleſt lines that were ever written 'on a river (28).' In Prior's "Carmen Seculare," we recollect two lines which are a manifeſt imitation, and no unhappy one, of Denham's diſtich:

'Thames,
'With gentle coarſe devolving fruitful ſtreams;
'Serene, yet ſtrong; majeſtic, yet ſedate:
'Swift without violence, without terror great."

(27) Critical Eſſays on ſome of the poems, of ſeveral Engliſh Poets, p. 1—36. p. 23—25. 35.

(28) View of Italy, vol. I. p. 282.

On the other poems of Sir John Denham Dr. Johnſon has made various remarks, which are worthy of notice. His ludicrous compoſitions the Doctor juſtly condemns. 'Nothing,' ſays he 'is leſs exhilarating 'than the ludicrouſneſs of Denham. He does not 'fail for want of efforts: he is familiar; he is groſs; 'but he is never merry, unleſs the "Speech againſt 'Peace, in the Cloſe Committee," be excepted. For 'grave burleſque, however, his imitation of Dave-'nant ſhews him to have been well qualified.'

'Of his more elevated occaſional poems,' adds Dr. Johnſon, 'there is perhaps none that does not deſerve 'commendation. In the verſes to Fletcher we have 'an image that has ſince been often adopted:

'But whither am I ſtrayed? I need not raiſe
'Trophies to thee from other men's diſpraiſe;
'Nor is thy fame on leſſer ruins built;
'Nor need thy juſter title the foul guilt
'Of Eaſtern Kings, who, to ſecure their reign,
'Muſt have their brothers, ſons, and kindred, ſlain.'

'After Denham, Orrery, in one of his prologues:

'Poets are ſultans, if they had their will;
'For every author would his brother kill.'

And Pope,

'Should ſuch a man, too fond to rule alone,
'Bear like the Turk no brother near the throne.'

'But this is not the beſt of his little pieces: it is 'excelled by his poem to Fanſhaw, and his elegy on 'Cowley. His praiſe of Fanſhaw's Verſion of Gua-'rini contains a very ſpritely and judicious character 'of a good tranſlator:

'That ſervile path thou nobly doſt decline,
'Of tracing word by word, and line by line.
'Thoſe are the labour'd births of ſlaviſh brains;
'Not the effect of poetry, but pains;
'Cheap vulgar arts, whoſe narrowneſs affords
'No flight for thoughts, but poorly ſtick at words.
'A new and nobler way thou doſt purſue,
'To make tranſlations and tranſlators too.
'They but preſerve the aſhes, thou the flame,
'True to his ſenſe, but truer to his fame.'

'The excellence of theſe lines is the greater, as 'the truth which they contain was not at that time 'generally known.'

'His poem on the death of Cowley was his laſt, 'and, among his ſhorter works, his beſt performance: 'the numbers are muſical, and the thoughts are 'juſt (29).'

(29) Lives of the Poets, ubi ſupra, p. 108—110.

Dr.

Dr. Johnſon farther obſerves, that Denham 'appears to have been one of the firſt that underſtood the neceſſity of emancipating a tranſlation from the drudgery of counting lines, and interpreting ſingle words. How much this ſervile practice obſcured the cleareſt, and deformed the moſt beautiful parts of the ancient authors, may be diſcovered by a peruſal of our earlier verſions; ſome of them the works of men well qualified, not only by critical knowledge, but by poetical genius, who yet, by a miſtaken ambition of exactneſs, degraded at once their originals and themſelves. Denham ſaw the better way; but has not purſued it with great ſucceſs. His verſions of Virgil are not pleaſing; but they taught Dryden to pleaſe better. His poetical imitation of Tully on "Old Age," has neither the clearneſs of proſe, nor the ſpritelineſs of poetry.'

With regard to the "Strength of Denham," which Pope ſo emphatically mentions, Dr. Johnſon remarks, that it "is to be found in many lines and couplets, which convey much meaning in few words, and exhibit the ſentiment with more weight than bulk. Inſtances of this are produced, by the Doctor, from our Poet's verſes on the Thames, on Lord Strafford, and on Cowley. We ſhall mention, from his other poems, an example or two which occur to our recollection; and which, for their conciſeneſs, good ſenſe, and moral excellence, deſerve to be generally remembered.

'Books ſhould to one of theſe four ends conduce,
'For Wiſdom, Piety, Delight, and Uſe.'

Again,

'For on their life no grievous burthen lies,
'Who are well-natured, temperate, and wiſe.'

The riſe and progreſs of Papal Dominion are briefly and ſtrongly expreſſed in the following lines:

'The Fiſher to convert the world began,
'The pride convincing of vain-glorious man:
'But ſoon his followers grew a ſovereign Lord.
'And Peter's keys exchang'd for Peter's ſword,
'Which ſtill maintains for his adopted ſon
'Vaſt patrimonies, though himſelf had none (30.)'

(30) Ibid. p. 113—115. Johnſon's Poets, vol. IX. p. 91. 106. 112.

As one of Denham's principal claims to the regard of poſterity is founded on his improvements of our numbers, Dr. Johnſon has conſidered his verſification, and aſſerts, that it will afford that pleaſure which ariſes from the obſervatiou of a man of judgment naturally right, forſaking bad copies by degrees, and advancing towards a better practice, as he gains more confidence in himſelf. In his tranſlation of Virgil, written when he was about twenty-one years of age, may be ſtill found the old manner of continuing the ſenſe ungracefully from verſe to verſe; but from this kind of concatenated metre he afterwards refrained, and taught his followers the art of concluding their ſenſe in couplets, which has perhaps been rather with too much conſtancy purſued. His rhymes are ſuch as ſeem found without difficulty, by following the ſenſe; and are, for the moſt part as exact at leaſt as thoſe of other poets; though now and then the Reader is ſhifted off with what he can get; nor are the ends of the verſes very carefully varied. However, concerning moſt of theſe petty faults Dr. Johnſon remarks, that they are in his firſt productions, when he was leſs ſkilful, or at leaſt leſs dextrous, in the uſe of words; and that, though they had been more frequent, they could only have leſſened the grace, not the ſtrength, of his compoſition. On the whole, the Doctor has given a favourable opinion of Denham. He ſays, that he is deſervedly conſidered as one of the Fathers of Engliſh Poetry, that he ſeems to have been, at leaſt among us, the author of a ſpecies of compoſition that may be denominated *local poetry*, of which the fundamental ſubject is ſome particular landſcape, to be poetically deſcribed, with the addition of ſuch embelliſhments as may be ſupplied by hiſtorical retroſpection, or incidental meditation; and that he is one of the writers that improved our taſte, and advanced our language; whom therefore we ought to read with gratitude; though, having done much, he left much to do (31).

(31) Lives the Poets, ubi ſupra, p. 108. 110, 111. 115—118.

Sir John Denham's Verſion of the Pſalms is now but little known. Dr. Watts reſigns to him the honour of being the beſt poet, if he had given his genius but a juſt liberty. 'Yet,' adds the Doctor, 'his work 'will ever ſhine brighteſt among thoſe that have con'fined themſelves to mere tranſlation. But that cloſe 'confinement has often forbid the freedom and glory 'of verſe, and, by cramping his ſenſe, has rendered 'it ſometimes too obſcure for a plain Reader and 'the public worſhip, even though we lived in the 'days of David and Judaiſm. Theſe inconveniences 'he himſelf ſuſpects, and fears in the preface (32.)' Notwithſtanding Dr. Watts's candour, it is plain, from this account, that Denham's Verſion of the Pſalms is entitled to no great degree of attention; and, indeed, ſuch we found to be the caſe, on a curſory examination. With Dr. Johnſon, therefore, we readily agree, that in this attempt he has failed: nor do we much differ from the doctor, when he adds, 'but in 'ſacred poetry who has ſucceeded (33)?'

(32) Watts's Pſalms, 25th edit. preface, p. xxii, xxiii.

(33) Johnſon, ubi ſupra, p. 106.

In Johnſon's edition of the Engliſh Poets, two poems are reſtored to Denham which had not appeared in former collections. Theſe are his "Verſes to Sir "Edward Howard," and his "Elegy on the Death "of Lord Haſtings (34.) They do not add a ſingle jot to Sir John Denham's reputation.] K.

(34) Gent. Mag. vol. XLIX. p. 506.

*** [DENNIS (John), a Poet, a Political Writer, and a Critic, was born in the city of London, in the year 1657. His father was a ſubſtantial ſadler, and a citizen of reputation; who obſerving, as it is to be preſumed, conſiderable marks of ability in his ſon, determined to give him a liberal education. Accordingly, he ſent him to Harrow-on-the-Hill, where he received his grammatical inſtruction, under Dr. William Horn, a ſchool-maſter in high eſteem for piety and literature. At this place he had for his ſchool-fellows ſeveral young noblemen and gentlemen, who afterwards made no ſmall figure in the State. Among the perſons of rank, Lord Francis and Lord Charles Seymour, ſucceſſively Dukes of Somerſet, were his contemporaries at Harrow; but it does not appear that in his future life he ever maintained any correſpondence or connection with that noble family. In the eighteenth year of his age he was removed to the univerſity of Cambridge, where he was entered of Caius College, on the thirteenth of January, 1675 (*a*). At this college Mr. Dennis continued till he took his Bachelor's Degree, which was in 1679; after which he became a member of Trinity-Hall, where, in 1683, he was admitted to the degree of Maſter of Arts (*b*). It is related, by the author of the Biographia Dramatica, that he was expelled from college, for literally attempting to ſtab a perſon in the dark (*c*). But this we cannot help regarding as a ſtory entirely deſtitute of foundation. For, not to mention that we have met with no other traces of it in all the ſevere things we have read concerning Mr. Dennis, the fact is abſolutely inconſiſtent with his being a member of the univerſity for more than ſeven years, and then quitting it, with a Maſter's Degree.

(*a*) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. IV. p. 215.

(*b*) Cantabrigienſes Graduati, p. 115.

(*c*) Biographia Dramatica, vol. I. p. 122.

Not ſatisfied with obtaining the beſt education his own country could afford, Mr. Dennis determined to improve his underſtanding, and increaſe the extent of his know-

ledge, by the advantages of foreign travel. Accordingly, he made the tour of France and Italy; in the courſe of which it is ſaid that his obſervations on the evil Effects ariſing from deſpotic Government, greatly contributed to ſtrengthen in him thoſe principles of Whiggiſm, and that zeal for liberty which he had early imbibed, and which he invariably maintained to the cloſe of his life (*d*). On his return to England, ſuch was the opinion entertained of his accompliſhments, that he found an eaſy admiſſion into the company of ſeveral of the moſt diſtinguiſhed men of the age for genius, wit, and learning. The perſons with whoſe acquaintance he was honoured, were the Earls of Pembroke and Mulgrave, Charles Montague, Eſq. afterwards Earl of Halifax, Walter Moyle, Eſq. Mr. Wycherley, and the celebrated poets Dryden, Congreve, Southern, and Garth. All of theſe thought highly of his talents; but, if certain accounts of him are to be credited, they had not the ſame reaſon to think well of his diſcretion; his pride and paſſion hurrying him into ſcrapes which were injurious to his reputation. It is related, that on his firſt introduction to Charles Montague, Eſq. he got intoxicated with ſome very fine wines, to which he had not been accuſtomed; and that theſe made him ſo very impatient of contradiction, that, riſing on a ſudden, he ruſhed out of the room, and overturned the ſideboard of plate and glaſſes as he went. Next morning ſeeing Mr. Moyle, he told him, that in conſequence of having been ſo much in liquor he had forgotten every thing which had happened, and deſired to know in what manner he went away. "Why," ſaid Moyle, "You went away like the devil, "and took one corner of the houſe with you (*e*)."

(*d*) Cibber, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Biographia Britannica, vol. VII. Supplement, p. 41. firſt edit.

We know not whether Mr. Dennis was originally deſigned for any particular profeſſion. If he was, he was probably diverted from it by the company he kept; beſides which, having ſome fortune left him by an uncle, he was undoubtedly the more eaſily determined to devote himſelf wholly to poetry, politics, and criticiſm. It is as a Poet that we ſhall firſt conſider him, taking his poems in the order in which they are printed in his ſelect works, publiſhed by him, in two volumes, in the year 1721. The collection begins with ſome verſes on the victory at ſea, and the burning of the French fleet at La Hogue, in 1692; with regard to which we can only ſay, that their chief character is Turgidity. The paraphraſe of part of the Te Deum, in Pindaric verſe, is of ſuperior merit, though not entitled to any very high degree of praiſe. One of the beſt ſtanzas is the fifth, and there are ſome good lines in the ſixth. The ſhort Ode to Mr. Dryden, upon his tranſlation of the Third Book of Virgil's Georgics, ſhall be inſerted below [*A*], as exhibiting the moſt favourable ſpecimen we could perhaps have ſelected of Mr. Dennis's poetical talents. Indeed, it ſtands upon a footing with many of the pieces which occur in the works of ſeveral of the minor poets, who have been allowed a place in Johnſon's Collection. We cannot ſpeak ſo well of the next poem; which, according to the faſhion of the times, is likewiſe a Pindaric Ode, addreſſed to King William, and occaſioned by the battle of Aghrim, in 1691. There is poetic ſpirit in the twelfth ſtanza; but the reſt is partly turgid, and partly heavy. The ſix lines that follow, to a painter drawing a lady's picture, and entitled an epigram, are the earlieſt of our author's productions, having been written in 1682.

[*A*] *The ſhort Ode to Mr. Dryden ſhall be inſerted below.*]

I.

'While mounting with expanded wings,
'The Mantuan ſwan unbounded heav'n explores;
'While with ſeraphic ſounds he tow'ring ſings,
'Till to divinity he ſoars;
'Mankind ſtands wond'ring at his flight,
'Charm'd with his muſic and his height,
'Which both tranſcend our praiſe;
'Nay, Gods incline their raviſh'd ears,
'And tune their own harmonious ſpheres
'To his melodious lays.
'Thou, Dryden, canſt his notes recite,
'In modern numbers, which expreſs
'Their muſic and their utmoſt might;
'Thou wond'rous poet, with ſucceſs,
'Canſt emulate his flight.

II.

'Sometimes of humble rural things,
'Thy Muſe, which keeps great Maro ſtill in ſight,
'In middle air with varied numbers ſings,
'And ſometimes her ſonorous flight
'To heav'n ſublimely wings:
'But firſt takes time with majeſty to riſe,
'Then without pride, divinely great,
'She mounts her native ſkies;
'And Goddeſs-like retains her ſtate,
'When down again ſhe flies;
'Commands which judgment gives, ſhe ſtill obeys,
'Both to depreſs her flight and raiſe.
'Thus Mercury from heav'n deſcends,
'And to this under-world his journey bends,
'When Jove his dread command has giv'n;
'But ſtill deſcending dignity maintains,
'As much a God upon our humble plains,
'As when he tow'ring reaſcends to heav'n.

III.

'But when thy Goddeſs takes her flight,
'With ſo much majeſty, to ſuch a height,
'As can alone ſuffice to prove,
'That ſhe deſcends from mighty Jove:
'Gods! how thy thoughts then riſe, and ſoar, and ſhine,
'Immortal ſpirit animates each line!
'Each with bright flame that fires our ſouls is crown'd,
'Each has magnificence of ſound,
'And harmony divine.
'Thus the firſt orbs in their high rounds,
'With ſhining pomp advance,
'And to their own celeſtial ſounds
'Majeſtically dance:
'On with eternal ſymphony they roll,
'Each turn'd in its harmonious courſe,
'And each inform'd by the prodigious force
'Of an empyreal ſoul (1).'

(1) The Select Works of Mr. John Dennis, vol. I. p. 19—22.

'He

'He who great Jove's artillery ap'd ſo well,
'By real thunder and true lightning fell.
'How then dar'ſt thou, with equal danger, try
'To counterfeit the lightning of her eye?
'Painter, deſiſt, or ſoon the event may prove
'That Love 's as jealous of his arms as Jove.'

The prayer for the King's ſafety in the ſummer-expedition of 1692, which alſo is called an epigram, is totally deſtitute of the point that conſtitutes epigrammatic beauty. This is ſucceeded by another Pindaric poem, dedicated to the memory of Queen Mary. The title of it is, "The Court of Death;" and Mr. Dennis evidently aims in it at riſing to ſomething great; but has not ſucceeded in his attempt, having miſtaken the bombaſtic for the true ſublime. The ſeventh ſtanza is remarkably turgid; and, at the ſame time, not very intelligible. In the concluſion our author has ſucceeded better than in the beginning; but, upon the whole, the poem is too long, and too tedious, to be read with much ſatisfaction. Paſſing over the "Paſſion of Byblis," not ill tranſlated from the Ninth Book of Ovid's Metamorphoſis, though with ſome irregularity of verſification, we come to "The Monument: a Poem, ſacred to the immortal Memory of the "beſt and greateſt of Kings, William the Third." Of this performance the chief characteriſtics are undue length, extravagant panegyric, and proſaic compoſition. It is written in blank verſe; but with little of that variety and harmony of which Milton hath given ſo beautiful an example. In fact, ſuch blank verſe as that of Dennis's is of very eaſy fabrication. The next production, which is entituled, "Britannia Triumphans, "or a Poem on the Battle of Blenheim," is not altogether ſo tedious as the former; but its faults are more diſtinguiſhable than its excellencies. The blank verſe in which it is written has the ſame defects we have juſt mentioned; many paſſages are extremely turgid; and every Reader will complain that the work is too long. One thing obſervable in it, to the honour of the author, is the piety which he expreſſes through the whole, and from which it is apparent, that he had a great reverence for Religion. How good an opinion he had of the future celebrity of his performance, is evident from his dedicating it to Queen Anne, that it might live with the immortality of her renown. Another exertion of Mr. Dennis's poetical talents was occaſioned by the battle of Ramilies, which he has celebrated at a very great length, in five books, compoſed likewiſe in blank verſe. Our author, in his dedication of this performance to Lord Halifax, calls it one of the boldeſt poems that has been written for ſeveral years; an aſſertion that is undoubtedly founded on the machinery with which it abounds, and which ſeems to have been partly borrowed from Milton, though by no means conducted with a ſkill and judgment that demand approbation. In conſequence, however, of this machinery, the work, though faulty enough in various reſpects, does not appear ſo tedious in the peruſal as moſt of the productions already mentioned. The two remaining poems, which are on the Acceſſion of King George to the Britiſh throne, and a prologue to the ſubſcribers for Julius Cæſar, are unworthy of particular notice (*f*).

(*f*) Dennis's Select Works, vol. I. p. 1—356.

From the account we have given of Mr. Dennis's Miſcellaneous Poetry, few of our Readers will be diſpoſed to make it the object of their attention. Independently of its other deficiencies, the ſubjects to which it was devoted were not calculated to confer upon it any laſting degree of popularity. Political, and eſpecially panegyrical poems (and ſuch for the moſt part were our author's), are only fitted to excite a temporary admiration. The virtues of a William and Mary, and the actions of a Marlborough, undoubtedly deſerved to be celebrated. But it was in or near their own time chiefly that their applauſes would be heard with peculiar delight; nor can it be expected that poſterity ſhould be captivated with the productions, which, in the enthuſiaſm of the moment, were eagerly read and highly praiſed. Addiſon's "Campaign" was received with tranſport by our anceſtors; but faſtidious criticiſm is now diſpoſed to give it the appellation of a Gazette in rhyme.

Mr. Dennis next comes before us as a dramatic writer, in which capacity his firſt performance was a comedy, entitled, "A Plot and no Plot; or Jacobite Credulity," and acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane, in the year 1697 (*g*). The title ſhews that it was intended as a ſatire on the party devoted to King James. Of this play the author of the Biographia Dramatica ſays, 'that it is extremely regular, and bears teſtimony 'in favour of the writer, not only as a man of wit, but as a perfect maſter of the arts of 'the ſtage, and of the ſtrict rules of the drama (*b*).' It is with ſome degree of abatement that we aſſent to this character. In the ſtory, Mr. Dennis juſtly claims the merit of original invention, and many of the ſcenes abound with wit; but ſeveral of the incidents are very abſurd and unnatural.

(*g*) Dennis's Select Work, vol. II. p. 293—370.

(*b*) Biographia Dramatica, vol. II. p. 236.

Our Author's ſecond dramatic production was "Rinaldo and Armida," a tragedy, acted at Lincoln's-Inn Fields, in 1699. Not having read this piece, we muſt be indebted for our account of it to the Biographia Dramatica; from which we learn, that the hint of the chief characters is borrowed from Taſſo's Gieruſalemme. As, however, Mr.

Dennis was not ſatisfied with the manners of that great Italian, he has taken the liberty to change them, and to form the characters according to what he apprehended to be more agreeable to the ſubject. His reaſons for ſo doing he has given, not only in the preface to the play, but alſo in the prologue. How far he has ſucceeded in his deſign is not mentioned. The ſcene lies on a top of a mountain in the Canaries; and the muſical entertainments that accompanied the work were compoſed by Mr. John Eccles, excepting a chorus in the fourth act, which is borrowed from Mr. Henry Purcell's Froſt Scene (*i*). Another tragedy, "Iphigenia," was produced by our author in 1700, and brought on at the theatre in Little Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, where it was damned (*k*). It certainly did not deſerve ſo ſevere a fate. There are undoubtedly many irregular lines in it, and perhaps ſome paſſages ſavour of turgidity; but, upon the whole, it is a pathetic and intereſting performance (*l*). It muſt not, however, be concealed that Mr. Dennis has derived his chief excellence from Euripides's Iphigenia in Tauris. Thence his ſtory is taken, and to that he is indebted for the moſt ſtriking parts of his tragedy. Indeed, his obligations to Euripides are ſo numerous, that he ought to have openly acknowledged them; but ſo little were the Greek tragedies at that time known, by the wits and critics of the metropolis, that he probably thought he might ſafely aſſume to himſelf the praiſe of greater originality than was ſtrictly his due. The ill ſucceſs with which his play was received upon the ſtage will eaſily be accounted for, when we reflect that ſubjects taken from ancient claſſic ſtory have ſeldom been popular with an Engliſh audience. Smith's "Phædra and Hippolitus," though, in various reſpects, a more finiſhed work than Dennis's "Iphigenia," and ſtrongly recommended by the firſt writers of the age, met, nevertheleſs, with a moſt cold reception from the public. With leſs merit than "Iphigenia," a comedy of Mr. Dennis's, which was produced by him in 1702, was ſomewhat more ſucceſsful at the theatre. The title of it is, "The Comical "Gallant, with the Amours of Sir John Falſtaff." As to the piece itſelf, we are told that it is no other than a very indifferent alteration of Shakſpeare's "Merry Wives of "Windſor." When it was publiſhed, a large account was added of the taſte in poetry, and the cauſes of its degeneracy (*m*).

(*i*) Biographia Dramatica, Vol. II. p. 307.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 172.

(*l*) Dennis's Select Works, vol. II. p. 9—97.

(*m*) Biographia Dramatica, vol. II. p. 60.

In 1704, our author brought out a tragedy, entituled, "Liberty aſſerted," the ſcene of which is laid at Agnie (which name, he ſays, for the ſake of a better ſound, he has altered to Angie) in Canada; and the plot is an imagined one, from the wars carried on among the Indian nations. In the dedication to Anthony Henley, Eſq. Mr. Dennis owns himſelf to be indebted to that gentleman for "the happy hint upon which it was "formed (*n*)." That part of the plot which relates to Sakia's huſband is, indeed, well conducted; and, in particular, the diſcovery of him in Frontenac, at the concluſion of the piece, is equally unexpected and intereſting; but, on the whole, we have not read the play with much pleaſure. Upon the ſtage, it was by far the moſt ſucceſsful of all our author's dramatic productions; having been repreſented many times at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, with very great applauſe (*o*). This was probably owing, in a conſiderable degree, not to its own merit, but to the abuſe which is plentifully ſcattered through it upon the French nation; an abuſe, that during a ſeaſon of war, and in the enthuſiaſm of the moment, might be congenial to the feelings of the auditory; but which never was proper, and now appears ridiculous. Strange things are related of the conſequence which Mr. Dennis aſſumed to himſelf from his tragedy. The ſeverity of the ſtrokes againſt the French he imagined could never be forgiven, and conſequently, that Louis the Fourteenth would not conſent to a peace with England, unleſs he was delivered up a ſacrifice to national reſentment. Nay, ſo far did he carry this apprehenſion, that when the Congreſs for the Peace at Utrecht was in agitation, he waited on the Duke of Marlborough, who had formerly been his patron, to entreat his intereſt with the plenipotentiaries, that they ſhould not conſent to his being given up. With great gravity the Duke informed him, that he was ſorry it was out of his power to ſerve him, as at that time he had no connection with the miniſtry. His Grace added, that he fancied his caſe not to be quite ſo deſperate as he ſeemed to imagine; for that, indeed, he had taken no care to get *himſelf* excepted in the articles of peace; and yet he could not help thinking that he had done the French *almoſt* as much damage as even Mr. Dennis had done. Another inſtance of our Author's terror, ariſing from his ſelf-importance on the ſame account, is related as follows. Having been invited down to a gentleman's houſe on the coaſt of Suſſex, where he was very kindly entertained, as he was walking one day near the beach, he ſaw a ſhip ſailing, as he imagined, towards him. Upon this, ſuppoſing that he was betrayed, he immediately made the beſt of his way to London, without even taking leave of his hoſt, whom he believed to have been concerned in the plot againſt him, and to have decoyed him to his houſe, with no other view than to give notice to the French, who had fitted out a veſſel on purpoſe to carry him off, if he had not luckily diſcovered their deſign (*p*). This ſtory has been told ſomewhat differently by different writers (*q*); and indeed we are far from paying it an entire credit. If there be any truth in it, that truth we believe to be mixed with no ſmall degree of exaggeration.

(*n*) Dennis's Select Works, Vol. II. p. 101.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 188. Jacob's Poetical Regiſter, vol. I. p. 68 Dennis's Select Works, vol. II. p. 107 —196.

(*p*) Biographia Dramatica, ubi ſupra. p 189. Biographia Britannica, vol VII. firſt edit. Supl. p. 40.

(*q*) Swift's Works, vol. XII. p. 246. 24mo. edit.

Mr. Dennis's next dramatic attempt was in a comedy, entitled, "Gibraltar, or the "Spaniſh Adventure;" and which was performed in 1705, at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane; but without ſucceſs. On the firſt night of repreſentation the actors exerted their abilities to the utmoſt for the ſupport of the play; but being unfavourably received by the audience, they remitted their diligence on the ſecond night, and the piece was condemned. The ſcene of the comedy is laid in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar (*r*).

(*r*) Biographia Dramatica, ubi ſupra, p. 136.

"Orpheus and Euridice," a maſque, which was produced by our author in 1707, does not appear to have been acted. It is printed in the "Muſe's Mercury," for the month of February in that year (*s*).

(*s*) Ibid. p. 268.

In 1709, Mr. Dennis brought upon the ſtage, at Drury Lane, "Appius and Vir-"ginia," a tragedy; which, though not damned, was not remarkably ſucceſsful. The character of Appius is extravagantly drawn, and the ſentiments and language delivered by him are often highly bombaſtic. On the whole, we have not read this play with much approbation. The following lines, ſpoken by Virginia, when ſhe is urged by Icilius to bear a part in the propoſed aſſaſſination of Appius, have pleaſed us more than any others in the tragedy:

'The Gods of every virtue are poſſeſs'd;
'Tis the poſſeſſing all which makes them Gods.
Not ſo are mortals, but from Heaven derive
Thoſe, which at firſt the forming hand of Jove
Fitted their earthly organs to receive.
Thus man in power and intrepidity,
And great revenge, the image is of Heaven;
Woman in ſoft compaſſion, and in mercy.
The nobler Virtues I admire and love,
Which ſhine ſo bright in my Icilius' ſoul;
But humbly am content to practiſe thoſe
Which fit the ſoftneſs of my ſex and temper (*t*).'

(*t*) Dennis's Select Works, vol. II. p. 224.

Our author, for the advantage of this play, had invented a new ſpecies of thunder, which was approved of by the actors, and is the very ſort that at preſent is uſed in the theatre. The tragedy, however, was coldly received notwithſtanding ſuch aſſiſtance, and was acted but a ſhort time. Some nights after, Mr. Dennis being in the pit, at the repreſentation of Macbeth, heard his own thunder made uſe of; upon which he roſe in a violent paſſion, and exclaimed, with an oath, that it was his thunder. "See," ſaid he, "how theſe raſcals uſe me! They will not let my play run; and yet they ſteal my "thunder (*u*)!"

(*u*) Biographia Dramatica, ubi ſupra, p. 19.

Our Author's laſt production in the dramatic way, was, "Coriolanus, the Invader of "his country; or, The Fatal Reſentment;" a tragedy. It is an alteration of Shakeſpeare's Coriolanus; and was brought upon the ſtage at Drury Lane, in the year 1720. After it had been repreſented three nights, the managers, Wilks, Cibber, and Booth, who were not ſatisfied with the profits derived from it, to the aſtoniſhment and indignation of Mr. Dennis, gave out another play for the next evening. Upon this he publiſhed his tragedy, with a flaming dedication to the Duke of Newcaſtle, at that time Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's houſehold; in which he has given full ſcope to his reſentment againſt the Patentees, and eſpecially againſt Mr. Cibber. The laſt gentleman, inſtead of taking the Author's Epilogue, had ſubſtituted one of his own, which was ſpoken by Mrs. Oldfield. This was an additional cauſe of offence to our poet, who, in an advertiſement, has repreſented it as a wretched medley of impudence and nonſenſe; and, indeed, it does not appear to be entitled to commendation. As Dennis's Dedication to the Duke of Newcaſtle ſtrongly diſplays the temper of the man, and relates to an intereſting circumſtance in his literary life, we ſhall give the greateſt part of it in a note (*B*). Perhaps, too, it may afford ſome hints that might not be altogether uſeleſs to Lord

[*B*] *We ſhall give the greateſt part of it in a note.*]

'My Lord,

'I TAKE the liberty to dedicate to your Grace '"The Invader of his Country," which is the Co-'riolanus of Shakeſpeare, altered by me. And I have 'preſumed to do this without aſking your leave, be-'cauſe this is a dedication of an extraordinary nature, 'and an application to your Grace for juſtice, in a 'cauſe that is determinable by your Grace alone, by 'virtue of your office; as all cauſes of the like na-'ture, ever ſince I could remember, have been de-'cided in the laſt appeal by your Grace's predeceſ-'ſors.

'My Lord, Coriolanus throws himſelf at your 'Grace's feet, in order to obtain juſtice of you, after 'having received as injurious treatment from the 'petulant deportment of two or three inſolent players, 'as ever he formerly did at Rome from the brutal 'rage of the rabble. He has been baniſhed from 'our theatre by the one, through a miſtaken gree-'dineſs of gain, as the other formerly expelled him 'from Rome through a groundleſs jealouſy of power.

'My Lord, when I tell the world that Coriolanus 'has been unjuſtly baniſhed from our theatre by two 'or three inſolent players, I am ſure all thoſe will be 'apt to believe me, who will reflect with indigna-'tion and diſdain, that that Roman is not the firſt 'Nobleman whom they have audaciouſly dared to ex-'clude from thence. And I hope this provoking re-'flection will oblige your Grace to vindicate your

'own

Lord Chamberlains, writers, and actors. Upon a review of Mr. Denham's productions for

'own juſt right, and the Crown's undoubted prero-
'rogative.

'If the concern which I have in this cauſe were the
'only thing in queſtion, I ſhould make a conſcience
'of giving your Grace any trouble about it. But,
'my Lord, it is a cauſe of far more extenſive and
'more important conſequence. It is the noble cauſe
'of your country, in which your Grace has been ſo
'active and ſo ſucceſsful, and in which this play was
'altered: it is the cauſe of Dramatic Poetry, the
'cauſe of the Britiſh Muſes, and of all thoſe whom
'they vouchſafe to inſpire. It is your Grace who is
'to determine whether theſe ſhall flouriſh for the fu-
'ture, and do honour to Great Britain, and conſe-
'quently to augment, in ſome meaſure, the intereſt
'and power of your country; or whether the beſt
'profeſſors of the nobleſt art, and the art itſelf, muſt
'die. It is your Grace who is to determine, whe-
'ther gentlemen who have great capacities, who have
'had the moſt generous education, who have all their
'lives had the beſt and the nobleſt deſigns for the ſer-
'vice of their country, and the inſtruction of man-
'kind, ſhall have their worthy labours ſupported
'and rendered effectual to the great ends for which
'they intended them; or whether they muſt all be
'ſacrificed to two or three inſolent actors, who have
'no capacity, who have had no education, who have
'not the leaſt concern for their country, who have
'nothing in their heads or in their hearts but low
'thoughts, and ſordid deſigns; and yet at the ſame
'time have ſo much pride, and ſo much inſupportable
'inſolence, as to dare to fly in the face of the greateſt
'perſons in England.

'I will now lay the matter of fact before your
'Grace, by which I believe you will very eaſily diſ-
'cern, that there was a conſpiracy from the begin-
'ning, between the three members of this ſeparate
'miniſtry, as they are pleaſed to call themſelves, for
'the deſtruction of this play. They were engaged
'to act it the laſt winter, by their words ſolemnly
'given, and the acting of it then had been moſt ſea-
'ſonable, when the nation was in the uneaſy expec-
'tation of a double invaſion, from Sweden on the
'North, and from Spain on the Weſt of England.
'Inſtead of keeping their words with me; they poſt-
'poned a play, that was writ in the cauſe of their
'country—in the cauſe of their Sovereign, whoſe
'ſervants as well as ſubjects they call themſelves, for
'the moſt abſurd and inſipid trifles that ever came
'upon any ſtage. They began the winter with
'preaching up adultery to the town by the mouth of
'a dramatic prieſt. They ended it much after the
'rate at which they began it, by teaching ladies how
'they may cuckold their huſbands without the appre-
'henſion of a diſcovery; as if any licence, or any
'patent, would bear theſe people out in debauching
'the people, or as if ſuch a practice were not ſuffi-
'cient to diſannul any patent. My Lord, in the be-
'ginning of this winter they began to rehearſe the
'Play; after they had diſpoſed ſome of the comick
'parts to perſons who were wholly unfit for them;
'and maimed two of the principal tragick ſcenes to
'that degree, that I could hardly know them. After
'about five weeks rehearſal, the tenth of November
'was fixed for the acting the play. I could not pre-
'vail with them to put it off for a week longer, not-
'withſtanding it was moſt apparently their intereſt
'more than mine; becauſe there was a daily expec-
'tation of the King's arrival. My Lord, when the
'tenth of November came, theſe three religious per-
'ſons were, to the wonder of all that heard of it, at-
'tacked with ſcruples of conſcience: they were in-
'formed that it was the third day of a young author
'at the other houſe, and it would be cruel, it would
'be barbarous, to have my firſt day upon the other's
'third. Thus did theſe good-natured gentlemen take
'an occaſion from a pretended tenderneſs to exerciſe
'a real barbarity. My Lord, I was very eaſily pre-
'vailed with to put off the play; but little thought,
'at the ſame time, that they deſigned to put it off for
'a day only. I was very much ſuprized when I found
'by the bills, that the play was to be acted the very
'next day, and that conſequently Friday was to be
'my third day. Now, my Lord, Friday is not only
'the very worſt day of the week for an audience, but
'this was that particular Friday, when a hundred per-
'ſons, who deſigned to be there, were either gone to
'meet the King, or preparing here in town to do that
'duty which was expected from them at his arri-
'val.

'Thus, my Lord, did theſe good, humane, tender-
'hearted managers, take an occaſion to exerciſe a real
'barbarity upon their old acquaintance, to whom they
'and their ſtage are more ob'iged than to any writer
'in England, from a pretended tenderneſs to one who
'is a mere ſtranger to them, and from whoſe ſucceſs
'they could expect nothing but the leſſening of their
'gain. My Lord, the play was acted on Wedneſday
'the 11th, to an audience of near an hundred pounds,
'for ſo much they owned to me. It was favourably
'received by the audience. There did ſome malice
'appear twice; but it was immediately drowned by
'the utmoſt clamours of applauſe. On Thurſday the
'play was acted again, to an audience of between
'fifty and threeſcore pounds; and on Friday to an
'audience of between ſixty and ſeventy pounds.
'Conſidering the diſadvantages under which we lay,
'here were fair hopes for the future. And on Fri-
'day, after the play was done, theſe tender-hearted
'managers cauſed another to be given out, to the
'aſtoniſhment of the audience, the diſappointment of
'thoſe who had reſerved themſelves for the ſixth day,
'and the retrenching three parts in four of my profits;
'and this, contrary to an ancient rule, which has
'been always obſerved till now, by thoſe who have
'at any time had the government of a playhouſe; and
'that is, never to give over a new play which is fa-
'vourably received by an audience as long as it brings
'charges. And, my Lord, nothing can be more
'reaſonable and equitable than the obſervation of
'this rule. For ſince the Poet ventures his intereſt in
'his play, which is ſometimes his all, and his repu-
'tation into the bargain, which is his hope of future
'gain, can any thing be more juſt, than that the maſ-
'ters or managers of a play-houſe ſhould venture
'their gain upon a probable proſpect of future profit,
'the loſs of which for two or three nights they will
'hardly feel, rather than by laying down a play
'abruptly, abſolutely ruin the author, who perhaps
'has done his part to pleaſe.

'Now, my Lord, I appeal to your Grace, if here
'was not a fair proſpect of ſucceſs for the future. The
'play had been acted three nights together, to a hun-
'dred, to ſixty, and to ſeventy pounds. The play
'was received the firſt night with applauſe; the King,
'and the Court, and the Parliament, were all com-
'ing to town. But notwithſtanding all our reaſon-
'able expectation, the managers gave out another
'play, inſolently declarin , that no play was worth
'their acting any longer than it brings a hundred
'pounds. Now, my Lord, they cannot but know
'that ſeveral plays which have been but indifferently
'followed the firſt days, have afterwards come to be
'admired plays, and to bring crowded audiences.
'The beſt play which can be writ by an author who
'has not a cabal, will hardly bring an hundred
'pounds upon the ſecond and fourth nights; and the
'worſt that can be writ by a poetaſter who has a cabal,
'may do a great deal more. As long as the publick
'taſte is ſo vitiated as it is at preſent, bad plays are
'like to be more crowded than good ones. So that,
'by their own declaration, as long as theſe perſons
'have the management of the play-houſe, there can
'be no improvement of the publick taſte: good wri-
'ters are ſure to be diſcouraged, and the art of the
'Drama, in a little time, is certain to be loſt; and
'the art of writing is ſure to be followed by the art
'of acting. For great actors are not to be made but
'by original parts; and as it is an eterna', general
'rule, that a copy has neither the free ſpirit nor eaſy
'grace of an original, ſo the copy of a copy is ſtill
'more faint, and the ſeveral ſucceeding copies grow
'weaker ſtill the further they deſcend from the origi-
'nal, till all life and all reſemblance comes at laſt to
'be loſt. But if any one happens to object to him,
'that when a young man who has a talent for acting

'comes

for the theatre, we cannot ſpeak favourably of his dramatic abilities. That he had a very high opinion of his own talents in this reſpect, is apparent from many paſſages in his works, and particularly from his ſeveral dedications. In the tranſcript below, he aſſerts that the managers and their ſtage were more obliged to him than to any writer in England. Not only theſe managers, but the world in general entertained a different opinion. We cannot, however, help thinking that the following repreſentation of him, in the Biographia Dramatica, is ſomewhat too ſevere. 'As a dramatic author,' ſays his Biographer in that work, 'He certainly deſerves not to be held in any conſideration. 'His plots, excepting that of his "Plot and no Plot," which is a political play, are 'all borrowed; yet, in the general, not ill-choſen. But his characters are ill-deſigned 'and unfiniſhed; his language proſaical, flat, and undramatic; and the conduct of his 'principal ſcenes heavy, dull, and unimpaſſioned. In ſhort, though he certainly had 'judgment, it is evident he had no execution; and ſo much better a critic is he than 'dramatiſt, that I cannot help ſubſcribing to the opinion of a gentleman, who ſaid of 'him, that he was the moſt compleat inſtructor for a dramatic poet; ſince he could 'teach him to diſtinguiſh *good* plays by his *precepts*, and *bad* ones by his *examples* (*w*).' In this cenſure it is forgotten, that the plot of "Liberty aſſerted" appears to have been an original one; and it might have been added, that heavineſs is not always the characteriſtic of Mr. Dennis's language. There is, likewiſe, a circumſtance in his favour, which is, that he wiſhed to baniſh from the ſtage the practice of making love alone the object of theatrical repreſentation. Accordingly, while he has not excluded it from his performances, he has rendered it ſubordinate to nobler paſſions. In "Rinaldo," it gives place to glory; in "Iphigenia," to Friendſhip; and in "Liberty aſſerted," to the public good (*x*).

(*w*) Biographia Dramatica, vol. I. p. 124, 125.

(*x*) Jacob's Poetical Regiſter, vol. I. p. 63.

Before we proceed to conſider Mr. Dennis as a political writer, we ſhall advert to a few circumſtances relative to his private life. We have ſeen that he derived ſome fortune from an uncle; but that was probably ſpent in a little time. As he wrote for Government when the Whigs were in power, and was patronized by Lord Halifax, there can be no doubt but that he occaſionally received pecuniary gratifications, either from the bounty or through the intereſt of that nobleman. For his poem on the battle of Blenheim the Duke of Marlborough rewarded him with a preſent of a hundred guineas. But, previouſly to the writing of that poem, he had experienced his Grace's patronage in a much more important inſtance; for the Duke had procured for him the place of a waiter at the Cuſtom-houſe, worth a hundred and twenty pounds a year. This office he held for ſix years; during which he lived ſo extravagantly, and managed his affairs with ſo little diſcretion, that, in order to diſcharge ſome preſſing demands, he was obliged to diſpoſe of his waiterſhip. The Earl of Halifax, having heard of his deſign, ſent for him, and, in the moſt friendly manner, expoſtulated with him upon the folly and raſhneſs of diſpoſing of his place, by which his Lordſhip told him that he would ſoon become a beggar. In reply, our author repreſented the exigencies to which he was reduced, and the importunate nature of the demands that were made upon him. The Earl, however, inſiſted, that, if he muſt ſell his place, he ſhould reſerve to himſelf an annuity out of it for a conſiderable term of years; ſuch a term as his Lordſhip thought Mr. Dennis was not likely to ſurvive. Nevertheleſs, he did outlive it; and was

'comes to act a part of which he has ſeen neither 'the copying nor original actor, that part is to him 'an original one. To him I anſwer, that moſt of our 'poets having had either the addreſs or the weakneſs, 'I leave it to your Grace to determine which, to 'write to the manners and the talents of ſome parti-'cular actors, it ſeems to me to be abſolutely im-'poſſible, with ſubmiſſion to your Grace's judgment, 'that any actor can become an admirable original, 'by playing a part which was writ and deſigned for 'another man's particular talent.

'Thus have I laid before your Grace the reaſons 'why the conduct of the preſent managers muſt de-'ſtroy the very ſpecies of dramatick poets and players. 'And theſe reaſons, which I hope are clear in them-'ſelves, are confirmed by infallible experience: it 'being evident from fact, that all our principal dra-'matick poets and players have been formed while 'our theatres were under the Lord Chamberlain's 'regulation; and that both writing and acting have 'gradually fallen off ſince the players have pretended 'to exclude him from his juriſdiction over them. 'And, my Lord, it is a melancholy thing to con-'ſider, that there is not at preſent in Great Britain 'one promiſing genius, or promiſing actor, growing 'up for the ſtage.

'As every branch of poetry in England muſt fall 'with the dramatic, there being here no conſtant 'viſible encouragement for poets, but what is derived 'from the ſtage, I appeal to your Grace, whether it 'is worth while to turn poetry, which is the nobleſt, 'and perhaps the only original branch of the Britiſh 'learning, out of the nation, only to advance the 'lucre of three actors.

'Thus, my Lord, have I laid this cauſe before 'your Grace; not without flattering myſelf, that I 'have fully made it appear to you, that I have been 'uſed with extreme injuſtice by the managers of the 'play-houſe. Before this play came upon the ſtage, 'it had the approbation of ſome of the very beſt judges 'in England, who are ſo, and are univerſally acknow-'ledged to be ſo, and who are too exalted both by 'their high ſtations, and the greatneſs of their minds, 'to ſay a thing to me, which they did not think. I 'have had this play long enough by me to form as 'true and as ſure a judgment of it myſelf as any one 'can do who underſtands poetical matters no better 'than myſelf. And as a man who is oppreſſed is 'allowed to ſpeak truth in his own behalf, I humbly 'conceive, that nothing comparable to it has been 'produced at the theatre in Drury-Lane, ſince theſe 'people had the management of it, not excepting 'Mr. Cibber's "Heroick Daughter," who, for aught I 'know, may be more heroic than the daughter of 'Corneille; but there is this remarkable difference 'between them, that Corneille's is beautiful and ſpi-'rited, and Mr. Cibber's ugly and inſipid (*z*).'

(*z*) Dennis's Select Works, vol. I. Dedication to Coriolanus.

exposed in his old age to the distresses of great poverty (*y*). To the kindness of the Earl of Halifax, in the affair of the annuity, our Author refers in the dedication of his poem on the Battle of Ramillies, in which he says, 'I have lately had very great obligations to your Lordship. You have been pleased to take some care of my fortune at a time when I most wanted it, and had least reason to expect it from you (*z*).' With such a disposition as Mr. Dennis possessed, it is not surprizing that he was often liable to arrests from his creditors. An instance of Sir Richard Steele's friendship to him in this respect he is said to have ill-repaid. Sir Richard, if the story be true, once became bail for him, and afterwards was arrested on his account; but, when he heard of it, he only exclaimed, "'Sdeath! why did he not keep out of the way, as I did (*a*)?" In the latter part of our poet's life, he resided within the verge of the Court, for the security of his person. However, one Saturday night, he happened to saunter to a public-house, which, in a short time, he discovered to be out of the Verge. As he was sitting in an open drinking-room, a man of a suspicious appearance entered, about whom Mr. Dennis imagined there was something that denoted him to be a bailiff. Being seized with a panic, he was afraid that his liberty was now at an end, and sat in the utmost solicitude; but durst not offer to stir, lest he should be seized upon. After an hour or two had passed in this painful anxiety, at last the clock struck twelve; when Mr. Dennis, addressing himself to the suspected person, cried out in an extacy, "Now, Sir, Bailiff "or no Bailiff, I don't care a farthing for you—you have no power now." The man was astonished at his behaviour; and, when it was explained to him, was so much affronted with the suspicion, that, had not our Author been protected by his age, he would probably have smarted for his mistaken opinion (*b*). Such are the distresses and terrours to which imprudence and extravagance are liable.

(*y*) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. IV. p. 216, 217. Biographia Dramatica, Vol. I. p. 123.

(*z*) Dennis's Select Works, Vol. I. p. 227.

(*a*) Cibber, ubi supra.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 234, 235.

On Mr. Dennis's character as a political writer it is not necessary to enlarge. It is probable that, in this capacity, he may have been the author of several tracts, which are now forgotten, and with regard to which there would be no utility in endeavouring to rescue them from oblivion. In his select works are inserted the productions of this kind which he himself thought of the most consequence, and the most worthy of preservation; and of these we shall take some slight notice. The first of them was published in 1702, and is an answer to a discourse of the famous, or rather infamous, Henry Sacheverell, called, "The Political Union." Mr. Dennis's piece is entituled, "Priestcraft "Dangerous to Religion and Government;" and is a candid and moderate defence of Low-church principles and of toleration. Sacheverell's Discourse afforded an ample foretaste of that violent and factious spirit which afterwards occasioned so much disturbance in the kingdom. The Low-churchmen he distinguishes by the appellations of "False and "Perfidious Members, Shuffling Teachers, Latitudinarians, Sots and Bigots, Apostates "and Renegadoes, False Traitors, Crafty, Faithless, Insidious Persons;" while the terms he bestows on the Dissenters are, "Villains, Swarms of Sectaries, Robbers, Vipers, "Boars, Beasts, Devils, Traitors, Bastard Spawn of a Popish Party, Propagators of "Schism, Pandars of a cursed Train, and Sharers in Villainy and Rebellion (*c*)." It is to the honour of the present times, that bigotry, though sufficiently active in many a breast, and often accompanied with no small degree of malignity, does not now descend to such illiberal and reproachful language.

(*c*) Dennis's Select Remarks, Vol. I. p. 357—380. p. 567.

In 1703, Mr. Dennis printed "A Proposal for putting a speedy End to the War, by "ruining the Commerce of the French and Spaniards, and securing our own, without "any additional Expence to the Nation (*d*)." The scheme was, to form such a junction of the English and Dutch Fleets, and such a combination and disposition of a large number of smaller armed vessels, as should effectually carry into execution the purpose intended. Our Author has explained his project with sufficient ingenuity; but, like many other projects, which voluntary politicians have been so ready to contrive for the public good, it met with no degree of regard. Indeed, the views and measures of the then subsisting ministry were more directed to exertions by land than at sea.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 381—405.

Mr. Dennis, in 1711, produced "An Essay upon Public Spirit; being a Satire, in "Prose, upon the Manners and Luxury of the Times, the chief Sources of our present "Parties and Divisions (*e*)." The definition given of public Spirit is, that it is "the "ardent love of one's country, affecting us with a zealous concern for its honour and "interest, and inspiring us with resolution and courage to promote its service and glory." Our Author has justly called his essay a satire in prose; for it is a violent and not very judicious declamation against the vices of his own age, in contrast with the virtues of our remote ancestors. It is pleasant to observe with what zeal he expresses himself in praise of frugality and œconomy, to which he paid so little regard in his own person. We think, however, that we discover in his tract the signatures of upright and benevolent intention, though mixed with too much severity.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 406—443.

The last production of Mr. Dennis's, which we have to mention under the present department of our article, appeared in the beginning of King George the First's reign, and is entituled, "Priestcraft distinguished from Christianity (*f*)." This, perhaps, may rather be considered as a theological than a political work. Our Author displays in it a very

(*f*) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 371—414.

very conſiderable knowledge of Divinity, as it was then explained, and as it ſtill continues to be underſtood by the majority of believers. His views of the general nature and deſign of Chriſtianity are rational and manly. 'Charity,' ſays he, 'being the only 'Virtue that reigns in Heaven, he who has not been habituated to it on Earth, would go 'thither like a ſtranger to a remote country, whoſe language and cuſtoms are both un-'known to him, and entirely different from his own; and where by conſequence he 'could neither keep any company, nor find any pleaſure.' The Diſcourſe is ſo far of a political nature, as it was principally intended to expoſe thoſe high claims of Churchmen, and thoſe arbitrary principles of government, which were hoſtile to the ſpirit of toleration, to the cauſe of liberty, and the intereſts of the Houſe of Hanover.

We are now to conſider Mr. Dennis in his critical capacity, in which he ſo frequently exerted himſelf, that he came to be called the Critic, by way of diſtinction. For ſuſtaining this character he was well qualified by his Knowledge, Learning, and Judgment. He maintained it, likewiſe, with conſiderable reputation for ſome time; but the misfortune was, that, at length, he diſplayed his talents in this view with ſo much ſeverity (we had almoſt ſaid malignity), and againſt men of ſuch eminence and ſuperiority, that they ſucceeded in reducing him to a low degree of eſtimation with the publick. It was early that our Author began to ſhew his critical abilities. The firſt public proof of them of which we have any information, was exhibited in his Obſervations on Blackmore's Prince Arthur; the third edition of which poem was printed in 1696. Mr. Dennis had here, without doubt, ſufficient ſcope for a variety of ſtrictures; but what was particularly advanced by him we are not able to ſay, as both the poem and the criticiſm are now buried in oblivion. That he did not tranſgreſs the bounds of good manners in his remarks, is probable from his afterwards correſponding with Sir Richard Blackmore on very friendly terms (*g*).

(*g*) Dennis's Original Letters, familiar, moral, and critical, Vol. I. p. 1—12. p. 154—158. Vol. II. p. 461

In the year 1696 or 1697, he publiſhed "Letters upon ſeveral Occaſions." Theſe Letters were written partly by himſelf, and partly by Mr. Dryden, Mr. Wycherley, Mr. Moyle, and Mr. Congreve. The ſubjects of them are in ſome degree miſcellaneous; but chiefly critical; and, among other things, they contain Mr. Congreve's Obſervations concerning Humour in Comedy (*h*). It is proper to take notice, that this was not a ſurreptitious publication; but appeared with the conſent of the gentlemen concerned (*i*). A very high opinion of our Author was at this time entertained by Dryden and Congreve. In 1701, he gave to the public a critical diſcourſe, entituled, "The Advancement and Reformation of modern Poetry." This tract is divided into two parts; the deſign of the firſt of which is to ſhew, that the principal reaſon why the ancients excelled the moderns in the greater poetry, was, becauſe they mixed Religion with Poetry. In the ſecond, Mr. Dennis endeavours to prove, that by joining Poetry with the Religion revealed to us in Sacred Writ, the modern poets might equal the ancient. Whether he has entirely ſucceeded in the poſitions he maintains may, perhaps, be doubtful. But it muſt, at the ſame time, be acknowledged that he has ſupported them with ingenuity and ability, and that his performance is the reſult of much ſtudy and reflection.

(*h*) Dennis's Select Works, Vol. II. p. 487—543.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 480.

In the beginning of the year 1704, our Author diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an antagoniſt of the famous Jeremy Collier. That gentleman had made his firſt attack upon the ſtage in 1698; but, upon occaſion of the great ſtorm which happened on the 27th of November, 1703, he renewed his attack, in a pamphlet, intituled, "A Diſſuaſive from the "Play-houſe; written by way of Letter to a Perſon of Quality." The deſign of this piece was to repreſent the tempeſt as a judgment upon the nation for the enormities of the theatre (*k*). A ſentiment ſo extravagant and ſuperſtitious excited Mr. Dennis's indignation, and produced from him "The Perſon of Quality's Anſwer to Mr. Collier's "Letter: containing a Defence of a regulated Stage." This tract is ironical; in which mode of writing our critic has not been remarkably ſucceſsful. Several things, however, are advanced by him that are ſenſible and ſpirited; and he has had the prudence to confine himſelf to the vindication of a theatre under proper regulations; freely giving up the licentiouſneſs and profaneneſs by which it had formerly been ſo greatly diſhonoured (*l*).

(*k*) Letters, familiar, moral, and critical, p. 225, 226.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 228—279.

In 1706, our Author publiſhed "An Eſſay on the Operas, after the Italian manner, "which are about to be eſtabliſhed on the Engliſh Stage: with ſome Reflections on the "Damage which they may bring to the Public." Mr. Cibber aſſerts, that Mr. Dennis, in this Eſſay, has ſhewn, with an irreſiſtible force, the extreme danger that a generous nation is expoſed to, by too much indulging effeminate muſic (*m*). Undoubtedly, he has advanced many ſtrong and important ſentiments upon the ſubject; but, on the whole, he has, in our opinion, carried the matter too far. His violent declamation againſt operas and muſic is not ſufficiently juſtified by reaſon and experience. Such declamation was partly the faſhion of the moſt eminent writers of the time; and they had ſome cauſe for reſentment, in the cold reception that had been given to more valuable and manly performances. Our Author declares, however, in his preface, that his Treatiſe is only levelled againſt thoſe operas which are entirely muſical; ſince thoſe which

(*m*) Lives of the Poets, Vol. IV. p. 223.

which are dramatical may be partly defended by the examples of the ancients. In the poſtſcript, he celebrates, with great exultation, and in the higheſt ſtrains of panegyric, the conduct of a young lady of the firſt quality, equally famous for her beauty, her ſpirit, and her virtue, who, to the glory of her own ſex, and the ſhame of ours, had lately given very ſtrict orders, that the Julius Cæſar of Shakſpeare, which was acted at her requeſt, ſhould be done without any performance either of ſinging or dancing. This Lady appears to have been one of the daughters of the Duke of Marlborough (*n*).

(*n*) Dennis's Select Works, Vol. I. p. 444—471.

Another of Mr. Dennis's critical publications, the exact time of the firſt edition of which we are not able to aſcertain, but which is preſerved in his Select Works, was, "The Grounds of Criticiſm in Poetry (*o*)." This tract is evidently a proſecution of the ſentiments which he had maintained in his "Advancement and Reformation of modern "Poetry," and is entitled to conſiderable praiſe in the ſame view. The grand point he inſiſts upon is the immenſe ſcope which Religion affords for poetic excellence. Under the word Religion he includes the whole ſyſtem of ſupernatural machinery, the introduction of ſuperior beings, and all the noble fictions, ſentiments, addreſſes, and images, that may be derived from the knowledge of Revelation. That poets may hence be enabled to enrich their compoſitions in a very high degree, and that the deſcriptions of the Deity which are given in the Sacred Writings may be of peculiar advantage to them, cannot juſtly be denied. Epic poetry, unleſs it looks beyond the preſent world, and the mere ſcenes of human affairs, can never ſupport its true dignity.

(*o*) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 415—479.

In the beginning of the year 1711, our Author produced another tract, which added farther to his reputation—as a judicious critic; we mean, his three "Letters on the "Genius and Writings of Shakſpeare (*p*)." In theſe letters he has drawn the poetical character of our immortal Dramatiſt with ſagacity and judgment; and, in treating upon his learning, he has ſtrongly ſupported the ſame opinion which hath ſince ſo ably, and ſtill more deciſively, been maintained by Dr. Farmer.

(*p*) Dennis's Original Letters, Vol. II. p. 361—406.

Thus far Mr. Dennis purſued his critical enquiries, without giving any peculiar offence. He might, indeed, occaſionally deliver with freedom his ſentiments concerning the writings of his contemporaries, and in ſome few inſtances might expreſs himſelf with ſeverity. But ſtill he did not run into ſuch exceſſes as to get involved in any material perſonal controverſy. In the works already mentioned, the attack upon Mr. Collier excepted, he has ſtated his opinions with moderation and candour. But henceforward we muſt view him in another light.

It was in 1711, ſoon after the commencement of the Spectator, that he began his hoſtilities with Addiſon, Steele, and Pope. He imagined himſelf to be attacked ſo early as in the very ſecond or third number of that paper; and was particularly diſpleaſed with the thirty-ninth and fortieth numbers, in which a doctrine was advanced, with regard to poetical juſtice, very different from what he had always maintained. Accordingly, he addreſſed a letter to the Spectator on the ſubject, at the concluſion of which he ſays: "Thus—I have diſcuſſed the buſineſs of poetical juſtice, and ſhewn it to be "the foundation of all tragedy; and therefore whatever perſons, whether ancient or "modern, have written dialogues which they call tragedies, where this juſtice is not "obſerved, thoſe perſons have entertained and amuſed the world with romantic lamen-"table tales, inſtead of juſt tragedies, and of lawful fables (*q*)." That our critic was extremely anxious in ſupport of this point, is apparent from ſeveral other parts of his works. He has particularly inſiſted upon it in a letter to Sir Richard Blackmore (*r*) on the moral and concluſion of an epic poem; and it would be denying Mr. Dennis his juſt praiſe were we not to ſay, that he has conducted his argument with great ingenuity and ability. Indeed, his reaſoning ſeems better adapted to epic poetry than to tragedy; the latter of which could not always be reduced to the ſtrict rules of poetical juſtice without deſtroying ſome of the nobleſt ſubjects of theatric repreſentation. Nature and Shakſpeare declare againſt ſuch rigid laws of dramatic compoſition. 'Whatever pleaſure,' ſays Dr. Johnſon, 'there may be in ſeeing crimes puniſhed, and virtue rewarded, yet, ſince 'wickedneſs often proſpers in real life, the poet is certainly at liberty to give it proſ-'perity on the ſtage. For if poetry has an imitation of reality, how are its laws broken 'by exhibiting the world in its true form? The ſtage may ſometimes gratify our wiſhes; 'but, if it be truly the *mirror of life*, it ought to ſhew us ſometimes what we are to 'expect (*s*).'

(*q*) Ibid. p. 407—416.

(*r*) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 1—12.

(*s*) Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 393.

Another object which the Spectator afforded Mr. Dennis for the exerciſe of his critical ſkill, was preſented by the illuſtrations in the ſeventieth and ſeventy-fourth numbers of the famous old ballad of Chevy Chace. In theſe Illuſtrations Mr. Addiſon had exceeded the juſt bounds of encomium. It is not ſurprizing, therefore, that Mr. Dennis ſhould have the advantage over him; though the ſubject was ſcarcely important enough to deſerve an elaborate diſcuſſion of nearly thirty pages (*t*).

(*t*) Original Letters, ubi ſupra, Vol. I. p. 166—193.

A farther attack upon the Spectator was particularly levelled at Sir Richard Steele. That gentleman, it is ſaid, had promiſed our critic to take ſome opportunity of mentioning his works in publick with advantage, and thereby of promoting his reputation. It, however, unfortunately happened, that Mr. Addiſon, who, perhaps, knew nothing

of

of Sir Richard's engagement, quoted, in his paper upon Laughter, the two following lines, which he calls humourous and well-expreſſed, from Mr. Dennis's Tranſlation of a ſatire of Boileau's:

'Thus one fool lolls his tongue out at another,
'And ſhakes his empty noddle at his brother.'

Miſtaking this quotation for the performance of Sir Richard Steele's promiſe, our Author publiſhed a letter to the Spectator full of reſentment, and which ſtrongly marks the irritability of his diſpoſition. What particularly diſpleaſed him was, that ſome far ſuperior ſpecimen was not exhibited of his poetic excellence; and he pointed out a paſſage in his poem on the Battle of Ramillies, which he thinks might have been preferred to the forementioned couplet (*u*).

(*u*) Original Letters, Vol. II. p. 417—429. Cibber, ubi ſupra, p. 217—219.

Mr. Dennis's conteſt with the Spectator was ſpeedily followed by his attack upon Mr. Pope; occaſioned by the publication of the "Eſſay on Criticiſm." In that eſſay were the following lines, which our Author conſidered as having a reference to himſelf:

'Twere well might Critics ſtill this freedom take,
'But Appius reddens at each word you ſpeak:
'And ſtares tremendous with a threatening eye,
'Like ſome fierce tyrant in old tapeſtry.'

He imagined himſelf, likewiſe, to be ſtruck at in this couplet:

'Some have at firſt for Wits, then Poets paſt,
'Turned Critics next, and proved plain fools at laſt (*w*).'

(*w*) Engliſh Poets, Vol. XXXII. p. 115. p. 92.

Upon theſe provocations he wrote a pamphlet, of which Dr. Johnſon ſays, that it is ſuch as rage might be expected to dictate. In a few inſtances his ſtrictures were juſt; but in general his deſire to do miſchief was greater than his power. The only extenuation of the perſonal abuſe he threw out againſt Mr. Pope was his conviction of that Gentleman's having given the firſt offence. 'Thus,' obſerves Dr. Johnſon, 'began the 'hoſtility between Pope and Dennis, which, though ſuſpended for a ſhort time, never 'was appeaſed. Pope ſeems, at firſt, to have attacked him wantonly; but, though he 'always profeſſed to deſpiſe him, he diſcovers, by mentioning him very often, that he 'felt his force or his venom (*x*).'

(*x*) Lives of the Poets, Vol. IV. p. 16—19.

Not again to return to this quarrel, we ſhall here take notice, that Mr. Dennis afterward criticized ſeveral of Mr. Pope's other poems; but without ſucceſs. That hence a place ſhould be aſſigned to him in the "Dunciad," is no more than what might have been expected. In that poem he is thus introduced:

'She ſaw ſlow Philips creep like Tate's poor page,
'And all the mighty mad in Dennis' rage.'

And again,

'Ah, Dennis! Gildon, ah! what ill-ſtarr'd rage
'Divides a friendſhip long confirm'd by age?
'Blockheads with reaſon wicked Wits abhor,
'But Fool with Fool is barb'rous civil war.
'Embrace, embrace, my ſons! be foes no more!
'Nor glad vile Poets with true Critics' gore (*y*).'

(*y*) Cibber, ubi ſupra, p. 230, 231. Engliſh Poets, Vol. XXXIV. p. 87. 187.

Dennis endeavoured to retort upon his antagoniſt by writing againſt the "Rape of "the Lock." It was remarked by him, that the machinery is ſuperfluous; and that, by all the buſtle of preternatural operation, the main event is neither haſtened nor retarded. 'To this charge,' ſays Dr. Johnſon, 'an efficacious anſwer is not eaſily made. 'The Sylphs cannot be ſaid to help or to oppoſe; and it muſt be allowed to imply ſome 'want of art, that their power has not been ſufficiently intermingled with the action. 'Other parts may likewiſe be charged with want of connection (*z*).' But whatever faults either the ſagacity or the acrimony of Dennis could point out in the poem, they were not worthy of being mentioned in compariſon with its excellencies. Indeed, the opinion of the publick was already ſettled, and the "Rape of the Lock" was no longer at the mercy of criticiſm (*a*).

(*z*) Johnſon's Lives of the Poets, Vol. IV. p. 187, 188.

(*a*) Ibid. 27.

In the year 1713, Mr. Addiſon's Cato was produced upon the ſtage with a degree of applauſe which, we believe, was never before given to any dramatic compoſition. But though the play was acted in the cauſe of Whiggiſm, and Dennis himſelf was ſo zealous a Whig, he could not bear the ſucceſs with which it was attended. That in this he was actuated by perſonal animoſity, cannot be denied; ſince it is acknowledged by himſelf, in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham. In that letter, he declares that the motive which induced him to write his Remarks upon Cato was, his having been at-

tacked in ſeveral numbers of the Spectator (*b*). His principle of action we condemn; but the abilities with which he has executed his purpoſe are unqueſtionable. 'He 'found,' ſays Dr. Johnſon, 'and ſhewed many faults: he ſhewed them, indeed, with 'anger; but he found them with acuteneſs, ſuch as ought to reſcue his criticiſm from 'oblivion.' In conformity to ſo great an authority, we ſhall inſert the Doctor's account of it below [*C*]. Under this attack of Dennis, Addiſon thought proper to maintain an entire

(*b*) Original Letters, Vol. I. p. 55—57.

[*C*] *We ſhall inſert the Doctor's account of it below.*] It is as follows; with the omiſſion of a ſhort paſſage, already quoted, concerning poetical juſtice: 'A defe-'rence is to be paid to a general applauſe, when it 'appears that that applauſe is natural and ſpontaneous; 'but that little regard is to be had to it, when it is 'affected and artificial. Of all the tragedies which in 'his memory have had vaſt and violent runs, not one 'has been excellent; few have been tolerable; moſt 'have been ſcandalous. When a poet writes a tra-'gedy, who knows he has judgement, and who feels 'he has genius, that poet preſumes upon his own me-'rit, and ſcorns to make a cabal. That people come 'coolly to the repreſentation of ſuch a tragedy, with-'out any violent expectation, or deluſive imagination, 'or invincible prepoſſeſſion; that ſuch an audience is 'liable to receive the impreſſions which the poem 'ſhall naturally make in them, and to judge by their 'own reaſon and their own judgments, and that rea-'ſon and judgment are calm and ſerene, not formed 'by nature to make proſelytes, and to controul and 'lord it over the imaginations of others. But that 'when an author writes a tragedy, who knows he has 'neither genius nor judgment, he has recourſe to the 'making a party, and endeavours to make up in in-'duſtry what is wanting in talent, and to ſupply by 'poetical craft the abſence of poetical art: that ſuch 'an author is humbly contented to raiſe men's paſ-'ſions by a plot without doors, ſince he deſpairs of 'doing it by that which he brings upon the ſtage. 'That party and paſſion, and prepoſſeſſion, are cla-'morous and tumultuous things, and ſo much the 'more clamorous and tumultuous by how much the 'more erroneous: that they domineer and tyrannize 'over the imaginations of perſons who want judge-'ment, and ſometimes too of thoſe who have it; and, 'like a fierce outrageous torrent, bear down all op-'poſition before them.'

'He then condemns the neglect of poetical juſtice; which is always one of his favourite principles.'

''Tis certainly the duty of every tragick poet, by 'the exact diſtribution of poetical juſtice, to imitate 'the Divine Diſpenſation, and to inculcate a particu-'lar Providence. 'Tis true, indeed, upon the ſtage 'of the world, the wicked ſometimes proſper, and the 'guiltleſs ſuffer. But that is permitted by the Gover-'nor of the world, to ſhew, from the attribute of 'his infinite juſtice, that there is a compenſation in 'futurity, to prove the immortality of the human ſoul, 'and the certainty of future rewards and puniſhments. 'But the poetical perſons in tragedy exiſt no longer 'than the reading, or the repreſentation; the whole 'extent of their entity is circumſcribed by thoſe; and 'therefore, during that reading or repreſentation, 'according to their merits or demerits, they muſt be 'puniſhed or rewarded. If this is not done, there is 'no impartial diſtribution of poetical juſtice, no in-'ſtructive lecture of a particular Providence, and no 'imitation of the Divine Diſpenſation. And yet the 'author of this tragedy does not only run counter to 'this, in the fate of his principal character; but every 'where, throughout it, makes virtue ſuffer, and vice 'triumph: for not only Cato is vanquiſhed by Cæſar, 'but the treachery and perfidiouſneſs of Syphax pre-'vails over the honeſt ſimplicity and the credulity of 'Juba; and the ſly ſubtlety and diſſimulation of Por-'tius over the generous frankneſs and openheartedneſs 'of Marcus.'

'Dennis objects to the characters that they are not natural, or reaſonable; but as heroes and heroines are not beings that are ſeen every day, it is hard to find upon what principles their conduct ſhall be tried. It is, however, not uſeleſs to conſider what he ſays of the manner in which Cato receives the account of his ſon's death.'

'Nor is the grief of Cato, in the fourth act, one 'jot more in nature than that of his ſon and Lucia 'in the third. Cato receives the news of his ſon's 'death not only with dry eyes, but with a ſort of ſa-'tisfaction; and in the ſame page ſheds tears for the 'calamity of his country, and does the ſame thing in 'the next page upon the bare apprehenſion of the 'danger of his friends. Now, ſince the love of one's 'country is the love of one's countrymen, as I have 'ſhewn upon another occaſion, I deſire to aſk theſe 'queſtions: of all our countrymen, which do we love 'moſt, thoſe whom we know, or thoſe whom we 'know not? And of thoſe whom we know, which 'do we cheriſh moſt, our friends or our enemies? 'And of our friends, which are the deareſt to us, 'thoſe who are related to us, or thoſe who are not? 'And of all our relations, for which have we moſt 'tenderneſs, for thoſe who are near to us, or for thoſe 'who are remote? And of our near relations, which 'are the neareſt, and conſequently the deareſt to us, 'our offspring or others? Our offspring moſt cer-'tainly; as Nature, or in other words Providence, 'has wiſely contrived for the preſervation of mankind. 'Now, does it not follow, from what has been ſaid, 'that for a man to receive the news of his ſon's death 'with dry eyes, and to weep at the ſame time for the 'calamities of his country, is a wretched affectation, 'and a miſerable inconſiſtency? Is not that, in plain 'Engliſh, to receive with dry eyes the news of the 'deaths of thoſe for whoſe ſake our country is a name 'ſo dear to us, and at the ſame time to ſhed tears for 'thoſe for whoſe ſakes our country is not a name ſo 'dear to us?'

'But this formidable aſſailant is leaſt reſiſtible when 'he attacks the probability of the action, and the 'reaſonableneſs of the plan. Every critical reader 'muſt remark, that Addiſon has, with a ſcrupuloſity 'almoſt unexampled on the Engliſh ſtage, confined 'himſelf in time to a ſingle day, and in place to ri-'gorous unity. The ſcene never changes, and the 'whole action of the play paſſes in the great hall of 'Cato's houſe at Utica. Much therefore is done in 'the hall, for which any other place had been more 'fit; and this impropriety affords Dennis many hints 'of merriment, and opportunities of triumph. The 'paſſage is long: but as ſuch diſquiſitions are not com-'mon, and the objections are ſkilfully formed and 'vigorouſly urged, thoſe who delight in critical con-'troverſy will not think it tedious.

'Upon the departure of Portius, Sempronius makes 'but one ſoliloquy, and immediately in comes Syphax, 'and then the two politicians are at it immediately. 'They lay their heads together, with their ſnuff-'boxes in their hands, as Mr. Bays has it, and league 'it away. But in the midſt of that wiſe ſcene, Sy-'phax ſeems to give a ſeaſonable caution to Sem-'pronius:

'*Syph.* But is it true, Sempronius, that your ſenate
'Is call'd together? Gods! thou muſt be cautious,
'Cato has piercing eyes.

'There is a great deal of caution ſhewn, indeed, in 'meeting in a governor's own hall to carry on their 'plot againſt him. Whatever opinion they have of 'his eyes, I ſuppoſe they had none of his ears, or 'they would never have talked at this fooliſh rate ſo 'near:

—'Gods! thou muſt be cautious.

'Oh, yes! very cautious; for if Cato ſhould over-'hear you, and turn you off for politicians, Cæſar 'would never take you; no, Cæſar would never take 'you.

'When Cato, Act II. turns the ſenators out of the 'hall, upon pretence of acquainting Juba with the 'reſult of their debates, he appears to me to do a thing 'which is neither reaſonable nor civil. Juba might 'certainly have better been made acquainted with the 'reſult of that debate in ſome private apartment of the 'palace.

entire silence. Pope, however, was so much affected at the ill treatment of his friend, that he took upon him to avenge his cause; which he did in a pamphlet, entituled, "The

'palace. But the Poet was driven upon this absurdity 'to make way for another; and that is, to give Juba 'an opportunity to demand Marcia of her father. 'But the quarrel and rage of Juba and Syphax, in 'the same act, the invectives of Syphax against the 'Romans and Cato; the advice that he gives Juba, 'in her father's hall, to bear away Marcia by force; 'and his brutal and clamorous rage upon his refusal, 'and at a time when Cato was scarce out of sight, 'and perhaps not out of hearing; at least, some of his 'guards or domesticks must necessarily be supposed to 'be within hearing; is a thing that is so far from being 'probable, that it is hardly possible.

'Sempronius, in the second act, comes back once 'more in the same morning to the governor's hall, to 'carry on the conspiracy with Syphax against the 'governor, his country, and his family: which is so 'stupid, that it is below the wisdom of the O—'s, 'the Mac's, and the Teague's; even Eustace Com-'mins himself would never have gone to Justice-hall, 'to have conspired against the government. If of-'ficers at Portsmouth should lay their heads together, 'in order to the carrying off J— G—'s niece or 'daughter, would they meet in J— G—'s hall, to 'carry on that conspiracy? There would be no ne-'cessity for their meeting there, at least till they came 'to the execution of their plot, because there would 'be other places to meet in. There would be no 'probability that they should meet there, because there 'would be places more private and more commodious. 'Now there ought to be nothing in a tragical action 'but what is necessary or probable.

'But treason is not the only thing that is carried on 'in this hall: that and love, and philosophy, take 'their turns in it, without any manner of necessity or 'probability, occasioned by the action, as duly and 'as regularly, without interrupting one another, as 'if there were a triple league between them, and a 'mutual agreement that each should give place to and 'make way for the other, in a due and orderly suc-'cession.

'We come now to the third Act. Sempronius, in 'this act, comes into the governor's hall, with the 'leaders of the mutiny: but as soon as Cato is gone, 'Sempronius, who but just before had acted like an 'unparalleled knave, discovers himself, like an egre-'gious fool, to be an accomplice in the conspiracy.

'*Semp.* Know, villians, when such paltry slaves
'presume
'To mix in treason, if the plot succeeds,
'They 're thrown neglected by; but if it fails,
'They 're sure to die like dogs, as you shall do.
'Here, take these factious monsters, drag them
'forth
'To sudden death.—

'Tis true, indeed, the second leader says, there are 'none there but friends: but is that possible at such 'a juncture? Can a parcel of rogues attempt to as-'sassinate the governor of a town of war, in his own 'house, in mid-day, and after they are discovered 'and defeated, can there be none near them but 'friends? Is it not plain from these words of Sem-'pronius,

'Here, take these factious monsters, drag them forth
'To sudden death—

'and from the entrance of the guards upon the word 'of command, that those guards were within ear-shot? 'Behold Sempronius then palpably discovered. How 'comes it to pass, then, that, instead of being hanged 'up with the rest, he remains secure in the governor's 'hall, and there carries on his conspiracy against the 'government, the third time in the same day, with 'his old comrade Syphax? who enters at the same 'time that the guards are carrying away the leaders, 'big with the news of the defeat of Sempronius; 'though where he had his intelligence so soon is diffi-'cult to imagine. And now the reader may expect a 'very extraordinary scene: there is not abundance of 'spirit, indeed, nor a great deal of passion; but there 'is wisdom more than enough to supply all defects.

'*Syph.* Our first design, my friend, has prov'd
'abortive;
'Still there remains an after-game to play:
'My troops are mounted, their Numidian steeds
'Snuff up the winds, and long to scour the desart.
'Let but Sempronius lead us in our flight,
'We 'll force the gate, where Marcus keeps his
'guard,
'And hew down all that would oppose our passage;
'A day will bring us into Cæsar's camp.
'*Semp.* Confusion! I have fail'd of half my pur-
'pose;
'Marcia, the charming Marcia 's left behind.

'Well! but though he tells us the half-purpose that 'he has failed of, he does not tell us the half that he 'has carried. But what does he mean by

'Marcia, the charming Marcia's left behind?

'He is now in her own house; and we have neither 'seen her nor heard of her any where else since the 'play began. But now let us hear Syphax:

'What hinders then, but that thou find her out,
'And hurry her away by manly force?

'But what does old Syphax mean by finding her out? 'They talk as if she were as hard to be found as a hare 'in a frosty morning.

'*Semp.* But how to gain admission?

'Oh! she is found out then, it seems.

'But how to gain admission? for access
'Is giv'n to none, but Juba and her brothers.

'But, raillery apart, why access to Juba? For he 'was owned and received as a lover neither by the 'father nor by the daughter. Well! but let that pass. 'Syphax puts Sempronius out of pain immediately; 'and, being a Numidian, abounded in wiles, supplies 'him with a stratagem for admission, that, I believe, 'is a non-pareille:

'*Syph.* Thou shalt have Juba's dress, and Juba's
'guards;
'The doors will open, when Numidia's prince
'Seems to appear before them.

'Sempronius is, it seems, to pass for Juba in full day 'at Cato's house, where they were both so very well 'known, by having Juba's dress and his guards: as if 'one of the marshals of France could pass for the Duke 'of Bavaria, at noon-day, at Versailles, by having 'his dress and liveries. But how does Syphax pretend 'to help Sempronius to young Juba's dress? Does he 'serve him in a double capacity, as general and master 'of his wardrobe? But why Juba's guards? For the 'devil of any guards has Juba appeared with yet! 'Well! though this is a mighty politick invention, 'yet, methinks, they might have done without it; 'for, since the advice that Syphax gave to Sempro-'nius was,

'To hurry her away by manly force,

'In my opinion, the shortest and likeliest way of com-'ing at the lady was by demolishing, instead of putting 'on an impertinent disguise to circumvent two or three 'slaves. But Sempronius, it seems, is of another opinion. 'He extols to the skies the invention of old Syphax:

'*Sempr.* Heavens! what a thought was there!

'Now, I appeal to the reader, if I have not been as 'good as my word. Did I not tell him, that I would 'lay before him a very wise scene?

'But now let us lay before the reader that part of 'the scenery of the fourth act, which may shew the 'absurdities which the author has run into, through 'the indiscreet observance of the unity of place. I do 'not remember that Aristotle has said any thing ex-'pressly concerning the unity of place. 'Tis true, 'implicitly he has said enough in the rules which he 'has laid down for the chorus. For, by making the 'chorus an essential part of tragedy, and by bringing 'it on the stage immediately after the opening of the 'scene, and retaining it there till the very catastrophe,

'he

" The Narrative of Dr. Robert Norris, concerning the ſtrange and deplorable frenzy " of Mr. John Dennis, an officer in the cuſtom houſe (*c*)." It is a witty and laughable per-

' he has ſo determined and fixed the place of action, ' that it was impoſſible for an author on the Grecian ' ſtage to break through that unity. I am of opinion ' that if a modern tragic poet can preſerve the unity ' of place, without deſtroying the probability of the ' incidents, 'tis always beſt for him to do it, becauſe ' by the preſervation of that unity, as we have taken ' notice above, he adds grace, and cleanneſs, and ' comelineſs, to the repreſentation. But ſince there ' are no expreſs rules about it, and we are under no ' compulſion to keep it, ſince we have no chorus as ' the Grecian poet had; if it cannot be preſerved, ' without rendering the greater part of the incidents ' unreaſonable and abſurd, and perhaps ſometimes ' monſtrous, 'tis certainly better to break it.

' Now comes bully Sempronius, comically accou- ' tred and equipped with his Numidian dreſs and his ' Numidian guards. Let the reader attend to him ' with all his ears; for the words of the wiſe are pre- ' cious:

' *Semp.* The deer is lodg'd, I've track'd her to her
' covert.

' Now, I would fain know why this deer is ſaid to be ' lodged, ſince we have not heard one word ſince the ' play began of her being at all out of harbour: and, ' if we conſider the diſcourſe with which ſhe and Lucia ' begin the act, we have reaſon to believe that they ' had hardly been talking of ſuch matters in the ſtreet. ' However, to pleaſure Sempronius, let us ſuppoſe, for ' once, that the deer is lodged:

' The deer is lodg'd, I've track'd her to her covert.

' If he had ſeen her in the open field, what occaſion ' had he to track her, when he had ſo many Numidian ' dogs at his heels, which, with one halloo, he might ' have ſet upon her haunches? If he did not ſee her ' in the open field, how could he poſſibly track her? ' If he had ſeen her in the ſtreet, why did he not ſet ' upon her in the ſtreet, ſince through the ſtreet ſhe ' muſt be carried at laſt? Now here, inſtead of hav- ' ing his thoughts upon his buſineſs, and upon the ' preſent danger; inſtead of meditating and contriving ' how he ſhall paſs with his miſtreſs through the ſouth- ' ern gate, where her brother Marcus is upon the ' guard, and where ſhe would certainly prove an im- ' pediment to him, which is the Roman word for the ' *baggage*; inſtead of doing this, Sempronius is enter- ' taining himſelf with whimſies:

' *Sempr.* How will the young Numidian rave to
' ſee
' His miſtreſs loſt! If aught could glad my ſoul,
' Beyond th' enjoyment of ſo bright a prize,
' 'Twould be to torture that young gay Barbarian.
' But hark! what noiſe? Death to my hopes, 'tis he,
' 'Tis Juba's ſelf! There is but one way left!
' He muſt be murder'd, and a paſſage cut
' Thro' thoſe his guards.

' Pray, what are *thoſe his guards?* I thought at pre- ' ſent, that Juba's guards had been Sempronius's tools, ' and had been dangling after his heels.

' But now let us ſum up all theſe abſurdities to- ' gether. Sempronius goes at noon-day, in Juba's ' cloaths, and with Juba's guards, to Cato's palace, ' in order to paſs for Juba, in a place where they ' were both ſo very well known: he meets Juba there, ' and reſolves to murder him with his own guards. ' Upon the guards appearing a little baſhful, he ' threatens them:

' Ha! daſtards, do you tremble!
' Or act like men, or, by yon azure heav'n!

' But the guards ſtill remaining reſtive, Sempronius ' himſelf attacks Juba, while each of the guards is ' repreſenting Mr. Spectator's ſign of the Gaper, awed, ' it ſeems, and terrified by Sempronius's threats. Juba ' kills Sempronius, and takes his own army priſon- ' ers, and carries them in triumph away to Cato. Now ' I would fain know, if any part of Mr. Bays's tragedy ' is ſo full of abſurdity as this?

' Upon hearing the claſh of ſwords, Lucia and ' Marcia come in. The queſtion is, why no men ' come in upon hearing the noiſe of ſwords in the ' governor's hall? Where was the governor himſelf? ' Where were his guards? Where were his ſervants? ' Such an attempt as this, ſo near the perſon of a ' governor of a place of war, was enough to alarm ' the whole garriſon: and yet, for almoſt half an hour ' after Sempronius was killed, we find none of thoſe ' appear, who were the likelieſt in the world to be ' alarmed; and the noiſe of ſwords is made to draw ' only two poor women thither, who were moſt certain ' to run away from it. Upon Lucia and Marcia's ' coming in, Lucia appears in all the ſymptoms of an ' hyſterical gentlewoman:

' *Luc.* Sure 'twas the claſh of ſwords! my trou-
' bled heart
' Is ſo caſt down, and ſunk amidſt its ſorrows,
' It throbs with fear, and aches at every ſound!

' And immediately her old whimſey returns upon her:

' O Marcia, ſhould thy brothers, for my ſake—
' I die away with horror at the thought.

' She fancies that there can be no cutting-of-throats, ' but it muſt be for her. If this is tragical, I would ' fain know what is comical. Well! upon this they ' ſpy the body of Sempronius; and Marcia, deluded ' by the habit, it ſeems, takes him for Juba; for, ' ſays ſhe,

' The face is muffled up within the garment.

' Now how a man could fight, and fall with his face ' muffled up in his garment, is, I think, a little hard ' to conceive! Beſides, Juba, before he killed him, ' knew him to be Sempronius. It was not by his ' garment that he knew this; it was by his face then: ' his face therefore was not muffled. Upon ſeeing ' this man with the muffled face, Marcia falls a rav- ' ing; and, owning her paſſion for the ſuppoſed de- ' funct, begins to make his funeral oration. Upon ' which Juba enters liſtening, I ſuppoſe on tiptoe; ' for I cannot imagine how any one can enter, liſten- ' ing, in any other poſture. I would fain know how ' it came to paſs, that during all this time he had ſent ' nobody, no, not ſo much as a candle-ſnuffer, to ' take away the dead body of Sempronius. Well! ' but let us regard him liſtening. Having left his ap- ' prehenſion behind him, he, at firſt, applies what ' Marcia ſays to Sempronius. But finding at laſt, ' with much ado, that he himſelf is the happy man, ' he quits his eve dropping, and diſcovers himſelf ' juſt time enough to prevent his being cuckolded by a ' dead man, of whom a moment before he had appear- ' ed ſo jealous; and greedily intercepts the bliſs, which ' was fondly deſigned for one who could not be the ' better for it. But here I muſt aſk a queſtion: how ' comes Juba to liſten here, who had not liſtened ' before throughout the play? Or, how comes he to ' be the only perſon of this tragedy who liſtens, when ' love and treaſon were ſo often talked in ſo public a ' place as a hall? I am afraid the author was driven ' upon all theſe abſurdities only to introduce this miſe- ' rable miſtake of Marcia; which, after all, is much ' below the dignity of tragedy, as any thing is which ' is the effect or reſult of trick.

' But let us come to the ſcenery of the fifth act. ' Cato appears firſt upon the ſcene, ſitting in a ' thoughtful poſture; in his hand Plato's treatiſe on ' the Immortality of the Soul, a drawn ſword on the ' table by him. Now let us conſider the place in ' which this ſight is preſented to us. The place, for- ' ſooth, is a long hall. Let us ſuppoſe, that any one ' ſhould place himſelf in this poſture, in the midſt of ' one of our halls in London; that he ſhould appear ' *ſolus*, in a ſullen poſture, a drawn ſword on the ' table by him; in his hand Plato's treatiſe on the Im- ' mortality of the Soul, tranſlated lately by Bernard ' Lintot: I deſire the reader to conſider, whether ' ſuch a perſon as this would paſs, with them who ' beheld him, for a great patriot, a great philoſopher,

' or

performance; but there is a cruelty in it which muſt excite the diſapprobation of every benevolent mind. One thing is obſervable, which is, that Pope has left Dennis's objections to Cato in their full force, 'and therefore diſcovered more deſire of vexing the 'critic, than of defending the poet. Addiſon, who was no ſtranger to the world,' ſays Dr. Johnſon, 'probably ſaw the ſelfiſhneſs of Pope's friendſhip; and reſolving that he 'ſhould have the conſequences of his officiouſneſs to himſelf, informed Dennis by Steele, 'that he was ſorry for the inſult; and that whenever he ſhould think fit to anſwer his 'Remarks, he would do it in a manner to which nothing could be objected (*d*).' Mr. Dennis, having been ſucceſsful in diſplaying the faults of Cato, with regard to the probability of the action, and the reaſonableneſs of the plan, proceeded, in the pride of conqueſt, to attack the ſentiments of the play, which he did in ſeven letters (*e*). But here he only betrayed the captiouſneſs of his diſpoſition. His ſtrictures are, in general, trifling and inſignificant; containing ſuch petty cavils, and minute objections, as the malignity of criticiſm, united with ſome degree of ſagacity, might ever be capable of exerciſing againſt the moſt perfect productions of the human mind.

(*d*) Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 349, 350.

(*e*) Original Letters, Vol. II. p. 303—357.

In 1721, Mr. Dennis publiſhed, in two volumes, octavo, his "Select Works," of which we have taken notice according to the time of their original appearance. He printed, likewiſe, in the ſame year, by ſubſcription, in two volumes, large octavo, "Original Letters, familiar, moral, and critical;" the greater part of which have alſo paſſed under our obſervation. This collection does credit to our Author's abilities. Among the pieces not yet mentioned, he has made ſome ingenious remarks upon the *vis comica*, with the want of which Terence was charged by Julius Cæſar (*f*); and there are ſeveral other diſquiſitions that are not unworthy of a peruſal. In a letter to Mr. Jacob Tonſon, ſenior, on the conſpiracy againſt the reputation of Mr. Dryden, our Author has manifeſted a high regard for the honour of that great poet. The character Mr. Dennis gives of himſelf, in the ſame letter, is very different from what the public, both at that time and ever ſince, has entertained. "Whatever," ſays he, "the miſtaken "world may think, I am always willing to be pleaſed; nay, am always as greedy of "pleaſure as any Epicurean living; and whenever I am naturally touched, I give my-"ſelf up to the firſt impreſſion, and never look for faults (*g*)."

(*f*) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 13—18.

(*g*) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 289—292.

The relief which Mr. Dennis obtained by theſe publications, though conſiderable, was not permanent. Being much diſtreſſed very near the cloſe of his life, it was propoſed to act a play for his benefit, and Mr. Thomſon, Mr. Mallet, Mr. Benjamin Martin, and Mr. Pope, took the lead upon the occaſion. The play, which was "The Provoked Huſband," was repreſented at the little theatre in the Haymarket, on the eighteenth of December, 1733; and Pope condeſcended ſo far to lay aſide his reſentment againſt his former antagoniſt, as to write a prologue, which was ſpoken by Theophilus Cibber. Dennis had at this time become blind. Mr. Pope's benevolence was not ſo pure as could be wiſhed; for his prologue was throughout a ſneer upon the poor old critic, who happily, either from vanity or the decay of his intellects, did not perceive its tendency. Mr. Dennis ſurvived this aſſiſtance only twenty days, dying on the ſixth of January, 1733-4, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age (*b*).

(*b*) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. IV. p. 237, 238. Biographia Dramatica, Vol. I. p. 124. Engliſh Poets, Vol. XXXIII. p. 346, 347.

The following verſes, in the name of our Author, were addreſſed, at the time of the repreſentation of the play for his benefit, to Mr. Thomſon, who had taken the moſt active part in that affair. It is underſtood that they were written by Mr. Savage.

"Reflecting on thy worth, methinks I find
"Thy various Seaſons in their author's mind.
"Spring opes her bloſſoms, various as thy Muſe,
"And, like thy ſoft compaſſion, ſheds her dews.
"Summer's hot drought in thy expreſſion glows,
"And o'er each page a tawny ripeneſs throws.
"Autumn's rich fruits th' inſtructed reader gains,
"Who taſtes the meaning purpoſe of thy ſtrains.
"Winter—but that no ſemblance takes from thee;
"That hoary ſeaſon yields a type of me.
"Shatter'd by Time's bleak ſtorms I withering lay,
"Leafleſs, and whitening in a cold decay.
"Yet ſhall my propleſs ivy, pale and bent,
"Bleſs the ſhort ſunſhine which thy pity lent."

'or a general, or for ſome whimſical perſon who fancied himſelf all theſe; and whether the people who 'belonged to the family, would think that ſuch a 'perſon had a deſign upon their midriff or his own?

'In ſhort, that Cato ſhould ſit long enough, in 'the aforeſaid poſture, in the midſt of this large hall, 'to read over Plato's treatiſe on the Immortality of the 'Soul, which is a lecture of two long hours; that he 'ſhould propoſe to himſelf to be private there upon 'that occaſion; that he ſhould be angry with his ſon 'for intruding there; then, that he ſhould leave this 'hall upon the pretence of ſleep, give himſelf the 'mortal wound in his bedchamber, and then be 'brought back into that hall to expire, purely to 'ſhew his good-breeding, and ſave his friends the 'trouble of coming up to his bed-chamber; all this 'appears to me to be improbable, incredible, im-'poſſible.'

'Such is the cenſure of Dennis. There is, as Dryden expreſſes it, perhaps *too much horſe-play in his raillery*; but if his jeſts are coarſe, his arguments are ſtrong. Yet as we love better to be pleaſed than to be taught, Cato is read, and the critick is neglected (3).'

(3) Johnſon's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 390—413.

The character of Mr. Dennis muſt, in general, be ſufficiently apparent from what has already been ſaid. Ill-nature has been aſcribed to him with too much ſhew of reaſon; though perhaps it belonged to him more as a writer than as a man. In a letter to a friend he has endeavoured to vindicate himſelf from the charge; but not, we think, with entire ſucceſs (*i*). This at leaſt is certain, from ſeveral tranſactions, that he was very irritable in his temper. On the whole, however, there ſeems to be no room to doubt of his having been a perſon of integrity and virtue. Till he was five-and forty, he was intimately converſant with the firſt men of the age, both with reſpect to rank and abilities; and when he retired from the world, he continued to preſerve ſome honourable connections. Such was the eſtimation he was held in, that he experienced the patronage of gentlemen whoſe political principles were extremely different from thoſe which he always openly avowed. George Granville, Eſq. in particular, afterwards Lord Lanſdowne, behaved to him with diſtinguiſhed generoſity (*k*).

(*i*) Original Letters, Vol. I. p. 201—204.

(*k*) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 46, 47. Vol. II. p. 364.

In the Gentleman's Magazine for January, 1734, ſome verſes were inſerted on the death of Mr. Dennis, in which a longer duration is promiſed to his reputation and his works than they will probably ever attain.

"Though *here*, revenge and pride withheld his praiſe,
"No wrongs ſhall reach him through his *future days*.
"The riſing ages ſhall redeem his name;
"And nations *read* him into laſting fame,
"In his *defects* untaught; his labour'd page
"Shall the ſlow gratitude of time engage."

From the temporary celebrity of Mr. Dennis, and his connections, either in the way of friendſhip or hoſtility, with the principal writers of his time, we could not reaſonably avoid giving him a place in this work; and the article will not, we hope, be totally deſtitute of utility. It will add ſomething to the great body of the literary hiſtory of England; and it may ſerve to diſplay the unhappy effects that reſult from the extravagance of ſelf-opinion; an extravagance which is uſually more incident to ſecondary authors, than to thoſe who occupy the higheſt ranks of genius and learning.] K

DENNY (Sir ANTHONY) Knight, favourite, and one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber to King Henry VIII. was the ſecond ſon of Thomas Denny [*A*], of Cheſhunt, in the county of Hertford, Eſq. by Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Mannock (*a*). He had his education in St. Paul's ſchool, London, under the famous William Lilly (*b*); and afterwards in St. John's College in Cambridge: in both which places he ſo improved himſelf, that he became an excellent ſcholar, as well as a perſon of great worth (*c*). His merit having made him known at Court, he was conſtituted, by King Henry VIII, one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, Groom of the Stole, and a Privy-Counſellor; and likewiſe received the honour of Knighthood from that Prince (*d*): with whom being in great favour, he raiſed a conſiderable eſtate upon the ruins of the diſſolved monaſteries. For, in 1537, King Henry gave him the Priory of Hertford, together with divers other lands and manors [*B*]. He farther granted him, in 1539, on the 15th of December, the office of Steward of the manor of Bedwell and Little Berkhamſtead, in Hertfordſhire [*C*]: beſides which, Sir Anthony alſo obtained the manor of Butterwick, in the pariſh of St. Peter in St. Alban's (*e*), the manors of the Rectory, and of the Nunnery, in the pariſh of Cheſhunt (*f*); and of Great Amwell (*g*), all in the county of Hertford. Moreover, in 1541, there was a large grant made to him, by Act of Parliament, of ſeveral lands that had belonged to the Abbey of St. Alban's, lately diſſolved [*D*]. Not

(*a*) From the pedigree of the family of the Dennys, taken by Sir M. Cary, and inſerted into the *Hiſtorical Antiq. of Hertfordſhire*, by Sir Henry Chauncy. Edit. fol. 1700. p. 298.

(*b*) See the Life of Dr. John Colet, &c. by Samuel Knight, D. D. 8vo. Lond. 1724. in the Miſcellanies, at the end, No. 4. p. 392.

(*c*) See the life of Sir John Cheke, &c. by John Strype, M. A. 8vo. edit. 1705. p. 217.

(*d*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 419.

(*e*) Hiſt. Antiq. of Hertfordſhire, &c. by Sir Henry Chauncy, as above, p. 460.

(*f*) Idem, p. 301.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 283.

[*A*] *Was the ſecond ſon of Thomas Denny.*] The family of Denny is traced up by ſome as high as the year of Chriſt 725. About that time, the Moors having invaded France with a prodigious army, were oppoſed by Charles Martel: who had under him an officer named *Denny*, by whoſe bravery and conduct the French ſlew thirty thouſand of the enemy in one battle, and got a glorious victory. Deſcended from him, as is ſuppoſed, was *John Denny*, Eſq. who ſerved King Henry V. in his wars in France, and being ſlain there, was buried at St. Denis, in Paris. His deſcendants were ——*Henry*: ——*William*, of Cheſhunt in Hertfordſhire, and High-Sheriff of that county in the year 1480 (1)———*Edmund* [whom Sir William Dugdale by miſtake calls Edward (2)]. He was a Clerk in the Exchequer; and in 1504 conſtituted the King's Remembrancer (3): and on the 6th of May, 1514, one of the Barons of the Exchequer (4). He died on the 22d of December, 1520 (5). ——— His eldeſt ſon, John, died without iſſue: and his ſecond ſon———*Thomas* was the father of Sir *Anthony*, who is the ſubject of this article.

(1) Fuller's Hiſt. of Waltham Abbey, p. 12.

(2) Baronage, Vol. II. p. 419.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Chronica Juridicialia, under the year 1514.

(5) Chauncy, as above, p. 293.

[*B*] *Together with divers other lands and manors.*] Particularly the tythes iſſuing out of Almeſhoe-manor in St. Hippolits near Hitchin (6).

(6) Chauncy, as above, p. 399.

[*C*] *The office of Steward of the manor of Bedwell and little Berkhamſtead in Hertfordſhire.*] And, moreover, the office of Keeper of the park of Bedwell, and the deer; and of Keeper of the dwelling-houſe of Bedwell: alſo the herbage and pannage of the ſaid park, and the free-warren of the rabbets, within the pariſhes of Eſſingdon and Berkhamſtead (7).

(7) Ibid. p. 280.

[*D*] *Moreover, in 1541, there was a large grant made to him, by Act of Parliament, of ſeveral lands that had belonged to the abbey of St. Alban's, lately diſſolved.*] For in the Parliament begun at Weſtminſter the 16th of January, 33 Henry VIII. it was enacted, that Anthony Denny, Eſq. one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, ſhould have to him and his heirs, all the manor or lordſhip of the king of Parkbury in the county of Hertford, and all the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, with the appurtenances in *Park*, called Boreham, Spirth, and Grimeſgate-field, late in the occupation of John Coningſby, the firſt crop of a

meadow

Not content with that, he found means to procure a thirty-one years leaſe, of the many large and rich demeſnes, that had been poſſeſſed by Waltham-Abbey in Eſſex (*b*): of which his lady purchaſed afterwards the reverſion [*E*]. In 1544, the King gave him the advantageous wardſhip of Margaret, the only daughter and heir of Thomas Lord Audeley, deceaſed (*i*). On the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1546, he was commiſſioned, with John Gate, and William Clerk, Eſquires, to ſign all warrants in the King's name (*k*). In this reign he did an eminent ſervice to the great ſchool of Sedberg in Yorkſhire, belonging to the College wherein he had received his education. For, the building being fallen to decay, and the lands appropriated thereto ſold and embezzled, he cauſed the ſchool to be repaired, and not only recovered, but alſo ſettled the eſtate ſo firmly, as to prevent all future alienations (*l*). When King Henry VIII. was on his death-bed, Sir Anthony had the honeſty and courage to put him in mind of his approaching end; and deſired him, to raiſe his thoughts to heaven, to think of his paſt life, and to call on GOD for mercy through Jeſus Chriſt (*m*). So great an opinion had that King of him, that he appointed him one of the executors of his will, and one of the counſellors to his ſon and ſucceſſor King Edward VI. and bequeathed him a legacy of three hundred pounds (*n*). He did not live long after this; for he died in the year 1550 (*o*); Dr. Fuller being miſtaken when he ſays it was in 1548 (*p*). By his wife Joan, daughter of Sir Philip Champernon, of Modbury in Devonſhire, a Lady of great beauty and parts [*F*], he had ſix children; of whom Henry, the eldeſt, was father of Edward Denny, knighted in 1589, ſummoned to Parliament in 1605, and advanced, on the 24th of October, 1626, to the dignity of Earl of Norwich (*q*). As for Sir Anthony Denny's character; one of his contemporaries informs us, that his whole time and cares were taken up with, and employed about, Religion, Learning, and the care of the Publick (*r*): and has highly commended him for his prudence and humanity. The learned Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, wrote an excellent epitaph for him, ſome years before his deceaſe [*G*]. And Sir John Cheke, who had a great eſteem for him, honoured his memory with an elegant Heroic Poem [*H*].

(*b*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Waltham-Abbey, at the end of his Hiſtory of the Church. Lond. 1655. p. 12.

(*i*) Chauncy, as above, p. 129.

(*k*) Conventiones, Acta Publica, &c. publiſhed by T. Rymer. Tom XV. p. 100.

(*l*) Fuller. as above, & Aſcham, Epiſt. 331.

(*m*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. i. 2d. edit. p. 250.

(*n*) Conventiones, &c. by T. Rymer, ubi ſupra, p. 101. Fuller's Church Hiſtory, book v. p. 243, &c.

(*o*) Chauncy, as above, p. 129.

(*p*) Fuller, Hiſt. of Waltham-Abbey, p. 13.

(*q*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra.

(*r*) *Religio, Doctrina, Reſpublica, omnes curas tuas ſic occupant, ut extra has tres res nullum tempus conſumas.* Aſcham Epiſtol. commend. p. 329. Edit. Oxon. 1703.

meadow in *Park* called Mapenham mead, ſeven acres of land called Cleypits, next Elwood; one annual penſion or yearly rent of 20*s.* 8*d.* accuſtomed to be paid yearly out of the vicarage of St. Stephen, all the tythes of hay in Sleep, Smalford, Thread, Huſſes, and Beach, the two watermills called the Park-mill and the Moor-mill, with all watercourſes and profits belonging to them, the grange or farm called the Bech, and the grange or meſſuage called Butterwick, in the pariſh of St. Peter's; the views of franc-pledge, courts, profits of views of franc-p'edge and courts, heriots, relieves, eſcheats, waifes, eſtraies, wards, marriages, liberties, and all other hereditaments with their appurtenances, in the pariſhes of St. Stephens, Park, Sleep, Smalford, Thread, Huſſes, and Beach, Boreham, Idleſtre, Britiſh, and Naſthide, belonging to the manor of Parkbury, alſo Stordwood, Beach-grove, Ball'grove, Meadgrove, Butterwick-copice, Haily-grove, and Parkgrove; except Cowley-mill, Stanford-mill, Sopwellmill, and the advowſons and patronages of churches, chapels, and chauntries, to hold of the King, his heirs and ſucceſſors, in chief by Knights ſervice, to wit by the 20th part of one whole Knight's-fee, at the yearly rent of 1 *l.* 10 *d.* ſterling, payable at the feaſt of St. Michael the archangel (8).

(8) Statut. 33 H. VIII. See the Hiſtorical Antiq. of Hertfordſhire, &c. as above, p. 494. 504.

[*E*] *Of which his lady purchaſed afterwards the reverſion.*] She bought it of King Edward VI for the ſum of three thouſand pounds and upwards; and obtained with it large privileges in Waltham-foreſt (9)

(9) Fuller's Hiſt. of Waltham-Abbey, p. 13.

[*F*] *A Lady of great beauty and parts.*] And alſo a favourer of the Reformed Religion, in the moſt dangerous times. For ſhe ſent eight ſhillings by her man to Anne Aſcough, when ſhe was impriſoned in the Counter (10).

(10) Fuller, ibid. and Fox's Acts and Monuments, edit. 1583, p. 1238, 1239.

[*G*] *Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, wrote an epitaph for him, ſome years before his deceaſe.*] Which is as follows:

Death, and the King, did, as it were, contend,
Which of them two bare Denny greateſt love:
The King, to ſhew his love can farre extend,
Did him advance his betters farre above.
Nere place, much wealth, great honour, eke him gave,
To make it knowne what power great Princes have.

But when death came with his triumphant gift,
From worldly carke (*) he quit his wearied ghoſt
Free from the corpes, and ſtraight to Heaven it lift.
Now deme that can who did for Denny moſt.

(*) *i. e.* Cares.

The King gave welth, but fading and unſure:
Death brought him bliſſe, that ever ſhall endure.

This epitaph, as Mr. Fuller obſerves (11), was made by a poetical prolepſis, or anticipation. For, the noble and ingenious author of it did not ſurvive Sir Antony; being ſacrificed, in the year 1546, to the jealouſy of that brutiſh tyrant Henry VIII.

(11) Hiſt. of Waltham-Abbey, p. 13.

[*H*] *Sir John Cheke——honoured his memory with an elegant Heroick Poem.*] In which he highly commends his piety, his zeal for religion, his obliging behaviour to the King his maſter, his readineſs to do good to all, his inoffenſive temper, &c. Some of the verſes are as follow:

*Denius venit ad ſuperos mortalia linquens,*
*Britannos inter clarus——*
*Quis dignam illius factis vocem, quis promere verba*
*Poſſit, & excelſas laudes æquare canendo?*
*Quæ pietas, & quanta viri? Quis fervor in illo*
*Relligionis erat? Quam purus cultus in illo*
*Cæleſtis patris? Quanta in Chriſtum Fidei vis,*
*Extitit illius ſacrata morte redempti?*
*Munera quæ rurſum? Quos & libavit Honores*
*Juſtitiæque Speique Deo? Quæ Victima laudis*
*Cæſa fuit? ——*
*O quibus Hic (*) Studiis quo illum eſt amplexus amore,* (*) Hen. VIII.
*Quem ſibi ſubjectumque bonum, ſervumque fidelem*
*Scribat, & officia hæc haud parvo munere penſans,*
*Oſtendit ſe herumque bonum, regemque benignum.*
*Conſiliumque Lepos quantum ſuperadditus auget,*
*Et juvat optatas ad res bene conficiendas,*
*Ille alios tantum ſuperat, qui flectere mentem*
*Henrici potuit, miſcens nunc utile dulci,*
*Seria nunc levibus texens, nunc grandia parvis.*
*Quam facilem curſum hic aliis ad vota ſequenda*
*Fecerat, atque aditum multis facilem patefecit?*
*Quam bona multa aliis, et quam mala nulla cuiquam*
*Intulit? Et laudem ſummam virtutis habebat*
*Hujus, qui nullos nec apertos læſerat hoſtes, &c.* (12).

(12) Life of J. Cheke, as above, by J. Strype, p. 219, 220.

M.

*** [In

*** [In this life of Sir Anthony Denny, little is recorded concerning him, excepting the gifts which he received from King Henry the Eighth. He muſt undoubtedly have been a great favourite with that monarch, ſince he obtained ſo large a ſhare in the plunder of the monaſteries. What is moſt to his honour is, his having a high character given of him by two ſuch men as Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, and Sir John Cheke. It was but a ſhort time that the Earldom of Norwich continued in the Denny family; for Edward, in whom the title commenced, died without male iſſue, having had only one daughter, Honora, who was married to James Lord Hay, afterwards Earl of Carliſle (13)] K.

(13) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 419.

DERHAM (WILLIAM) a moſt excellent Chriſtian Philoſopher, and Divine, who flouriſhed in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth century, was born at Stowton, near Worceſter, on the 26th of November, 1657. He had his ſchool education at Blockley, in his native county, under the Reverend Mr. Nathaniel Collier: And, May 14, 1675, in the eighteenth year of his age, was admitted into Trinity-College, Oxon, under the tuition of the learned Dr. Willes, father of the late Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, January 28, 1678-9; and by that time had ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning, and other valuable and eminent qualifications, that he was earneſtly recommended by Dr. Ralph Bathurſt, then Preſident of Trinity-College, to Dr. Seth Ward, Biſhop of Saliſbury; by whoſe intereſt and recommendation, he became Chaplain, as ſoon as he had entered into holy orders, to Catharine Lady Dowager Grey of Warke. He was ordained Deacon by Dr. Compton, Biſhop of London, May 29, 1681, and Prieſt by Biſhop Ward, juſt now mentioned, July 9, 1682. On the 5th of July, 1682, he was preſented by Mr. Neville to the Vicarage of Wargrave in Berkſhire. But he did not long continue there; for, on the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1689, he was preſented by Mrs. Jane Bray to the Rectory of Upminſter in Eſſex (*a*), a living of above two hundred pounds value, and not more than fifteen miles from London: which lying at ſo convenient a diſtance from that metropolis of the kingdom, gave him an opportunity of converſing, and keeping a correſpondence, with the greateſt virtuoſos in the nation. Being therefore placed in that quiet and retired ſtation, ſuitable to his contemplative and philoſophical temper, he applied himſelf, with great eagerneſs, to the ſtudy of Nature, and to Mathematicks, and Experimental Philoſophy; in which he became ſo eminent, that he was, ſoon after, choſen Fellow of the Royal Society. And he proved one of the moſt uſeful and induſtrious Members of it, frequently publiſhing in the "Philoſophical Tranſactions," curious obſervations, and valuable pieces, of which the particulars follow. "Part of a Letter—dated Dec. 6, 1697. Giving an "account of ſome Experiments about the Height of the Mercury in the Barometer, at "top and bottom of the Monument;" [in London] and a Deſcription of a portable Barometer (*b*). "A Letter—dated Jan. 13, 1697-8, about a contrivance to meaſure the "Height of the Mercury of the Barometer, by a Circle on one of the Weather plates: "With a Regiſter, or Diary of the Weather, obſerved every day at Upminſter, during "the year 1697 (*c*)." "A Letter to Dr. Sloane; with a Regiſter of the Weather, Winds, "Barometer's Height, and Quantity of Rain falling at Upminſter in Eſſex, during the "year 1698 (*d*)." A Regiſter of the Weather, *&c.* as above, for the year 1699 (*e*) [*A*]. Obſervations on the Death-Watch; or that Inſect which makes a Noiſe like the Beats of a Watch (*f*). Obſervations on the Weather, Rain, Winds, *&c.* for 1699, 1700, 1701, 1702, compared with other Obſervations made at Townley in Lancaſhire, by Mr. Townley, and communicated to our author (*g*). An Account of ſome Spots obſerved in the Sun in June 1703 (*h*). Obſervations on the Great Storm Nov. 26, 1703 (*i*). The Hiſtory of the Death-Watch (*k*) [*B*]. Account of an Inſtrument for finding the Meridian, with a Deſcription of the ſame (*l*). Experiments on the Motion of Pendulums *in vacuo* (*m*). A Proſpect of the Weather, Winds, and Height of the Mercury in the Barometer, on the firſt day of the Month; and of the whole Rain in every Month in the year 1703, and the beginning of 1704. Obſerved at Townley in Lancaſhire by R. Townley, Eſq. and at Upminſter in Eſſex by our author (*n*). Account of a Glade of Light ſeen in the Heavens, 20th of March, 1705-6 (*o*). Tables of the Weather, *&c.* for the year 1705 (*p*). Account of a pyramidal Appearance in the Heavens, ſeen in Eſſex April 3, 1707 (*q*). Experiments and Obſervations on the Motion of Sound:

(*a*) Moſt of theſe particulars, eſpecially the dates, were communicated to us by his worthy ſon, Dr. W. Derham, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxon.

(*b*) No. 236, p. 2, &c. of the Philoſophical Tranſactions.

(*c*) No. 237, p. 45, &c.

(*d*) Ibid. No. 249, p. 45, &c.

(*e*) No. 262. p. 527.

(*f*) No. 271, p. 832.

(*g*) No. 286. p. 1443.

(*h*) No. 288, p. 1504.

(*i*) No. 289, p. 1530.

(*k*) No. 291, p. 1586.

(*l*) No. 291. p. 1578.

(*m*) No. 294. p. 1, 85.

(*n*) No. 297. p. 1877.

(*o*) No. 305. p. 2220.

(*p*) No. 309. p. 2378.

(*q*) No. 310. p. 2411.

[*A*] *A Regiſter of the Weather*, &c.] In theſe Regiſters, he exhibits to view, in ſeparate columns, every day, at the hours of 8, 12, and 9, the *Weather*, *Winds*, *Clouds*, height of the *Barometer* (and in that for 1699 only, of the *Thermometer*) *Rain*, &c.

[*B*] *The Hiſtory of the Death-watch.*] In treating of this inſect, he gives, firſt, a draught of it as it appeareth to the naked eye, and as magnified with a microſcope. Then he informs us, That it is very much like a louſe in ſhape and colour, but runneth more nimbly: and is common in every houſe in the warm months; but in the cold ſeaſon of the year, they hide themſelves in dry and obſcure places. Their eggs, which are much ſmaller than the nits of lice, though ſhaped like them but more tranſparent, they lay in dry duſty places. Theſe are hatched by the warmth of the approaching ſpring, about the beginning of March; and at the firſt leaving their egg-ſhell are perfectly like the mites in cheeſe, but exceedingly ſmall, ſo as ſcarcely to be diſcerned by the ſharpeſt eye, without the help of a convex-glaſs. In this ſhape they continue ſix weeks or two months, and then gradually grow to their more perfect ſtate. Their *ticking noiſe* is a wooing act, and is commonly in July, and about the beginning of Auguſt. But they do not every year beat alike, doing it ſometimes ſooner, ſometimes later, ſometimes much, ſometimes little. After they have ſpent ſome time in ticking, they copulate. Death-watches, both young and old, feed upon dead inſects, and upon little crumbs of biſket, tallow, &c. mixed among the duſt.

in

in Latin, a long and curious paper (*r*) [*C*]. On the Migration of Birds (*s*). Account of an Eclipſe of the Sun Sept. 3, 1708, as obſerved at Upminſter (*t*): and of an Eclipſe of the Moon, Sept. 18, 1708 (*u*). Account of a ſtrange Meteor, or *Aurora Borealis*, in Sept. or Oct. 1706 (*w*). An Account of a Child's crying in the Womb (*x*) [*D*]. The Hiſtory of the great Froſt in 1708 (*y*). Account of Spots obſerved in the Sun by our author, from 1703 to 1708 (*z*): and from 1707 to 1711 (*a*). Of ſubterraneous Trees found at Dagenham-Breach in Eſſex (*b*). Account of an Eclipſe of the Moon, ſeen at Upminſter Jan. 12, 1711-12 (*c*). Of a Woman big with Child, and having the Small-pox, delivered of a Child having the ſame Diſtemper, Sept. 8, 1713 (*d*). An Account of the Rain at Upminſter for eighteen Years (*e*). Tables of the Barometrical Altitude for 1708, at Zurich in Switzerland; and of the Rain at Piſa in Italy, and Zurich, and Upminſter, for 1707, 1708. With Remarks on the Winds, Heat, and Cold, *&c* (*f*). Miſchiefs occaſioned by ſwallowing the Stones of Bullace and Sloes (*g*) [*E*]. Extracts from Mr. Gaſcoigne's and Mr. Crabtrie's Letters, proving Mr. Gaſcoigne to have been the Inventor of the Teleſcope Sights of Mathematical Inſtruments, and not the French (*h*). Obſervations about Waſps, and the Difference of their Sexes (*i*) [*F*]. Obſervations on the *Lumen Boreale*, or Streaming, on Oct. 8, 1726 (*k*). Tables of the Eclipſes of Jupiter's Satellites, from 1700 to the Year 1727; with Remarks on thoſe Tables (*l*). The Difference in Time of the Meridians of divers Places computed from Obſervations of the Eclipſes of Jupiter's Satellites (*m*). A Letter to Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. R. S. Pr. *&c.* containing a Deſcription of ſome uncommon Appearance obſerved in an *Aurora Borealis*, the thirteenth of October, 1728 (*n*). Of the Meteor called the *Ignis Fatuus* [Will of the wiſp] from obſervations made in England, by our Author, and others in Italy, communicated by Sir Thomas Dereham, Bart. (*o*) [*G*]. I have placed theſe ſeveral pieces here together, becauſe they are of the ſame kind and nature, and were all publiſhed in the ſame collection, *i. e.* the Philoſophical Tranſactions. To return now to other books compoſed in the mean time by our ingenious author. He publiſhed in his younger years, 'The Artificial Clock-maker. A Treatiſe of Watch and Clock-work, 'ſhewing to the meaneſt Capacities, the Art of Calculating Numbers to all Sorts of 'Movements; the Way to alter Clock-work; to make Chimes, and ſet them to Muſical 'Notes; and to calculate and correct the Motion of Pendulums. Alſo Numbers for 'divers Movements: With the ancient and modern Hiſtory of Clock-work; and many 'Inſtruments, Tables, and other Matters, never before publiſhed in any other Book [*H*].' The

(*r*) No. 313. p. 2.
(*s*) No. 315. p. 123.
(*t*) No. 320. p. 312.
(*u*) Ibid.
(*w*) Ibid. p. 310.
(*x*) No. 324. p. 485. 487.
(*y*) Ibid. p. 454.
(*z*) No. 330. p. 270.
(*a*) Ibid. p. 278.
(*b*) No. 335. p. 478.
(*c*) No 336. p. 522.
(*d*) No. 337. p. 165.
(*e*) No. 341. p. 130.
(*f*) Ibid. p. 342.
(*g*) No. 349. p. 484.
(*h*) No. 352. p. 603.
(*i*) No. 382. p. 53.
(*k*) No. 398. p. 245.
(*l*) No. 402. p. 415.
(*m*) No. 407. p. 33.
(*n*) No. 410. p. 137.
(*o*) No. 411, p. 204. Our ingenious author communicated alſo to the Royal Society ſeveral pieces which he received from his learned correſpondents. See Philoſophic. Tranſactions, No 366, p. 121. No. 369. p. 250. & No. 382., p. 67.

[*C*] *Experiments and Obſervations on the Motion of Sound, &c.*] In this curious paper, he obſerves (in the firſt place), the diſagreement between the moſt eminent authors concerning the velocity of ſound, that is, how many Engliſh feet a ſound moves in one ſecond of time: and gives a table of it. Then from the experiments he had made upon that ſubject, he deduces the following obſervations: That there is no variation of ſound from the different elevation or direction of the gun: that the motion of ſound, is not altered by the alterations in the air: that ſounds produced from different bodies move with the ſame velocity: that the motion of ſound is uniform. He likewiſe treats therein of the following ſubjects; of an echo at a great diſtance and in the air; and of the motion of the echos; of the aſcending and deſcending of ſounds; of the remiſſneſs and intenſeneſs of ſounds, according to the alteration of the air; of the influence of winds, on the motion of ſounds; of the velocity of winds, and of ſounds. Experiments on ſounds made in Italy, &c.

[*D*] *An Account of a Child's crying in the Womb*] It was the child of one Clark of Hornchurch in Eſſex, who was heard to cry in his mother's womb, at times, for five weeks. And though the poſſibility of ſuch a thing is queſtioned by Etmuller and Diemerbroek (1), yet our author proves from ſeveral matters of fact, that it is not only poſſible, but alſo has happened many times; although it was not of ſo long continuance, and with ſuch frequent reiterations of the crying, as it happened in this inſtance.

(1) Etmulleri *Diſſertat. de abſtruſo reſpirationis humanæ negotio*; where Diemerbroek's opinion is relaxed.

[*E*] *Miſchiefs occaſioned by ſwallowing the Stones of Bullace and Sloes.*] There being a notion, 'that the 'ſtones of ſloes, cherries, &c. are uſeful in preventing 'a ſurfeit from the fruit,' our ingenious author ſhews, in this paper, the danger of that ill-grounded opinion, in the inſtance of a neighbouring clergyman's ſervant: who having in his youth been a great lover of fruit, uſed greedily to devour all ſorts he could come at, and bullace and ſloes being the eaſieſt to be gotten, he uſed to ſwallow great quantities of them, without evacuating many of the ſtones by ſtool. But the conſequence of it was, That he came to have exceſſive pains in his ſtomach, and to vomit up whatever he eat. At length, after violent vomitings, he brought up, at divers times, above one hundred and twenty bullace and ſloe-ſtones, beſides many others of which he could not keep account.

[*F*] *Obſervations about Waſps, &c.*] In theſe obſervations he ſhews, that there are three ſorts of Waſps. The *Queens*, or *Females*, which never work; the *Kings*, or *Males*; and the *common Labouring Waſps*; each of them very diſtinct. The Queen, or Female-Waſp (by many called the *King Waſp*) is much longer in the body, and larger, than any other Waſp. The Male-Waſps are leſs than the Queens, but as much longer and larger than the common Waſps, as the Queen is longer and larger than theſe. Theſe males alſo have no ſtings, which the Queens and common Waſps all have. And they may be known from other Waſps, by their *Antennæ*, or horns; which are longer and larger than either thoſe of the Queen or common Waſps, and with them they ſeem, in running, to feel more than the others do. But the grand and chief difference, are the parts of generation of theſe Male-Waſps, which the curious author accurately deſcribes (2).

(2) Ubi ſupra, No. 382. p. 53, &c.

[*G*] *Of the Meteor call'd the* Ignis Fatuus, &c.] He proves in this paper, from obſervations made by himſelf and by Sir Tho. Dereham, that the *Ignes Fatui* are not, as divers ſkilful Naturaliſts have imagined, only the ſhining of a great number of the Male Glow-worms in England, or of the *Pyrauſtæ* in Italy, flying together; but, are very much like that ſort of *Phoſphorus*, which doth indeed ſhine in the dark, but doth not burn any thing as common fire doth. Moreover, that they appear, in Italy, moſtly in moraſſy grounds, in dark nights, and in cold, ſnowy, and even rainy weather; but not ſo much in ſummer (3).

(3) No. 411, as above, p. 204, &c.

[*H*] *The Artificial Clock-Maker, &c.*] In the preface the ingenious author informs us, that 'this little book 'was a part of the diverſion of his juvenile years, and 'at firſt drawn up in a rude manner, only to pleaſe 'himſelf, and divert the vacant hours of a ſolitary 'country life. But was publiſhed purely in hopes of 'its

The fourth edition, with large emendations, was publiſhed in 1734, 12*mo*. In the years 1711 and 1712, he preached ſixteen Sermons at Mr. Boyle's Lecture [*I*], which, having put into a new form, he publiſhed in 1713, under this title, 'Phyſico-Theology: 'or, a Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God, from his Works of Crea-'tion. Being the Subſtance of Sixteen Sermons preached in St. Mary le Bow 'Church, London, at the Honourable Mr. Boyle's Lectures, in the year 1711 and 1712. 'With large Notes, and many curious Obſervations, 8vo [*K*].' In purſuance of the ſame noble and pious deſign, he publiſhed, in 1714, 'Aſtro-Theology: or, a Demon-'ſtration of the Being and Attributes of God, from a Survey of the Heavens. Illuſtrated 'with Copper-plates,' 8*vo* [*L*]. Upon the acceſſion of the late King George I, due notice being taken of our learned author's worth and ingenuity, his late Majeſty, then Prince of Wales, made him his Chaplain, and procured for him a Canonry of Windſor, into which he was inſtalled Sept. 19, 1716. The Univerſity of Oxford, likewiſe, in conſideration of his merit, learning, and ingenuity, conferred on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity, by diploma, the 26th of June 1730 [*M*]. But to return to our au-thor's

'its doing ſome good in the world, among ſuch whoſe 'genius and leiſure lead them to mechanical ſtudies, 'or thoſe whoſe buſineſs and livelihood it is.'—Afterwards he adds—'Upon the account of the innocence 'of my end in publiſhing this book, and that it was 'written only as the harmleſs (I may add alſo the vir-'tuous) ſport of leiſure hours; I think myſelf excuſ-'able to God and the world, for the expence of ſo much 'time, on a ſubject different from my profeſſion.'

[*I*] *In the years* 1711 *and* 1712, *he preached ſixteen Sermons at Boyle's lecture.*] How he came to be appointed to preach that lecture, he tells us in the following words.—(4) 'Having the honour to be a mem-'ber of the Royal Society, as well as a Divine, I was 'minded to try what I could do towards the improve-'ment of Philoſophical matters to Theological uſes; 'and accordingly laid a ſcheme of what I have here 'publiſhed a part of; and when I had little elſe to do, 'I drew up what I had to ſay, making it rather the 'diverting exerciſes of my leiſure hours, than more 'ſerious Theological ſtudies. This work (although 'I made a conſiderable progreſs in it at firſt, whilſt a 'novelty, yet) having no thoughts of publiſhing, I 'laid aſide, until your Grace, being informed of my 'deſign by ſome of my learned friends both of the 'Clergy and Laity, was pleaſed to call me to the un-'expected honour of preaching Mr. Boyle's lectures: 'an honour I was little aware of in my country pri-'vacy, and not much acquainted with perſons in high 'ſtations, and not at all particularly with your 'Grace.'———

(4) In the Dedication of his Phyſico-Theology to Thomas Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

[*K*] *Phyſico-Theology, &c.*] This curious treatiſe, which was intended for young gentlemen at the univerſities (5), is divided into eleven books, ſubdivided into the following chapters. Book I. Of the outworks of the terraqueous globe in general. Ch. 1. Of the atmoſphere in general. Ch. 2. Of the winds. Ch. 3. Of the clouds and rain. Ch. 4. Of light. Ch. 5. Of gravity. Book II. Of the terraqueous globe itſelf in general. Ch. 1. Of the figure of the terraqueous globe. Ch. 2. Of the bulk of the terraqueous globe. Ch. 3. The motions of the terraqueous globe. Ch. 4. Of the place and ſituation of the terraqueous globe, in reſpect of the heavenly bodies. Ch. 5. The diſtribution of the earth and waters. Ch. 6. The great variety and quantity of all things upon, and in the terraqueous globe, provided for the uſes of the world. Book III. Of the terraqueous globe in particular, more eſpecially the earth. Ch. 1. Of the ſoils and moulds in the earth. Ch. 2. Of the various *ſtrata* or beds obſervable in the earth. Ch. 3. Of the ſubterraneous caverns, and the volcanos. Ch. 4. Of the mountains and vallies. Book IV. Of animals in general. Ch. 1. Of the five ſenſes in general. Ch. 2. Of the eye. Ch. 3. Of the ſenſe of hearing; and of ſound. Ch. 4. Of the ſenſe of ſmelling. Ch. 5. Of the taſte. Ch. 6. Of the ſenſe of feeling. Ch. 7. Of reſpiration. Ch. 8. Of the motion of animals. Ch 9. Of the place allotted to the ſeveral tribes of animals. Ch. 10. Of the balance of animals, or the due proportion in which the world is ſtocked with them. Ch. 11. Of the food of animals. The apparatus for the gathering, preparing, and digeſtion of the food; and the great ſagacity of animals in finding out and providing their food. Animals' care of their young, and the preſervation of animals in winter. Ch. 12. Of the cloathing of animals. Ch. 13. Of the houſes and habitations of animals. Ch. 14. Of animals ſelf-preſervation. Ch. 15. Of the generation of animals. A ſurvey of the particular tribes of animals. Book V. A ſurvey of man. Ch. 1. Of the ſoul of man. Of man's invention. Ch. 2. Of man's body, particularly its poſture. Ch. 3. Of the figure and ſhape of man's body. Ch. 4. Of the ſtature and ſize of man's body. Ch. 5. Of the ſtructure of the parts of man's body. Ch. 6. Of the placing of the parts of man's body. Ch 7. Of the proviſion in man's body againſt evils. Ch. 8. Of the conſent between the parts of man's body. Ch. 9 Of the variety of mens' faces, voices, and hand-writing. Book VI. A ſurvey of quadrupeds. Ch. 1. Of their prone poſture. Ch. 2. Of the heads of quadrupeds. Ch. 3. Of the necks of quadrupeds. Ch. 4. Of the ſtomachs of quadrupeds. Ch. 5. Of the heart of quadrupeds. Ch. 6. Of the difference between man and quadrupeds in the nervous kind. Book VII. A ſurvey of birds. Ch. 1. Of the motion of birds, and the parts miniſtring thereto Ch. 2. Of the head, ſtomach, and other parts of birds. Ch. 3. Of the migration of birds. Ch. 4. Of the incubation of birds. Book VIII. Of inſects and reptiles. Ch. 1. Of inſects in general. Ch. 2. Of the ſhape and ſtructure of inſects. Ch. 3. Of the eyes and *antennæ* of inſects. Ch. 4. Of the parts and motion of inſects. Ch. 5. The ſagacity of inſects to ſecure themſelves againſt winter. Ch. 6. Of the care of inſects about their young. Book IX. Of reptiles and the inhabitants of the waters. Ch. 1. Of reptiles. Ch. 2. Of the inhabitants of the waters. Book X. Of vegetables; their anatomy. Flowers and ſeeds: their ſupport. Vegetables that are peculiarly uſeful. Book XI. Contains practical inferences from the foregoing ſurvey. Wherein he ſhews, that God's works are great and excellent; ought to be inquired into; are manifeſt to all; ought to excite us to fear and obedience to God, and to thankfulneſs; and that we ought to pay God all due homage and worſhip, particularly that of the Lord's day.

(5) See the Preface to that book, p. 8.

This curious and valuable book hath paſſed through many editions (6), and been tranſlated into French, and ſeveral other languages.

(6) There were three editions of it within the firſt year. And the 8th was publiſhed in 1732.

[*L*] *Aſtro-Theology.*] This treatiſe is divided into eight books. Book 1. The magnitude of the univerſe Book 2. Number of the heavenly bodies. Book 3. The due ſituation of them. Book 4. The motions of the heavens. Book 5. Of the figure of the heavenly bodies. Book 6. Of attraction and gravity. Book 7. Of light and heat. Book 8. Practical inferences.—It is dedicated to his late Majeſty, who was, at the time of its publication, Prince of Wales.

[*M*] *The univerſity of Oxford———conferred on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity, by diploma,* &c.] The diploma was as follows:

Cancellarius, Magiſtri, & Scholares Univerſitatis Oxonienſis Omnibus ad quos hæ Literæ pervenerint, ſalutem in Domino Sempiternam.

Cum eum in finem Honores Academici à majoribus noſtris inſtituti fuerint, ut Viri de re literaria bene meriti Gratia quadam peculiari inſignirentur; Cumq; Vir Reverendus et Doctiſſimus *Gulielmus Derham*, olim è Col. S. S. Trinitatis, A. M. et Eccleſiæ Windleſorienſis Canonicus, ob Libros ab ipſo edi os (quibus Phyſicam

thor's writings: When Eleazar Albin publiſhed his 'Natural Hiſtory of Birds, and Engliſh Inſects (*p*), with many beautiful Cuts,' they appeared illuſtrated 'with very curious 'Notes and Obſervations by our learned Author.' And he alſo reviſed *Miſcellanea Curioſa* (*q*). The laſt thing he publiſhed of his own compoſition, was, 'Chriſto Theology: 'or, a Demonſtration of the Divine Authority of the Chriſtian Religion, being the Sub-'ſtance of a Sermon preached at Bath, on November 2, 1729, and publiſhed at the 'earneſt Requeſt of the Auditory.' *Lond.* 1730, 8*vo*.——It was not only with his own writings that this excellent author obliged the world, but alſo with thoſe of ſeveral great and learned men. For he publiſhed ſome pieces of the late moſt worthy and ingenious Mr. Ray [*N*], and gave new editions of others, with great additions from the author's own manuſcripts [*O*]. To him the world is likewiſe indebted for the publication of the 'Philoſophical Experiments and Obſervations of the late eminent Dr. Robert Hooke, 'F. R. S. and *Geom. Prof. Greſh.* and other eminent virtuoſo's in his time.' *Lond.* 1726, 8*vo*. with copper Cuts. Among other curioſities, of which he had great numbers, he had collected a ſpecimen of Inſects (*r*), and likewiſe nicely preſerved the male and female of moſt kinds of Birds in this iſland. Thus, this good and great man, having ſpent his life in the moſt agreeable ſtudy of Nature, and made all his reſearches therein ſubſervient to the glorious end of promoting the honour of God, and true piety and religion in the world [*P*], gave up his pious ſoul to his Maker on the 5th of April, 1735, at Upminſter, and was buried there. Dr. Derham, as to his perſon, was pretty tall, and ſeemed to be of a ſtrong and healthful conſtitution. His moral character was quite amiable; and among other inſtances of his bounty, he was a Phyſician to the Bodies as well as to the Souls of his Pariſhioners; none, or but few, of them, having occaſion to apply to any one elſe but him for relief in the time of illneſs. Such was his ſkill in Phyſick, as well as in all other branches of Knowledge!

(*p*) In four volumes, 4to.

(*q*) In three volumes, 8vo. 1726.

(*r*) See Philoſophical Tranſact. No. 291, p. 1586.

ſicam et Matheſin auctiorem reddidit, et ad religionem veramque Fidem exornandam revocavit) apud Literatos tam exteros quam noſtrates in maximo pretio haberetur; Sciatis, Nos Cancellarium, Magiſtros, et Scholares antedictos, Virum cum primis Principi, Eccleſiæ, Orbique literato percarum, ſummo quo potuimus Honore proſequi volentes, eundem Reverendum Doctiſſimumq; *Gulielmum Derham* hoc 26 die menſis Junii A. D. 1730, in ſolenni et frequentiſſimo Doctorum et Magiſtrorum ſenatu, unanimi Suffragio, Doctorem in S. S. Theologia conſtituiſſe et renunciaſſe, eumque omnibus et ſingulis Doctoralis in S. Theologia Gradûs Privilegiis et Honoribus cumulaſſe. In cujus rei teſtimonium ac fidem, Publicum Univerſitatis noſtræ Oxon. Sigillum his literis apponi juſſimus. Dat. in Domo Convocationis noſtræ Die Annoq; ſupradict.

[*N*] *He publiſhed ſome pieces of the late moſt worthy and ingenious Mr. Ray.*] Namely, I. Mr. Ray's Synopſis of Birds and Fiſhes, under this title, Joannis Raii *Synopſis Methodica Avium & Piſcium; Opus Poſthumum, quod vivus recenſuit et perfecit ipſe inſigniſſimus author: In quo multas ſpecies, in ipſius Ornithologia et Ichthyologia deſideratas adjecit: Methodumque ſuam Piſcium Naturæ magis convenientem reddidit. Cum Appendice et Iconibus.* Lond. 1713. 8*vo* The editor informs us in his preface, that this book was finiſhed by the learned author about the year 1693, or 1694, and lay a long time in the hands of a diſhoneſt bookſeller, who would neither publiſh it, nor let Mr. Ray's friends have it again. II. In 1718, he publiſhed, "Philoſo-"phical Letters between the late learned Mr. Ray and "ſeveral of his ingenious correſpondents, natives and "foreigners. To which are added, thoſe of Francis "Willughby, Eſq. The whole conſiſting of many cu-"rious diſcoveries and improvements in the hiſtory of "quadrupeds, birds, fiſhes, inſects, plants, foſſils, *&c.*" Lond. 8vo.

[*O*] *And gave new editions of others with great additions from the author's manuſcripts.*] That is, of "The Wiſdom of God manifeſted in the Works of the "Creation, *&c.*" the 6th edit. 8vo, 1714. And of "Three Phyſico-Theological Diſcourſes, concerning, "1. The primitive chaos, and creation of the world. "2. The general deluge, its cauſes and effects. 3. The "diſſolution of the world, and future conflagration." *&c.* The 3d edition, illuſtrated with copper plates, and much more enlarged than the former editions, from the author's own MSS. 8vo, 1713.

[*P*] *Promoting the honour of God, and true piety and religion in the world.*] What he ſays himſelf of his Aſtro-Theology in particular (7), may in general be applied to his works; they are 'deſigned for the good 'of mankind, particularly for the conviction of infi-'dels and irreligious, for the promotion of the fear 'and honour of God, and the cultivating of true reli-'gion.'

(7) In the concluſion of the Preliminary Diſcourſe.

*** [It ſometimes happens that clergymen of the greateſt wiſdom, learning, and merit, are far from being good preachers. Dr. Derham is underſtood to have made but a very poor figure in this reſpect; and to his other defects in the pulpit, was added ſome diſadvantage with regard to his perſon, for he was wry-necked (8).

(8) From the communications of a valuable correſpondent.

Lord Kaims accuſes Dr. Derham of not having paid ſufficient attention to one ſubject which properly came before him in his "Phyſico-Theology." What his Lordſhip refers to is, the natural hiſtory of animals with relation to pairing, and the care of their progeny. "M. Buffon," ſays he, "in many large volumes, "beſtows ſcarcely a thought on that favourite ſub-"ject; and the neglect of our countrymen Ray and "Derham is ſtill leſs excuſable, conſidering that to "diſplay the conduct of Providence was the ſole pur-"poſe of their writing Natural Hiſtory." This defect Lord Kaims has endeavoured to ſupply, by ſome ingenious obſervations of his own: which, however, he conſiders as hints merely, tending to excite farther curioſity (9).

(9) Sketches of the Hiſtory of Man, Vol. II. p. 98—108. 2d edit.

A remark occurs to us, with reſpect to the different manner in which the works of nature were ſtudied by Philoſophers in the laſt and beginning of the preſent century from thoſe of our own time. The former treated much on final cauſes, and were very ſolicitous to diſplay the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God in the creation and adminiſtration of the world. But modern philoſophers, in general (we ſay in general, for we know that there are illuſtrious exceptions), do not ſeem to be animated with the ſame ſpirit of piety. They moſt ſedulouſly purſue their enquiries into the properties of the objects around them, and have made ſurprizing additions to the ſtock of philoſophical knowledge; but they do not appear ſufficiently concerned to trace the God of Nature in his works. Nay, ſome there are who diſapprove of any diſquiſitions into final cauſes. That ſubject ought, without doubt, to be examined with the utmoſt modeſty, circumſpection, and caution: but ſtill, we think, that, in a vaſt variety of reſpects, there are ſuch evident proofs that particular objects are eminently fitted to anſwer certain wiſe and benevolent purpoſes, that not to attend to them, not to point them out, is a want of that reverential regard which ſhould ever be paid to the Supreme Being. To animate devotion is one of the nobleſt ends of the Study of Nature. This perhaps may, in contempt, be called preaching; but to ſtand up for the honour of the Great Governor of the Univerſe, is not only to be religiouſly, but philoſophically, employed.] K.

DES-

*** [DESAGULIERS (JOHN-THEOPHILUS), an eminent Experimental Philoſopher, was born at Rochelle, in France, on the 12th of March, 1683 (*a*). He was brought to England, when he was an infant of about two years of age, by his father, the Rev. Mr. John Deſaguliers, who, being a French Proteſtant, was obliged to quit his native country, in conſequence of the perſecution which followed upon the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which took place in 1685. He was inſtructed in grammar learning by his father, and read the claſſics under him; after which he was ſent to Chriſt-Church College, Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and entered into Deacon's Orders in 1710 (*b*). The ſame year he read lectures in experimental philoſophy at Hart-hall, whither he had removed from Chriſt-Church, in the room of Mr. Keill [*A*], afterwards Dr. Keill, who at this time accompanied the Palatines to New England, in conſequence of his being appointed their treaſurer. In 1712, he married Miſs Joanna Pudſey, daughter of William Pudſey, Eſq. and, on the third of May, the ſame year, took the degree of Maſter of Arts. The following year he removed to the metropolis [*B*], and ſettled in Channel-row, Weſtminſter, where he continued his courſes of experimental philoſophy ſeveral years.

(*a*) Supplement to the Biographia Britannica, firſt edit. p. 40.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

On

[*A*] *He read lectures in experimental philoſophy at Hart-hall, &c. in the room of Mr. Keill.*] Dr. Deſaguliers himſelf ſays, that 'Dr. John Keill was the firſt 'who publickly taught natural philoſophy by experi'ment in a mathematical manner; for he laid down 'very ſimple propoſitions, which he proved by expe'riments, and from thoſe he deduced others more 'compound, which he ſtill confirmed by experiments; 'till he had inſtructed his auditors in the laws of mo'tion, the principles of hydroſtatics and optics, and 'ſome of the chief propoſitions of Sir Iſaac Newton 'concerning light and colours. He began theſe 'courſes in Oxford, about the year 1704 or 1705, and 'that way introduced the love of the Newtonian phi'loſophy. There were, indeed, about the ſame time, 'experiments ſhewn at London by the late Mr. Hauk'ſbee, which were electrical, hydroſtatical, and pneu'matical. But as they were only ſhewn and explained 'as ſo many curious phænomena, and not made uſe of 'as mediums to prove a ſeries of philoſophical propo'ſitions in a mathematical order, they laid no ſuch 'foundation for true philoſophy as Dr. Keill's expe'riments; though, perhaps, performed more dex'terouſly, and with a finer apparatus. They were 'courſes of experiments; and his a courſe of experi'mental philoſophy. When Dr. Keill left the uni'verſity, I began to teach experimental philoſophy, 'after the ſame method he had done, adding the 'mechanicks (ſtrictly ſo called, that is, the explana'tion of mechanical organs, and the reaſon of their 'effects) and ſeveral optical propoſitions in my courſes 'of experimental philoſophy; which ever ſince that 'time I have endeavoured to improve, by the addition 'of new propoſitions and experiments, and by alter'ing and changing my machines, as I found things 'might be made more intelligible to ſuch of my audi'tors as were not acquainted with mathematics, or 'more ſatisfactory to ſuch as were; eſpecially in what 'regards the cauſes of the motions of the heavenly bo'dies, and the phænomena of our ſyſtem (1).'

(1) Pref. to his Courſe of Experimental Philoſophy.

[*B*] *He removed to the metropolis.*] Of this, and of his ſucceſs as a lecturer in experimental philoſophy, he gives himſelf the following account: 'About the 'year 1713, I came to ſettle at London, where I have 'with great pleaſure ſeen the Newtonian Philoſophy 'ſo generally received among perſons of all ranks and 'profeſſions, and even the ladies, by the help of ex'periments; that though ſeveral ingenious men have 'ſince that time with great ſucceſs taught (and do 'ſtill teach) experimental philoſophy in my (or ra'ther Dr. Keill's) manner, I have had as many courſes 'as I could poſſibly attend; the preſent courſe, which 'I am now engaged in, being the 121ſt ſince I began 'at Hart-Hall, in Oxford, in the year 1710. The ſa'tisfaction we enjoy by being any way inſtrumental to 'the improvement of o hers, is ſo great, that I can't 'help boaſting—that of eleven or twelve perſons, who 'perform experimental courſes at this time in Eng'land, and other parts of the world, I have had the 'honour of having eight of them for my ſcholars; 'whoſe farther diſcoveries become an advantage to 'myſelf; for what would raiſe envy in any other pro'feſſion, but that of a philoſopher, is received as a 'new acquiſition by all lovers of natural knowledge, 'the profit being ſhared in common, while the diſ'coverer has only the honour of the invention (2).'

(2) Ibid.

Among thoſe perſons of note and rank who attended his lectures was Baron Bielfeld, who has given the following account of Dr. Deſaguliers's lectures, in a letter to Monſ. Jordan, at Berlin, dated from London, March 6, 1741.

'I withdraw myſelf twice a week from my labours, 'in order to attend the celebrated Dr. Deſaguliers, 'chaplain to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, 'in a courſe of experimental philoſophy; and I have 'engaged almoſt all the foreign miniſters here to be 'of the party. The Doctor's apartment has more the 'appearance of a hall of congreſs, than of the auditory 'of a profeſſor; and as we pay him generouſly, he, 'in return, ſpares no pains to entertain us, and to diſ'cover to us all the hidden ſprings of nature. Phy'ſics, properly ſo called, mechanics, hydraulics, hy'droſtatics, optics, aſtronomy, are all included in his 'courſe. You have, I believe, in your valuable li'brary, that work of the Doctor's which is called, *A 'Courſe of Experimental Philoſophy*, and which was 'publiſhed at London in quarto. This work forms 'the baſis of his lectures; but as he makes his demon'ſtrations by the aſſiſtance of a great number of ma'chines, he ſeems to unfold all nature before our eyes, 'and to follow her in all her operations. I confeſs to 'you, that I find an inexpreſſible pleaſure in attend'ing his lectures, and that I never leave them with'out the higheſt ſatisfaction. Among the great num'ber of his machines, there is none that excites my 'admiration ſo much as his famous *Planetarium*. I 'had before ſeen, in the library at Leyden, in that of 'Berlin, and elſewhere, ſeveral ſpheres made to ex'hibit to the eye the motions of the heavenly bodies; 'I have likewiſe examined that which they call the 'Orrery, from Lord Orrery, its inventor; but all theſe 'machines, though ingenious, have one conſiderable 'defect; which is, that they give a very erroneous 'idea of the ſeveral diſtances between the heavenly 'bodies, and deſcribe but very imperfectly their mo'tions. For by placing the ſun in the center, and 'giving it the ſize of an orange, it is neceſſary, in or'der to preſerve a due proportion between it and the 'planets, and to determine the juſt diſtances, that 'ſuch a ſphere ſhould be at leaſt an Engliſh mile in 'diameter. Dr. Deſaguliers, perceiving this incon'venience, ruminated for a long time in order to find 'out ſome method of perfecting this machine, and at 'laſt contrived his Planetarium. He was very effica'ciouſly aſſiſted in this buſineſs by Mr. Graham, the 'moſt able and the moſt celebrated watch-maker that 'ever exiſted. The movements of this Planetarium 'are highly complex, but very ingenious. Our Doc'tor adopts, as you will ſuppoſe, the ſyſtem of New'ton and of Copernicus; and, conſequently, when 'the whole machine is complete, you ſee the ſun im'moveable in the center, and the earth and moon, 'and the planets, with their ſatellites, which turn 'round the ſun on their axes. He then begins by 'turning a winch, and immediately the whole heaven 'is in its natural motion, each body deſcribing its

'proper

On the 29th of July, 1714, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, of which he became a very useful member, and was much respected by the President, Sir Isaac Newton (*c*). His first paper, which appeared in the Philosophical Transactions, was published in the 348th Number, and contained an account of some experiments of Sir Isaac Newton on Light and Colours, which had been repeated by Mr. Desaguliers, in order to confirm Sir Isaac's theory (*d*) [*C*]. He soon after communicated to the Society, and which was published in their Transactions, N° 361. a method by which Myopes might use telescopes without eye-glasses (*e*). Of some Experiments which he made with Mr. Villette's burning-glass, in conjunction with Dr. J. Harris, an account was also published in the Transactions (*f*).

(*c*) Supplement to the Biographia Britannica, first edit. p. 40.

(*d*) Abridgement of the Philosophical Transactions, Vol. IV. p. 173.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 188.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 198.

In 1716, he published a piece, intituled, "Fires improved; being a new Method of "building Chimnies, so as to prevent their smoaking." This was a translation from the French, and involved him in some dispute with Edmund Curll, whom he had employed as his publisher, and admitted to have a share in the book. Curll, in order to promote the sale, had puffed it off in a very gross manner; which induced Mr. Desaguliers to publish a letter in a periodical Paper, called, "The Town-Talk," set on foot at that time by Sir Richard Steele, in which he informed the publick, that, whenever his name hereafter "was, or should be printed, with that egregious flatterer Mr. Curll's, "either in an advertisement, or at the title-page of a book, except that of *Fires Im-*"*proved*, he entirely disowned it *."

* Nichols's edit. of the Town-Talk, Fish-Pool, Plebeian, &c. p. 109—112.

The merit of our experimental philosopher had now attracted the notice of the Duke of Chandos, who had before taken Dr. Keill under his patronage, and who became also a patron to Mr. Desaguliers, making him his chaplain, and presenting him to the living of Edgeware, near his own magnificent seat at Cannons (*g*). In the year 1717, he went through a course of his lectures on experimental philosophy, before King George I. at Hampton-Court; with which his Majesty was so well pleased, that he intended to have conferred upon him the valuable living of Much-Munden, in Hertfordshire; but that benefice was obtained for another person by the Earl of Sunderland, who prevailed with a friend to present him with a living in Norfolk, the revenue of which, however, amounted only to 70 *l. per annum* (*h*). On the 16th of March, 1718, he accumulated the degrees of Batchelor and Doctor of Laws at Oxford (*i*). On the 30th of June, 1720, he made an experiment before the Royal Society, to prove that bodies of the same bulk do not contain equal quantities of matter; and, therefore, that there is an interspersed vacuum (*k*). He likewise made some experiments, before the Society, on the 30th of March, 1721, relating to the resistance of fluids, an account of which was published in the Philosophical Transactions, N° 367(*l*).

(*g*) Supplement, ut supra.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Abridgment of the Phil. Trans. Vol. VI. Part II. p. 157.

In 1728, he shewed before the Royal Society a machine for measuring any depth in the sea, with great expedition and certainty, which was invented by the Rev. Mr. Stephen Hales, afterwards Dr. Hales, and himself; and of which an account was published in the Philosophical Transactions, N° 405 (*m*). He continued, from time to time, to

(*l*) Ibid. Part I. p. 305.

(*m*) Ibid. Vol. VI. Part II. p. 163.

' proper orbit, whether circular or elliptic. The first ' lecture is given by day, that the auditors may clearly ' observe all the different bodies, and their movements, ' according to the explication that Dr. Desaguliers ' then gives. In the next lectures, he places in the ' centre a small chrystal globe, which contains a lamp, ' and represents the sun. He then shuts the windows, ' and putting his Planetarium again in motion, he ' shews in this lecture what parts of the earth, the ' moon, and the planets, are illuminated by the sun, ' at every instant. You will observe, that in these two ' lectures, the exact distances must be abstractedly ' considered: for it is not possible to represent them ' distinctly in a machine of four feet diameter. But, ' in the succeeding lectures, the Doctor analyzes his ' machine, and presents to his auditors the sun still in ' the centre, but with only one planet and its satel- ' lites; as the earth, which turns on its inclined axis ' round the sun, accompanied by the moon only. By ' this method, the distances become much more dis- ' cernible; and in this manner he explains, with great ' perspicuity, and with admirable facility, the whole ' solar system. All these matters are exhibited with ' so much perspicuity, that I would engage to teach ' astronomy, by the help of this Planetarium, to any ' lady who has the least curiosity and attention, in a ' month's time. But such a machine is not to be had ' by every one: for that of Dr. Desaguliers has cost ' him more than one thousand pounds sterling †."

† Lettres Familieres de Monf. le Baron de Bielfeld, tom. I. p. 283, 284, 285, 286. edit. à la Haye, 1763.

[*C*] *Experiments of Sir Isaac Newton on light and colours, which had been repeated by Mr. Desaguliers, in order to confirm Sir Isaac's theory*]. Dr. Priestley says, that 'of foreigners, the first who made any public ' objection to Newton's philosophy, concerning light ' and colours, was Father Pardies; but he was soon ' convinced of his mistake, and was so ingenuous as ' to acknowledge it. But no person distinguished him- ' self so much by his opposition to Newton as the in- ' genious M. Marriotte, who could not succeed in ' making the experiments. And as M. Leibnitz, who ' was the editor of the *Acta Eruditorum* at that time, ' in the volume for the year 1713. p. 447. requested ' that Newton himself would remove M. Marriotte's ' difficulty, for the benefit of others, he himself being ' at that time dead, Sir Isaac desired Dr. Desaguliers ' to try the experiments in which M. Marriotte had ' failed; and he did it accordingly with perfect suc- ' cess, before many members of the Royal Society, ' and also afterwards in the presence of M. Monmort, ' and several gentlemen of the Royal Academy of ' Sciences. Some time after, Rizetti, an Italian, pre- ' tending to refute Newton's theory, by experiments, ' our philosopher was ably defended by M. Richter. ' This controversy, however, was the occasion of Dr. ' Desaguliers repeating his experiments, with some ' new ones, leading to the same conclusions, in 1728; ' after which no person, who chose to give his name ' to the publick, or whose name is worth recording, ' made any more opposition to it; so that, at present, ' no hypothesis in philosophy stands upon surer ground, ' or is more generally acquiesced in, than that of the ' different refrangibility of the rays of light (3).'

(3) Hist. of the present State of Discoveries relating to Vision, Light, and Colours, edit. 4to. 1772. P. 350, 351.

exhibit various philoſophical experiments before the Royal Society, and for which he received a ſalary [*D*].

In 1734, he publiſhed, in two volumes, 4to, "A Courſe of Experimental Philoſophy[*E*]." On the 30th of January, the following year, he communicated to the Royal Society, an attempt to explain the phænomenon of the horizontal moon [*F*], appearing bigger

[*D*] *For which he received a ſalary.*] This appears from the following letter from him to Dr. Scheutzer, which is preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum:

'SIR, Channel-Row, Jan. 15, 1728-9.

'I intended myſelf the honour to have waited upon 'the Preſident, to have ſpoken to him concerning 'what I told you at Slaughter's Coffee-houſe; but laſt 'Thurſday's work was too much for me in my con'dition, and cauſed a relapſe, which has confined me 'to my chamber ever ſince. I was juſt free from pain 'after a long fit of the gout, and ſtanding almoſt two 'hours upon my feet that day, whilſt they were ſtill 'weak, together with the effect of the cold, gave me a 'return of pain, as well as lameneſs, that very even'ing. I muſt, therefore, beg of you to be my advo'cate to Sir Hans, to deſire him (if there be nothing 'contrary to form in it), to be ſo good as to ſettle my 'laſt year's ſalary in the next council, which uſed to 'be done generally at the meeting of the Society after 'the vacation, though now the death of the treaſurer 'hindered it. This would be of great ſervice to me 'at preſent, becauſe I am entirely out of money, and 'have preſſing occaſions for it. What elſe I told you 'by word of mouth, you will alſo mention when pro'per, in doing which you will much oblige,

'Sir,

'Your moſt humble,

'and obedient ſervant,

'J. T. DESAGULIERS (4).'

(4) MSS. in the Brit. Muſeum, Ayſcough's Cat. No. 4043. 455.

[*E*] *A Courſe of Experimental Philoſophy.*] In the preface to this work he ſpeaks in the following manner of the Philoſophy of Des Cartes, and the Diſcoveries of Sir Iſaac Newton. 'When Monſ. Des Car'tes's Philoſophical Romance, by the elegance of its 'ſtyle, and the plauſible accounts of natural phæno'mena, had overthrown the Ariſtotelian phyſics, the 'world received but little advantage by the change; 'for, inſtead of a few pedants, who, moſt of them, 'being conſcious of their ignorance, concealed it with 'hard words and pompous terms; a new ſet of phi'loſophers ſtarted up, whoſe lazy diſpoſition eaſily 'fell in with a philoſophy that required no mathe'matics to underſtand it; and who, taking a few 'principles for granted, without examining their 'reality, or conſiſtence with each other, fancied they 'could ſolve all appearances mechanically by matter 'and motion; and, in their ſmattering way, pre'tended to demonſtrate ſuch things, as perhaps Car'teſius himſelf never believed; his philoſophy (if he 'had been in earneſt) being unable to ſtand the teſt 'of the geometry which he was maſter of.

'It is to Sir Iſaac Newton's application of geometry 'to philoſophy, that we owe the routing of this army 'of Goths and Vandals in the philoſophical world; 'which he hath enriched with more and greater diſ'coveries, than all the philoſophers that went before 'him; and has laid ſuch foundations for future ac'quiſitions, that, even after his death, his works ſtill 'promote natural knowledge. Before Sir Iſaac New'ton, we had but wild gueſſes at the cauſe of the mo'tion of the comets and planets round the ſun; but 'now he has clearly deduced them from the univerſal 'laws of attraction (the exiſtence of which he has 'proved beyond contradiction), and has ſhewn, that 'the ſeeming irregularities of the moon, which aſtro'nomers were unable to expreſs in numbers, are but 'the juſt conſequences of the actions of the ſun and 'earth upon it, according to their different poſitions. 'His principles clear up all difficulties of the various 'phænomena of the tides; and the true figure of the 'earth is now plainly ſhewn to be a flatted ſpheroid 'higher at the equator than the poles, notwithſtand'ing many aſſertions and conjectures to the contrary. 'Our incomparable philoſopher has diſcovered and de'monſtrated to us the true nature of light and colours, 'of which the moſt ſagacious and inquiſitive natura'liſts were entirely ignorant; for while they ſought 'for the origin of colours in the mixture of light and 'ſhadow, Sir Iſaac Newton found that they were con'genial with the rays of the ſun, and contained in 'light itſelf; the ſurface of coloured bodies ſerving 'only to ſeparate from one another thoſe rays that 'make different colours; by abſorbing ſome, and re'flecting others to our eyes, ſo as to produce thoſe 'different ſenſations, on which the pleaſing variety of 'coloured objects depends. His optics, beſides the 'properties of light, contain a vaſt fund of philoſophy, 'which (though he has modeſtly delivered under the 'name of *queries*, as if they were only conjectures) 'daily experience and obſervations confirm; a notable 'inſtance of which may be ſeen in the Rev. Mr. 'Stephen Hales's excellent book of Vegetable Sta'ticks, which, by putting ſeveral of Sir Iſaac's queries 'out of all doubt, ſhew how well they were founded. 'I paſs over Sir Iſaac Newton's noble inventions in 'pure mathematics, juſtly admired at home and a'broad; becauſe, though they have been of great uſe 'in the diſcovery of the cauſes of natural phænomena, 'they are foreign to my preſent ſubject, which is 'phyſics; whoſe knowledge I am in this courſe en'deavouring to convey by experiments; not only 'where things have been diſcovered that way, but 'even where they have been deduced by a long train 'of mathematical conſequences; having contrived 'experiments, which ſtep by ſtep bring us to the ſame 'concluſion.'

In the year 1719, was publiſhed, in 4to, a work under the following title: "A Syſtem of Experimental "Philoſophy, proved by Mechanicks: wherein the "Principles and Laws of Phyſics, Mechanics, Hy"droſtatics, and Optics, are demonſtrated and ex"plained at large, by a great Number of curious Ex"periments: with a full Deſcription of the Air Pump, "and the ſeveral Experiments thereon: As alſo of the "different Species of Barometers, Thermometers, and "Hydrometers; as ſhewn at the Public Lectures in a "Courſe of Experimental Philoſophy. As performed "by J. T. Deſaguliers, M. A. F. R. S." But when Dr. Deſaguliers publiſhed his "Courſe of Experi"mental Philoſophy," he diſavowed this work: which appears to have been publiſhed by a perſon of the name of Paul Dawſon, who attended Dr. Deſaguliers's Lectures, and dedicated the work to Sir Richard Steele.

[*F*] *An attempt to explain the phænomenon of the horizontal moon.*] Dr. Prieſtley obſerves, that 'Dr. Deſa'guliers very well illuſtrated the doctrine of the hori'zontal moon, upon the ſuppoſition of our imagining 'the viſible heavens to be only a ſmall portion of a 'ſpherical ſurface, and conſequently ſuppoſing the moon 'to be farther from us in the horizon than near the 'zenith; and by ſeveral ingenious contrivances he de'monſtrated how liable we are to ſuch deceptions. 'In the preſence of ſeveral ſpectators, he placed two 'equal candles, at a conſiderable diſtance from one 'another; which, as the diſtance was diſtinctly per'ceived, continued to appear equal to them all; but 'taking off their attention for a little time, he re'moved the farther candle; and, in the ſame line in 'which it had appeared, ſubſtituted another, much 'leſs than it, but nearer; when the ſpectators, being 'informed that the candle was changed, but taking 'it for granted that the new one was put in the ſame 'place, always pronounced that it was as large as the 'other. He made the ſame experiment with equal 'ſucceſs when he made uſe of ivory balls inſtead of 'candles (5).' But Dr. Prieſtley alſo remarks, that the writer, to whom we are obliged for the moſt complete illuſtration of this curious ſubject, is Dr. Smith, in his Optics (6).

(5) Hiſt. and preſent State of Diſcoveries relating to Viſion, Light, and Colours, p. 170.
(6) Ibid. p. 711.

than when elevated many degrees above the horizon, ſupported by an experiment (*n*) He likewiſe publiſhed this year, in 8vo. the ſecond edition of "Dr. Gregory's Elements of Catoprics and Dioptrics," tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr. Brown; to which he added an Appendix, containing an account of reflecting teleſcopes, &c.

(*n*) Abridgment, Vol. VIII. Part I. p. 130.

The 16th of February, 1738, he made ſome electrical experiments before the Royal Society [G]; and, on the 15th of April, the ſame year, he performed ſome electrical experiments at the Prince of Wales's houſe at Cliefden (*o*); of which an account was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, N° 454. In 1739, he communicated to the Royal Society ſome thoughts and conjectures concerning the cauſe of elaſticity, which were publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, N° 454 (*p*).

(*o*) Muſ. Brit. Bibl Birch. No. 4435.

Of other Papers written by him, which were alſo publiſhed in the Tranſactions, and which

(*p*) Abridgm. of the Phil. Tranſ. Vol. VIII. Part II. p. 439.

[G] *He made ſome electrical experiments before the Royal Society.*] Dr. Prieſtley obſerves, in his very valuable Hiſtory of Electricity, that the reaſon which Dr. Deſaguliers gives 'why he had avoided entertaining the Royal Society upon this ſubject before, and why he had not purſued it ſo far as he might have done; conſidering, as he ſays, that he could excite as ſtrong an electricity in glaſs, by rubbing with his hand, as any body could, is worth mentioning for its curioſity, and for the light that it throws upon the temper and manner of Mr. Grey. He ſays, that he was unwilling to interfere with the late Mr. Stephen Grey, who had wholly turned his thoughts to electricity; but was of a temper to give it entirely over, if he imagined that any thing was done in oppoſition to him (7).

(7) Abridgment of the Phil. Tranſ. Vol. VIII. p. 419.

'Dr. Deſaguliers begins with obſerving very ſenſibly (and the obſervation is ſtill true), that the phænomena of electricity are ſo odd, that, though we have a great many experiments upon that ſubject, we have not been able, from their compariſon, to ſettle ſuch a theory as will lead us to the cauſe of that property in bodies, or even to judge of all its effects, or find out what uſeful influence electricity has in nature; though certainly, from what we have ſeen of it, we may conjecture that it muſt be of great uſe, becauſe it is ſo extenſive (8).'

(8) Hiſt. and preſent State of Electricity, fourth edit. p. 64.

Dr. Prieſtley farther remarks, that 'to Dr. Deſaguliers we are indebted for ſome *technical terms* which have been extremely uſeful to all electricians to this day, and which will probably remain in uſe as long as the ſubject is ſtudied. He firſt applied the term *conductor* to that body to which the excited tube conveys its electricity; which term has ſince been extended to all bodies that are capable of receiving that virtue. And he calls thoſe bodies in which electricity may be excited, by heating or rubbing, *electrics per ſe*.

'In the writings of this author we find many *axioms* relating to electrical experiments; ſome of which are expreſſed in a more clear and diſtinct manner than they had been before; but the real improvements which he made, were very few and immaterial.

'On ſeveral occaſions, and particularly in a paper delivered to the Royal Society, in the month of January, 1741, he lays down, among others, the following general rules, which ſeem to be more accurate than any which had been delivered before upon the ſubject (9).

(9) Abridgm. of the Phil. Tranſ. Vol. VIII. p. 430.

"An electric *per ſe* will not receive electricity from "another electric *per ſe*, in which it has been excited, ſo as to run along its whole length: but will "only receive it a little way, being, as it were, ſaturated with it.

"An electric *per ſe* will not loſe all its electricity "at once; but only the electricity of thoſe parts near "which a non-electric has been brought. It, conſequently, loſes its electricity the ſooner, the more "of thoſe bodies are near it. Thus, in moiſt weather, the excited tube holds its virtue but a little "while, becauſe it acts upon the moiſt vapours which "float in the air. And if the excited tube be applied "to leaf gold laid upon a ſtand, it will act upon it "much longer, and more ſtrongly, than if the ſame "quantity of leaf-gold be laid upon a table, which "has more non-electric ſurface than the ſtand (10)."

(10) Ibid, P. 427.

'This, however, ſeems not to be the whole of the 'reaſon; for if the leaf-gold were laid upon a broad 'ſurface of glaſs, it would not be acted upon ſo powerfully, as if it were placed upon a narrow ſtand of 'any kind of matter.

"A non-electric, when it has received electricity, "loſes it all at once, upon the approach of another "non-electric." This, however, could only be the 'caſe when the approaching electric was not inſulated, 'but had a communication with the earth. It muſt 'alſo be brought into contact with the electrified 'body.

"Animal ſubſtances are non-electrics by reaſon of "the fluids they contain (11)."

(11) Ibid. P. 429.

"Excited electricity exerts itſelf in a ſphere round "the electric *per ſe*, or rather in a cylinder, if the "body be cylindrical (12)."

(12) Ibid. P. 431.

'Few of the many experiments which were made 'by Dr. Deſaguliers (accounts of which were publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions) had, as I 'obſerved before, any thing new in them. Thoſe 'which were the moſt ſo are the following.

'Endeavouring to communicate electricity to a 'burning tallow candle, he obſerved, that the candle 'attracted the thread of trial, but not within two or 'three inches of the flame; but that, as ſoon as the 'candle was blown out, the thread was attracted by 'every part of it, and even by the wick, when the 'fire was quite extinguiſhed. He electrified a wax 'candle in the ſame manner, and the experiment 'ſucceeded as well, only the electricity came not ſo 'near the flame in the wax, as in the tallow candle.

'He ſays, that only warming a glaſs receiver, 'without any rubbing, would cauſe the threads of a 'down feather, tied to an upright ſkewer to extend 'themſelves, as ſoon as it was put over the feather; 'and that ſometimes roſin and wax would exert their 'electricity by being only expoſed to the open air.

'He obſerved, that if a hollow glaſs tube, ſupporting the line of communication, were moiſtened by 'blowing through it, it would intercept the electricity.

'He ſays, that when an excited tube has repelled a 'feather, it will attract it again, after being ſuddenly 'dipped into water, but in fair weather it will not 'attract it unleſs it hath been dipped pretty deep into 'the water, a foot of its length at leaſt: whereas, in 'moiſt weather, an inch or two will ſuffice (13).'

(13) Ibid. P. 429.

'He ſhewed the attraction of water by an excited 'tube, in a better manner than it had been ſhewn 'before, viz. by bringing the tube to a ſtream iſſuing 'from a condenſing fountain: which, thereupon, was 'evidently bent towards it.

'Dr. Deſaguliers ſeems to have been the firſt who 'expreſſly ſaid, that pure *air* might be ranked among 'electrics *per ſe*, and that cold air in froſty weather, 'when vapours riſe leaſt of all, is preferable, for 'electrical purpoſes, to warm air in ſummer, when 'the heat raiſes the vapours (14). He alſo ſuppoſed 'that the electricity of the air was of the vitreous 'kind; and he accounted for the electricity appearing 'on the inſide only of an exhauſted glaſs veſſel, by 'its going where it met with the leaſt reſiſtance from 'ſo electrical a body as the air (15).

(14) Ibid. P. 437.

(15) Ibid. P. 438.

'He endeavoured to account for the fixing of air 'by the ſteams of ſulphur, according to the experiment of Dr. Hales; by ſuppoſing that the particles 'of ſulphur, and thoſe of air, being poſſeſſed of dif-

'ferent

which have not been already mentioned, some account will be found in the notes [*H*]. He had the honour of reading his lectures before King George II. as well as the rest of the royal family; and he exchanged the living which he had in Norfolk for one in Essex, which he obtained on the presentation of his Majesty. He was likewise made Chaplain to Frederick Prince of Wales (*q*).

(*q*) Supplement, ut supra.

When Channel Row, in which he had lived for some years, was ordered to be taken down, to make way for the new bridge at Westminster, Dr. Desaguliers removed to lodgings over the Great Piazza in Covent-Garden, where he carried on his lectures till his death. He is said to have been repeatedly consulted by Parliament, upon the design of building that bridge; in the execution of which Mr. Charles Labelye, who had been many years his assistant, was appointed a supervisor. He likewise erected a ventilator, at the desire of Parliament, in a room over the House of Commons (*r*).

(*r*) Ibid.

In 1742, he published a "Dissertation on Electricity," by which he gained the prize of the academy at Bourdeaux. 'This prize,' Dr. Priestley observes, 'was a medal of 'the value of 300 livres, proposed, at the request of Monsieur Harpez de la Force, for 'the best essay on electricity; and shews how much this subject engaged the attention 'of philosophers at that time. The dissertation is well drawn up, and comprizes all that 'was known of the subject till that period (*s*).'

(*s*) Hist of Electricity, p. 69.

Dr. Desaguliers, who is stiled by the celebrated writer whom we have just quoted, "an indefatigable Experimental Philosopher," died in the year 1749. He was the first who introduced the reading of lectures in experimental philosophy at the metropolis; and was a member of several foreign academies, and corresponding member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris. His personal figure was not very promising; for he was thick and short, not well shaped, his features irregular, and extremely near-sighted (*t*). In the former part of his life he lived very abstemiously; but latterly was censured for an indulgence in eating to excess, both in the quantity and quality of his diet. He translated into English, from the Latin, Gravesande's "Mathematical Elements of Natural Philosophy." This work was published by his son J. T. Desaguliers, in two volumes, 4to. He left two other sons: Alexander, who was bred to the church, and had a living in Norfolk, where he died in 1751 (*u*); and another, named Thomas, who became Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, and Equerry to his present Majesty, and rose to the rank of major-general.] T.

(*t*) Supplement, ut supra.

(*u*) Id. ibid.

'ferent kinds of electricity, attracted one another, 'whereby their repulsive power was destroyed. He 'also proposed the following conjecture concerning 'the rise of vapour. The air at the surface of water 'being electrical, particles of water, he thought, 'jumped to it, then, becoming themselves electrical, 'they repelled both the air and one another, and con-'sequently ascended into the higher regions of the 'atmosphere (16).'

(16) Hist. of Electricity, ut supra.

[*H*] *Other papers written by him, which were also published in the Transactions.*] These were the following:

"Remarks on the second Paper in the History of "the Royal Academy of Sciences, for the year 1711, "concerning the Cause of the Variation of the Baro-"meter: shewing that the Way of accounting for it "in that Paper is insufficient, and that the Experi-"ment made use of to prove what is there asserted, "does no way prove it (17)."

(17) Abridgm. of the Phil. Trans. Vol. IV. Part II. p. 10.

"Experiments to find how much the Resistance "of the Air retards falling Bodies (18)."

(18) Ibid. p. 175.

"Of the great and speedy Vegetation of Turnips "(19)."

(19) Ibid. p. 311.

"A new Contrivance for taking Levels (20)."

(20) Ibid. Vol. VI. Part I. p. 271.

"An Attempt to account for the Rising and Fall-"ing of the Water of some Ponds near the Sea, or "ebbing and flowing Rivers; where the Water is "lowest in the Pond, at the Time of High Water in "the Sea or River; and the Water is highest in the "Pond, at the Time of Low Water in the Sea or "River. As also for the increasing or decreasing of "the Water of such Pools and Brooks as are highest "in the dry Seasons, and lowest in the rainy Seasons: "with an Experiment to illustrate the Solution of the "Phænomena (21)."

(21) Phil. Trans. Vol. XXXIII. p. 132.

"A Dissertation concerning the Figure of the Earth, "Part I. (22)."

(22) Ibid. p. 201.

"A Dissertation concerning the Figure of the Earth, "Part II. (23)."

(23) Ibid. p. 277.

"An Experiment to illustrate what is asserted in "the two preceding Papers (24)."

(24) Ibid. p. 344.

In these papers he maintained the opinion of Sir Isaac Newton, concerning the figure of the earth, that it was an oblate or flatted spheroid.

"A Proposition on the Balance, not taken notice of "by Mechanical Writers, explained by an Experi-"ment (25)."

(25) Abridgm. of the Phil. Trans. Vol. VI. p. 306.

"An Experiment explaining a mechanical Paradox, "that two Bodies of equal Weight suspended on a cer-"tain sort of Balance do not lose their Equilibrium, "by being removed, one farther from, the other nearer "to, the center (26)."

(26) Ibid. p. 310.

"Observations on the Crane, with Improvements "(27)."

(27) Ibid. p. 312.

"An Examination of M. Perrault's new-invented "Axis in Peritrochio, said to be entirely void of "Friction (28)."

(28) Ibid. p. 317.

"A farther Examination of the Machine said to be "without Friction (29)."

(29) Ibid. p. 320.

"An Experiment to shew, that the Friction of the "several Parts in a compound Engine, may be re-"duced to Calculation, by drawing Consequences "from some Experiments upon simple Machines, in "various Circumstances (30)."

(30) Ibid. p. 321.

"Two Experiments of the Friction of Pullies (31)."

(31) Ibid. p. 322.

"Remarks on some Attempts made towards a Per-"petual motion (32)."

(32) Ibid. p. 323.

"Experiments concerning the Cohesion of Lead (33)."

(33) Ibid. p. 325.

"An Improvement of an Engine to raise Water by "the Help of Quicksilver; originally invented by Mr. "Joshua Haskins (34)."

(34) Ibid. p. 352.

"An Attempt to solve the Phænomenon of the Rise "of Vapours, Formation of Clouds, and Descent of "Rain (35)."

(35) Ibid. Part II. p. 61.

"Concerning the Running of Water in Pipes (36)."

"Account of an Attempt made before the Royal "Society, to shew how Damps or Foul Air may be "drawn out of any sort of Mines, &c. by an Engine "contrived by Dr. Desaguliers (37)."

(36) Ibid. p. 347.

(37) Ibid. Part II. p. 193.

"A Comparison of Paris Weights with the Eng-"lish (38)."

(38) Id. Vol. VII. Part IV. p. 46.

"A Calculation of the Velocity of the Air moved "by the new-invented Centrifugal Bellows of seven "Feet in Diameter, and one Foot thick within, which "a Man can keep in Motion with a very little Labour, "at the Rate of two Revolutions in one Second (39)."

(39) Id. Vol. VIII. Part I. p. 271.

"An Account of some Statical Experiments (40)."

(40) Ibid. p. 277.

"An Account of some Magnetical Experiments "(41)."] T.

(41) Id. Part II. p. 740.

*** [In

*** [In Dr. Desaguliers's character as a Divine, we find only one publication by him, and that was no more than a single sermon, in octavo, which was preached before the King, in 1717, from Luke xiii. 5. "I tell you nay; but except you repent, you shall "all likewise perish." It was a thanksgiving-sermon; but on what particular occasion it was delivered we are not informed (x).

If credit is to be given to Mr. Cawthorn, Dr. Desaguliers was in very necessitous circumstances at the time of his decease. In the poem intituled, "The Vanity of Human Enjoyments," Mr. Cawthorn has the following lines:

"Can Britain, in her fits of madness, pour
"One half her Indies on a Roman whore,
"And still permit the weeping Muse to tell
"How poor, neglected Desaguliers fell!
"How he, who taught two gracious Kings to view
"All Boyle ennobled, and all Bacon knew,
"Died in a cell, without a friend to save,
"Without a guinea, and without a grave (y)!]

K.

(x) Cooke's Historical Register, Vol. I. p. 245. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 103.

(y) The Works of the English Poets; Vol. LXV. p. 287.

DEVEREUX (WALTER) the first Earl of Essex of this name and family, a General equally distinguished for his courage and conduct, and a Nobleman not more illustrious by his titles than by his birth. He was descended from a most ancient and noble family, being the son of Sir Richard Devereux, Knight, by Dorothy, daughter of George Earl of Huntingdon (a), and grandson of Walter Viscount of Hereford, so created by King Edward the VIth, with a very peculiar circumstance of honour (b) [A]. He was born about the year 1540, at his grandfather's castle in Carmarthenshire (c), educated in his youth with all the care due to his high birth, and applied himself to his studies with great diligence and success (d). He succeeded to the titles of Viscount Hereford and Lord Ferrers of Chartley, in the nineteenth year of his age (e), and being early distinguished for his modesty, learning, and loyalty, stood in high favour with his Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth (f). In the year 1569, upon the breaking-out of that desperate rebellion in the north, under the potent Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, he shewed his duty by raising a considerable body of forces (g), which joining those belonging to the Lord Admiral and the Earl of Lincoln, he was declared Marshal of the Army; which did good service, in obliging the rebels to disperse, and the Earls to retire for shelter into Scotland (h). This behaviour so highly recommended him to the Queen, that, in 1572 (i), she honoured him with the Garter, and on the 4th of May, the same year, created him Earl of Essex (k), as being descended, by his great grandmother, from the noble family of Bourchier, long before honoured with the same title (l). In the preamble of his patent, his descent from that house is mentioned, as well as the service he had rendered the Queen by his assistance in the suppressing that formidable rebellion (m); and with great ceremony he was invested with his new dignity, being conducted into the Queen's presence by the Earls of Sussex and Huntingdon, the cap and circle of gold being carried by the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Bedford bearing the sword of state, the Queen herself hanging the sword cross his shoulders, and imposing the cap and coronet with her own hand (n). In the month of January following, he was one of the Peers that sat in judgment upon the Duke of Norfolk (o). At this time he was so favourably looked upon by the Queen, that some, who were for confining her good graces to themselves and to their friends, began to wish him at a greater distance, and therefore greatly encouraged an inclination he shewed to adventure both his person and fortune for her Ma-

(a) Baronagium Angliæ, A. D. 1526. MS. penes Author. fol. 12.

(b) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 177.

(c) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(d) From the Bp. of St. David's Sermon at this Earl's Funeral. See note [G].

(e) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 177.

(f) Speed's Hist. of England, p. 842.

(g) Stowe's Annals, p. 664.

(h) Holinshed's Chronicle. p. 1212. b. n. 40.

(i) Nobilitas politica vel civilis per Thom. Milles, fol. 1608. p. 180.

(k) Vincent's Correction of Brook's Catalogue, p. 187.

(l) Catalogue of the Successions, &c. by R. Brook, p. 84.

(m) From a copy of this Earl's Patent.

(n) Milles, de Nobilitate politica & civili, p. 71, 72.

(o) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 82.

[A] *With a very peculiar circumstance of honour.*] This family of Devereux descended from William Devereux of Bodynham in the county of Hereford, of which he was Sheriff in the forty-fifth of Edw. III (1). His grandson, Sir Walter Devereux, married Anne, sole daughter and heiress of William Lord Ferrers of Chartley; and, in the thirty-fourth of Henry VI, was Sheriff of Gloucestershire (2). In the first year of Edward IV, he was advanced to the dignity of a Baron of this realm, by the title of Lord Ferrers, and had large grants from the Crown, out of the forfeitures of those who adhered to Henry VI (3). This Walter Lord Ferrers was slain at Bosworth field, fighting valiantly in the cause of Richard III (4). His son, John Lord Ferrers of Chartley, espoused Cecily, daughter to Henry Bourchier Earl of Essex (5), by whom he had Walter, his son and heir, who in the seventeenth of Henry VIII was constituted Justice of South Wales, being then Knight of the most noble Order (6) of the Garter. It was this noble person, who, on the second of February, in the fourth of Edward VI, was advanced to the dignity of Viscount Hereford (7), with this singular clause in his patent, 'that he and his heirs 'male should enjoy the rank and degree of Viscount 'Hereford in all Parliaments and Councils within the 'realm of England, and other the King's territories 'and kingdoms (8);' which, in the opinion of Sir Richard St. George, Garter King at Arms, gave the Viscounts of Hereford a right to sit in the Parliament of Ireland. This Walter Viscount Hereford married first, Mary, daughter of Thomas Marquis of Dorset (9), by whom he had Sir Richard Devereux, Knt. father to Walter Earl of Essex of whom we are speaking, and also Sir William Devereux, who died without issue male. By his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Robert Garnish of Kenton, in the county of Suffolk, Esq. he had one son, Sir Edward Devereux of Castle Bromwich in the county of Warwick, whose descendants were Viscounts of Hereford (10), till the title became extinct in Price, late Lord Viscount Hereford, who died July 22, 1748 (11).

(1) Rot. Fin. 45 E. III. membr. 8.

(2) Rot. Fin. 34 H. VI. mem. 6.

(3) Pat. 1 E. IV. p. 5. m. 1. Pat. 10 E. IV. m. 6.

(4) Polyd. Virg. p. 564.

(5) Claus. 1 H. VII. in dorso. Polyd Virg. p. 512. n. 30.

(6) Pat. 17 H. VIII. p. 2.

(7) Pat. 4 E. IV. p. 8.

(8) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. III. p. 276.

(9) Baronagium Angliæ MS. fol. 12.

(10) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 182.

(11) Gentleman's Mag. Vol. XVIII. p. 333.

jesty's service in Ireland (p) [B]. Accordingly, on the 16th of August, 1573, he embarked at Liverpool, accompanied by the Lord Darcy, the Lord Rich, and many other persons of distinction, together with a multitude of volunteers, whom the hopes of preferment, and his Lordship's known reputation, inclined to follow his fortune (q). His reception in Ireland was not very promising from the beginning; for landing at Knockfergus, on the 16th of September, he found the chiefs of the rebels professing a strong inclination to submit; but that was only to gain time, and to accomplish their own purposes; for then they withdrew again, and broke out into open rebellion (r). The Lord Rich was called away by his own affairs, and, by degrees, most of those who went abroad with the Earl dropped off, and came home again, upon a variety of pretences (s). In this situation Essex desired the Queen to carry on the service in her own name, and by her own command, though he should be at one half of the expence (t). Afterwards he applied to the Earls of Sussex and Leicester, and the Lord Burleigh, to induce the Queen to pay one hundred horse and six hundred foot; which, however, did not take effect; but the Queen, perceiving how hardly this Nobleman was dealt with, and how, in contempt of her commands, the Lord Deputy had delayed sending him his commission, she was inclined to recal him out of Ulster, if Leicester and others, who found their account in his absence, had not dissuaded her (u). The Lord Deputy having at last, in 1574, sent him his patent, perceiving him busy in fortifying Clandeboy, which was indeed the great end of his coming thither, dispatched positive orders to him to pursue the Earl of Desmond one way, while himself pressed him another (w). The Earl of Essex obeyed, though with reluctance, and had the good luck to force, or to persuade, the Earl of Desmond to submission (x). He gained great honour by this, and, it is highly probable, would have performed much higher things, if the same fallacious arts had not with-held his hands in the winter, which had blasted his best endeavours in the summer [C]. The same misfortune attended his subsequent attempts; and, excepting the zeal of his attendants, the affection of the English soldiers, and the esteem of the native Irish, he gained

(p) Stowe's Annals, p. 677.

(q) Dugd. Bar. Vol. II. p. 173.

(r) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, P. i. p. 341.

(s) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(t) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 287.

(u) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(w) Chronicles of Ireland, by Vowell, alias Hooker, p. 136.

(x) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, P. i. p. 342.

[B] *For her Majesty's service in Ireland.*] It is of great consequence to the personal history of this Nobleman, which very well deserves to be known, and which nevertheless has been but very obscurely represented, that the original cause of his going to Ireland should be thoroughly understood. The troubles of Ireland were at this juncture very great; for in Ulster, Brian Mac Phelim, who had seized a great part of the country of Clandeboy, burnt the town of Knockfergus, that is, Fergus's rock, and others in those parts began to raise tumults (12). Against these, Walter Earl of Essex craved leave to undertake an expedition, following therein the counsel of those, who desired above all things to have him farther off, and to plunge him into dangers, under pretence of procuring him honour, which he knew well enough; but being a stirring man, and one addicted to a martial life from his youth he held his resolution, and made an agreement with the Queen, that, upon certain conditions, the one half of Clandeboy, if he drove out the rebels, should be granted to him and his soldiers (13). For the defence whereof he should maintain, at his own charge, two hundred horsemen, and four hundred foot; and, to furnish himself for the war, he borrowed of the Queen ten thousand pounds of English money, mortgaging his lands in Essex for the same (14). Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord Deputy of Ireland, fearing lest the name of so great an Earl should eclipse his glory in Ireland, advised the Queen that he might not be sent, feigning, says Camden, I know not what general revolt of all Ulster (15). But Essex for all that was sent; and that the Lord Deputy's honour and authority might stand uneclipsed, he was commanded to receive his patent from him, whereby to be made Governor of Ulster, which he was long in procuring, and that not without very important solicitation. Dr. Fuller treats this subject, as indeed he does all subjects, very facetiously: he says, the Earl of Essex mortgaged his fine estate, and afterwards sold it outright for money to buy a bear's-skin, but that when he came to take and slay the bear, he found greater difficulties than he expected; and at the same time intimates, that as this was the first, so it was the last bargain of the kind made with that Queen (16), in which he is certainly mistaken; for bargains of that kind were common enough, tho', as he very justly observes, they very seldom turned to the benefit of those who made them. All this ought not, however, to bring any imputation upon the understanding of this noble person, who most certainly acted like a very wise, as well as a very honest and brave man. He had in view the service of the Queen, the nation, and himself; and if he had been as fairly dealt with as his fidelity deserved, all his views would have been fully accomplished; that is to say, the rebels would have been reduced, the country planted, and his family would have derived from his labours a very large estate.

(12) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 286.

(13) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(14) Dugd. Bar. Vol. II. p. 178.

(15) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 286.

(16) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

[C] *Which had blasted his best endeavours.*] As soon as the Earl had engaged Desmond to lay down his arms, he undertook a long march against Turlough Lenigh, O'Donnel (17) joining with him; but from Con O'Donnel, Turlough's son-in-law, who would not serve under him, he took the castle of Liffer, and gave it to Hugh O'Donnel: Turlough, in the mean while, spinning out the time with parties, till Essex was of necessity to return, who, as he had tired out his body with labours and cares all the summer, so, winter approaching, he considered seriously by what means Ulster, which had been so long neglected that it was grown wild and savage, might be reduced to civility. And, upon mature deliberation, he shewed, that if three towns were built at the Queen's charge, and ten forts by the common purse of the soldiers, in such convenient places as he had designed, above seven thousand pounds of English money might be gathered yearly from those people, and after two years the Queen should not need to maintain any more garrisons there. Whilst he was wholly taken up about these projects, and other commendable endeavours, he narrowly escaped being slain by the rebel Irish. For Brian Mac Phelim, who had treacherously slain one Moore, an English Captain, had conspired with Turlough and the Scots to cut him off. Which as soon as he understood, he thought it best not to expect their coming but to attack them. And attack them he did so resolutely, that, with the slaughter of two hundred Irish, he took Brian, and Rory Oge his half brother, and Brian's wife. Thus, says Camden, the year was brought to a close to no man's advantage, but to the great misfortune and loss of the Earl of Essex (18). It must, however, be observed, that this learned person is in a great mistake as to the year, for he sets it down expressly 1573, whereas it was 1574, and indeed his own relation shews it must have been so; for in the year 1574 he sets down nothing of the affairs of Ireland, because he had in reality set them down before.

(17) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, P. i. p. 341. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 487.

(18) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 289.

nothing

nothing by all his pains. Worn out at length with these fruitless fatigues, he, the next year, desired leave to conclude, upon honourable terms, an accommodation with Turlough Oneile, which was refused him (*y*). He then surrendered the government of Ulster into the Lord Deputy's hands, as believing the forces allowed him altogether insufficient for its defence; but the Lord Deputy, of a sudden, obliged him to resume it, and to march against Turlough Oneile, which he accordingly did; and his enterprize being in a fair way of succeeding, he was surprized to receive instructions, which peremptorily required him to make peace (*z*). This likewise he concluded without loss of honour, and then turned his arms against the Scots from the Western islands, who had invaded and taken possession of his country. These he quickly drove out, and, by the help of Norris, followed them into one of their islands; and was preparing to dispossess them of other posts, when he was required to give up his command, and afterwards to serve at the head of a small body of three hundred men, with no other title than their captain (*a*). These were the artifices of Leicester, to ruffle and distract him; but the Earl, notwithstanding he was inwardly grieved, continued to perform his duty punctually, without any shew of resentment, out of respect to the Queen's service (*b*) [*D*]. In the spring of the succeeding

(*y*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 302.

(*z*) Dugd. Bar. Vol. II. p. 188.

(*a*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 302. Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 388. Dugd. Bar. Vol. II. p. 178.

(*b*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 302.

[*D*] *Out of respect to the Queen's service.*] We find all these matters very clearly stated by Mr. Camden, who wrote from good memoirs, and, so far as we are able to judge, with great candour and impartiality. He has not, however, as indeed it was not his business, cleared up this matter entirely, and shewn us how this worthy Lord was so grossly abused. It is certain that Queen Elizabeth meant nothing like it, nor is it at all probable that her Ministers, in general, had any such design; but thus the matter appears to have been managed. The Queen intended to have gratified the Earl in most of his requests, but at the same time to have done this in such a manner, as not to lessen either the dignity or the power of the Lord Deputy Fitz-Williams. She therefore directed a letter, dated March 15, 1574-5, to both of them, in which she shews what she thought reasonable in behalf of the Earl, and refers the manner and other circumstances to the Lord Deputy (19), who knowing perhaps he should make himself friends at home by such a construction, boldly took upon him, under colour of this letter, to disapprove the whole enterprize, and after all the labours and losses of the Earl of Essex, to strip him of every thing. The chief reason of this seems to have been, that the Earl had intimated something, which, if well improved, might have saved the Queen great sums of money, and promoted the service of Ireland very much. What this was, will appear from the following passage in his Lordship's letter to the Queen (20). 'Your Majesty taketh hold of my 'words written to the Lords in October, to diminish 'your numbers to two thousand men of all sorts. 'It may please you therefore to consider of my words, 'which were these: And I see no reason, but if her 'Majesty kept two thousand soldiers (without which, 'obedience or profit will not be had of Irish or English in Ireland) why thirteen hundred of them should 'not, for the most part, reside in Ulster. This was, 'and is still, my opinion, and I hope cannot be construed but by these soldiers were meant English bands, 'and not to be extended towards officers or Kearne, 'which are neither at commandment, nor can be employed but in their charges. Besides, I never took 'upon me to set down my opinion for the government 'of the whole realm, wherewith I never had to do, 'nor with your favour will have to do, but only of 'my charge, and therefore I trust my words have not 'procured this diminishment of your Majesty's army. 'But now I will say directly, that which before I 'spake conjecturally, that two thousand English soldiers, under bands, well maintained, will be enough 'to govern all the whole realm of Ireland, and to 'make all that be rebels, or that be of the Irish faction, to quake, and either to be good subjects, or 'to seem good subjects.' How the Earl resented this usage, will best appear from his own short and significant letter to the Council, in which, with great spirit and freedom, and yet with the utmost modesty and decorum, he very accurately states his own case (21).

(19) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, P. i. p. 341. Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 63. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 488.

(20) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 68. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 488.

(21) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 69, 70.

'My good Lords,

'I have of late seen a letter signed by the Queen's 'Majesty, and jointly endorsed to my Lord Deputy 'and me, concerning mine enterprise in the province of Ulster, which, although it carry a shew of 'a present proceeding therein, and of a consent to all 'my petitions, yet hath it brought forth none other 'effects but the present discharge of all that serve under me, and a final dissolving of my enterprize. 'Whereunto, what answer I have made to her Majesty, may appear unto you by the copy of my letter 'herein inclosed; and although it become me to stand 'contented with any thing that her Majesty shall signify to be her will, yet when I compare this conclusion to the course that hath been taken with me since 'my coming hither, I cannot but think the dealing 'very strange. First, I came with the good liking of 'all your Lordships, and with the allowance of the 'Council here, so as by the consents of both realms I 'took my journey, the matter being first thoroughly 'debated, and so digested, as though no scruple should 'at any time arise. I had not been here three months, 'but that it was given forth that the continuance of 'the enterprize was in question, and in that stay hath 'it remained ever since, till now, that in all appearance the proceeding therein is agreed upon, and all 'my petitions granted, and yet the same letter that so 'doth assure me of all this gracious favour, is a warrant 'to my Lord Deputy (as he taketh it) to overthrow the 'whole. My Lords, I humbly desire you to consider 'well of this matter: It is somewhat to me (although 'little to others) that my house should be overthrown, 'with suffering me to run myself out of breath with 'expences. It is more, that in the word of the Queen 'I have, as it were, undone, abused, and bewitched, 'with fair promises, Odonell Mac Mahon, and all 'others that pretend to be good subjects in Ulster. It 'is most, that the Queen's Majesty shall adventure 'this estate, or else subdue rebellion with intolerable 'charge. For will not all parts of this realm take 'hold of this dissolution? or, can any in Ulster, or 'in any part of the realm, hope of defence hereafter? 'But to return to my own estate: let my life here, my 'good Lords, be examined by the strictest Commissioners 'that may be sent; I trust in examining my faults 'they will alledge this for the chief, that I have unseasonably told a plain, probable, honourable, and effectual way, how to do the country good. For of 'the rest they can say nothing of me, but witness my 'misery by plague, famine, sickness, continual toil, 'and continual wants of men, money, carriages, victuals, and all things meet for great attempts: and if 'any of these have grown by my default, then condemn me in the whole. I pray you, my Lords, 'pardon my earnestness, I think I have reason that am 'thus amazed with an oversudden warning, that must 'take a discharge before I am made acquainted with 'the matter; I think it had been a better course, that I 'might have had time to have made some profitable 'peace with Tyrlanghe, which hath been sought at 'my hands, and not at one instant to lose my travail, 'my money, my credit, and, with the same, hazard 'the honour of her Majesty, and of the realm of England. I trust, my Lords, my plain dealing shall 'not do me hurt with you; for my own part, a solitary life is best for a disgraced person; but because 'there is none of you but hath professed favour towards me, and some of your Lordships are mixed 'with

ing year he came over to England, where he was very far from ſtifling the juſt indignation he had conceived againſt the all-powerful favourite, for the inexcuſable uſage he had met with (*c*). But as it was the cuſtom of that great man to debaſe his enemies by exalting them, ſo he procured an order for the Earl of Eſſex's return into Ireland, with the ſounding title of EARL-MARSHALL (*d*) of that kingdom, and with promiſes, that he ſhould be left more at liberty than in times paſt; but, upon his arrival at Ireland, as the judicious Mr. Camden tells us (*e*), he found his ſituation ſo little altered for the better, that he pined away with grief and ſorrow, which, at length, proved fatal to him, and brought him to his end. There is nothing more certain, either from the public hiſtories, or private memoirs, and letters of that age, than that this noble Earl was one of the worthieſt, honeſteſt, and beſt of men (*f*); one who, in his public capacity, ſhewed himſelf a ſtout ſoldier, a loyal ſubject, and a moſt diſintereſted patriot, as, in his private life, he was of a chearful temper, kind, affectionate, and beneficent, to all who were about him; and, to ſay much in a little compaſs, one commended by all parties (*g*), and to whoſe prejudice there is not the ſlighteſt inſinuation to be met with in all the papers of thoſe times. He was taken ill of a flux on the 21ſt of Auguſt, and, in great pain and miſery, languiſhed to the 22d of September, 1576, when he departed this life at Dublin, being ſcarcely thirty-five years old (*h*). There was a very ſtrong report at the time, of his being poiſoned; and, if we may judge from what the learned Camden ſays upon the ſubject, it was no eaſy matter to decide whether that report was without grounds (*i*) [*E*]. It

(*c*) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(*d*) Dugd. Bar. Vol. II. p. 178.

(*e*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 308.

(*f*) Holinſhed, Strype, Speed, &c.

(*g*) See the letters from Sir Henry Sidney and Sir Nich. White in the notes.

(*h*) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p 28.

(*i*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 309.

' with me in blood and alliance, I crave of you all, ' that, as I have entered into this action with your ' good liking and advices, ſo now, the failing being ' no way to be laid upon me, you will all be means ' for me to her Majeſty to deal well with me for my ' charge, as in honour, conſcience, and juſtice, you ' ſhall think good.' What was the ſenſe of diſintereſted people in thoſe days upon theſe points, will moſt unexceptionably appear from the following paſſages, in a letter from Sir Nicholas White, Maſter of the Rolls in Ireland, to the Lord Burleigh (22): ' But what ' good thing can be hoped for here, when a Prince's ' determination, touching ſo great an enterprize, in ' the hands of ſo ſufficient and ſo honourable a ſubject ' to perform it, ſhall be ſo ſuddenly revoked! And if ' I might with all humility ſay it to her Highneſs, ' there are two things of great moment that ſeem ' ſtrange to us here, if they be true. The one is, the ' letting of the realm to farm, wherein ſo many hearts ' may be alienated from the landlord to the farmer. ' And the other is, the caſting up of the Earl's enter- ' terprize between the fallow and the ſeed; which will ' make Ulſter deſperate, and all the reſt doubtful. ' And truly, if ſhe look not back where ſhe began, ' and review both the man and the matter, ſhe ſhall ' puff up the Iriſh into incorrigible pride, and pull ' down the hearts of all good Engliſh ſubjects to a per- ' petual diffidence of any ſettled government in this ' realm.——There cannot go out of this land a ' man with greater fame of honour, nor can come in, ' whoſe bounty hath deſerved more. And if that no- ' ble mind of his, deſirous of honour, and ſo careleſs of ' gain, were employed with the aſſociation of grave ' council, I believe God hath ordained him to do ' great things.'

(22) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 388.

[*E*] *Whether that report was without grounds.*] There were few facts that happened in this reign which have made more noiſe in the world than the death of this Earl of Eſſex; and though Camden, as a wiſe man and a grave hiſtorian, treats the ſuſpicion of poiſon as a popular report, and takes occaſion to aſſign the reaſon of ſuch reports in a manner which does great honour to the Earl's memory; yet it is evident enough that he did not altogether diſbelieve it himſelf, or intend to make his readers diſbelieve it. But let us hear what he ſays (23): ' The death of this Nobleman ' carried with it a ſuſpicion of poiſon among the vul- ' gar ſort, who always ſuſpect them to be poiſoned ' whom they eſteem and love, altho' Sidney, Lord ' Deputy of Ireland, after diligent inquiſition made, ' wrote to the Council in England, that the Earl, ' upon his firſt taking his bed, ſaid many times, ' that this was a thing uſual and ordinary with him; ' that whenſoever he was troubled and perplexed in ' mind he fell into the Bloody-flux, and that he ſuſ- ' pected nothing at all of the poiſon, and that his ' body retained the ſame colour in his ſickneſs which ' it had in its perfect health: no ſpot, no infection, ' no ſhedding of the hair or nails, and being embowel- ' led no ſign at all of poiſon appeared; that though ' the Phyſicians differed in their judgments, yet they ' applied nothing againſt the force of poiſon; and that ' his cupbearer was falſely accuſed of infuſing ſome- ' thing in water, and mixing it with wine. Yet have ' we ſeen the ſame man openly pointed at for a poi- ' ſoner.' In a famous book, publiſhed when all the parties were living, and in which, though commonly treated as a libel, there are abundance of ſtrange truths, we have the whole proceſs of this execrable affair ſet forth to public view, in the following terms (24). ' It was my chance to come to the underſtanding of ' divers particulars concerning that thing, both from ' one Lea, an Iriſhman, Robert Honnies, and others, ' that were preſent at Penteneis, the Merchant's houſe ' in Dublin, upon the key where the murder was com- ' mitted. The matter was wrought, eſpecially by ' Crompton, Yeoman of the Bottles, by the procure- ' ment of Lloyd: and there was poiſoned at the ſame ' time, and with the ſame cup, as given of courteſy by ' the Earl, one Mrs Alice Draycot, a goodly gentle- ' woman, whom the Earl affectioned much; who de- ' parting thence towards her own houſe, which was ' eighteen miles off, the aforeſaid Lea accompanying ' her, and waiting upon her, ſhe began to fall ſick ' very grievouſly upon the way, and continued with ' increaſe of pains, and exceſſive torments, by vomit- ' ing until ſhe died, which was the Sunday before the ' Earl's death, enſuing the Friday after; and when ſhe ' was dead her body was ſwolne into a monſtrous ' bigneſs and deformity, whereof the good Earl hear- ' ing the day following, lamented the caſe greatly, ' and ſaid, in the preſence of his ſervants, Ah, poor ' Alice, the cup was not prepared for thee, albeit it ' were thy hard deſtiny to taſte thereof. Young Hon- ' nies alſo, whoſe father is maſter of the children of ' her Majeſty's chapel, being at that time page to the ' ſaid Earl, and accuſtomed to take the taſte of his ' drink (though ſince entertained alſo, among other, ' by my Lord of Leiceſter, for better covering of mat- ' ters) by his taſte that he then took of the compound ' cup (though in very ſmall quantity, as you know the ' faſhion is) yet was he like to have loſt his life, but ' eſcaped in the end, being young, with the loſs only ' of his hair; which the Earl perceiving, and taking ' compaſſion of the youth, called for a cup of drink ' a little before his death, and drank to Honnies, ' ſaying, I drink to thee, my Robin, and be not afraid; ' for this is a better cup of drink than that whereof ' thou tookeſt the taſte when we were both poiſoned, ' and whereby thou haſt loſt thy hair, and I muſt ' loſe my life. This hath young Honnies reported ' openly in divers places, and before divers Gentlemen ' of worſhip, ſince his coming into England; and the ' aforeſaid Lea, the Iriſhman, at his paſſage this way ' towards France, after he had been at the fore-named ' Mrs. Draycot's death, with ſome other of the Earl's ' ſervants,

(23) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 309.

(24) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 25, 26.

It muſt, however, be owned, that an inquiry was immediately made by authority, and Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, wrote very fully upon this ſubject to the Privy-Council in England (*k*), and to one of the members of that Council in particular (*l*), of which ſomething will be ſaid in the notes [*F*]. The corpſe of the Earl was

(*k*) Sidney Papers, Vol. I. p. 140.

(*l*) The Earl of Leiceſter; ſee Note [*F*].

(25) *Legend of Robert Earl of Leiceſter*, MS. but printed under the title of *Leiceſter's Ghoſt*.

(26) Strype's Ann. Vol. II. p. 464, 465.

(27) There are ſeveral copies of this MS. In ſome it is addreſſed to the Earl of Suſſex. It is printed in T. Hearne's Preface to his edition to Camden's Annals.

'ſervants, have, and do moſt conſtantly report the 'ſame, where they may do it without the terror of 'my Lord of Leiceſter's revenge.' The ſame tale, with the ſame circumſtances, is very prettily told in verſe, by an anonymous writer, who took an ill natured care of preſerving the Earl of Leiceſter's memory (25). There want not, however, authorities from writers of unſuſpected credit. Sir Nicholas White (26), in his letter to the Lord Burleigh, immediately after the death of the Earl of Eſſex, tells him, That he was frequently with his Lordſhip in his laſt ſickneſs, who doubted that he was poiſoned, and at the ſame time acquitted that nation of having any hand therein, ſaying with ſome paſſion, No, Turlough Oneile, himſelf, would have attempted no villainy againſt my perſon. There is a long, full, and moſt inſtructive hiſtory of his laſt ſickneſs yet extant (27); written, as, from ſome circumſtances, I conjecture, by the Earl's faithful dependant, Sir Edward Waterhouſe, the beginning of which the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee. 'Walter, the noble Earl of Eſſex 'and Eu, Earl Marſhall of Ireland, Knight of the moſt 'honourable Order of the Garter, falling ſick on a 'laſke, as it was ſuppoſed, called *dyſenteria*, thorough 'aduſtioun of choller, on Friday the 21ſt of Auguſt; 'or whether it were of any other accident, the living 'God knoweth, and will revenge it; he was grie-'vouſly tormented by the ſpace of twenty-two days, 'having ſuch abundance of water as every day and 'night he had few leſs than twenty, thirty, or ſome 'times forty ſtools, through which, being ſore weaken-'ed in body, and natural ſtrength diminiſhed, he ad-'dreſſed himſelf to that, which his friends and ſer-'vants feared, that is, to finiſh his life, to our great 'ſorrow, but to his everlaſting joy.'

[*F*] *Of which ſomething will be ſaid in the notes.*] This Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir Henry Sydney, had ſhewn great civility and reſpect to the Earl of Eſſex, and gave as high teſtimonies to the merit of that Nobleman when deceaſed, as the warmeſt and beſt affected friend in the world could have done. He was not at Dublin, but in a country progreſs, at the time of this Nobleman's deceaſe, which is an unlucky circumſtance, as it left it out of his power to ſpeak, otherwiſe than by hearſay; which might be the cauſe of that viſible inconſiſtency in the following letter of his to Sir Francis Walſingham, to be laid before the Council, in which, he ſays, the Earl of Eſſex did not think himſelf poiſoned; that thoſe about him did not think ſo either, but pretended to think ſo to pleaſe the Earl; and yet that it was not the Earl's own thought, but was put into his head by others; ſo that if from the whole of his relation the council could receive any ſatisfaction, it muſt have been by relying entirely upon his ſentiment in that matter, as the reader will judge from the peruſal (28). 'Hearing, beſides, 'that letters had been ſent over, as well before his 'death as after, that he died of poiſon, I thought 'good to examine the matter as far as I could learn, 'and certify you, to the end you might impart the 'ſame to the Lords, and both ſatisfy them therein, 'and all others whom it might pleaſe you to partici-'pate the ſame unto, and would believe the truth. 'For in truth there was no appearance, or cauſe of ſuſ-'picion that could be gathered, that he died of poiſon. 'For the manner of his diſeaſe was this: a flux took 'him on the Thurſday at night, being the thirtieth of 'Auguſt laſt paſt, in his own houſe, where he had that 'day both ſupped and dined; the day following he 'rid to the Archbiſhop of Dublin's, and there ſupped 'and lodged: the next morning following he rid to 'the Viſcount of Baltinglas, and there did lie one 'night, and from thence returned back to this city. 'All theſe days he travelled haſtily, fed three times a 'day without finding any fault, either through inflam-'mation of his body, or alteration of taſte, but often 'he would complain of gripes in his belly, and ſome-'times ſay, that he had never hearty grief of mind 'but that a flux would accompany the ſame. After 'he returned from this journey, he grew from day to 'day ſicker and ſicker, and having an Iriſh Phyſician 'ſent to him by the Earl of Ormond, Dr. Trevor, an 'Oxford man; and my phyſician, Mr. Chaloner, Se-'cretary of this State, and not unlearned in Phyſick, 'and one that often for good will giveth counſel to 'his friends in caſes of ſickneſs; and one Mr. Knell, 'an honeſt Preacher in this city, and a Chaplain of his 'own, and a Profeſſor of Phyſick, continually with 'him, they never miniſtred any thing to him againſt 'poiſon. The Iriſh Phyſician affirmed, before good 'witneſs, that he was not poiſoned: what the other 'do ſay of that matter, by their own writings, which 'herewith I ſend you, you ſhall perceive. And draw-'ing towards his end, being ſpecially aſked by the 'Archbiſhop of Dublin, whether he thought that he 'was poiſoned or no, conſtantly affirmed that he 'thought he was not, nor that he felt in himſelf any 'cauſe why he ſhould conjecture ſo to be. In his 'ſickneſs his colour rather bettered than impaired, 'no hair of his body ſhed, no nail altered, no tooth 'looſed, nor any part of his ſkin blemiſhed. And when 'he was opened, it could not appear that any entrail 'within his body, at any time had been infected with 'any poiſon. And yet I find a brute there was that 'ſaid he was poiſoned, and that aroſe by ſome words 'ſpoken of by himſelf, and yet not originally at firſt con-'ceived of himſelf, as it is thought by the wiſeſt here, 'and thoſe that were continually about him: but one 'that was very near him at that time, and whom he 'entirely truſted, ſeeing him in extreme pain with flux 'and gripings in his belly, by reaſon of the ſame ſaid 'to him, *By the Maſs, my Lord, you are poiſoned.* 'Whereupon the Yeoman of his celler was preſently 'ſent for to him, and mildly and lovingly he que-'ſtioned with him, ſaying, that he ſent not for him to 'burden him but to excuſe him. The fellow con-'ſtantly anſwered, that if he had taken any hurt by 'his wine he was guilty of it, for, my Lord, ſaith he, 'ſince you give me warning in England to be careful 'of your drink, you have drank none but it paſſed my 'hands. Then it was reported, that the boiled water 'which he conſtantly drank with his wine, ſhould be 'made of water wherein flax or hemp ſhould be 'ſteeped, which the Yeoman of his celler flatly denied, 'affirming, the water which he always boiled for him 'was perfectly good. Then it was imputed to the ſu-'gar, he anſwered, he could get no better at the 'Steward's hands, and fair though it were not, yet 'wholeſome enough, or elſe it had been likely that a 'great many ſhould have had a ſhrewd turn, for my 'houſhold and many more have occupied of the ſame 'almoſt this twelve months. The Phyſicians were 'aſked what they thought? that, they ſpake doubtfully, 'ſaying, it might be that he was poiſoned, alledging 'that this thing or that thing might poiſon him, ſince 'they never gave him medicine for it, they con-'ſtantly affirm that they never thought it, but for ar-'gument's ſake, and partly to pleaſe the Earl. He 'had two gentlewomen that night at ſupper with him 'that the diſeaſe took him, and they coming after to 'viſit him, and he hearing that they were troubled 'with ſome looſeneſs, ſaid, that he feared that they 'and he had taſted of one drug, and his page (who 'was gone with his body over before I returned). 'The women, upon his words, were afraid, but never 'ſick, and be in as good a ſtate of health as they were 'before they ſupped with him.' It is to be obſerved, that in this letter there is a fair character given of a ſpiritual and corporal Phyſician, who attended the Earl of Eſſex, but the Lord Deputy found cauſe to change his ſentiments of him afterwards, as appears from the following letter written by Sir Henry Sidney to his brother-in-law the Earl of Leiceſter, upon this melancholy ſubject, dated from Dundalk, February 4, 1576 (29).

'My deareſt Lord, I received not your letter of the '25th of November until the 24th of this January,

(28) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 140. See alſo the other relations of his death before-mentioned. Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(29) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 80. Camden's Britannia, by Bp. Gibſon, Folio. Vol. II. col. 1404.

was ſpeedily brought over to England, carried to the place of his nativity, Carmarthen (*m*), and buried there with great ſolemnity, and with moſt extraordinary teſtimonies of the unfeigned ſorrow of all the country round about [G]. This great and good Peer married Lettice,

(*m*) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1263. Strype's An. Vol. II. p. 466, 467. Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

'by James Preſcot, who was ſeven times at the ſea 'and put back again before he could recover this coaſt. 'I truſt I have ſatisfied your Lordſhip with my writ-'ing, and others by my procurement ſent by Paken-'ham, touching the falſe and malicious report of the 'Earl of Eſſex's poiſoning. If not, what you will 'have more done ſhall be done. I am ſorry I hear 'not how you like of that I have done, and the more 'for that I am advertiſed of Fagnaney's arrival there. 'I would not have doubted to have made Knell to 'have retracted his inconſiderate and fooliſh ſpeech 'and writing, but God hath prevented me by taking 'him away, dying of the ſame diſeaſe that the Earl 'died, which moſt certainly was free from poiſon, 'and a mere flux; a diſeaſe appropriated to this 'country, and whereof there died many in the latter 'part of the laſt year, and ſome out of mine own 'houſhold, and yet free from any ſuſpicion of poiſon.' There is no queſtion to be made, that the Lord-Deputy's care in this reſpect was very acceptable to the Earl of Leiceſter, and perhaps might have gone a great way, if not in ſilencing the clamour, at leaſt in preventing the belief, which the Earl's ſtrange illneſs had created, of his dying by poiſon, if the Earl of Leiceſter himſelf had not kept the mouth of fame open, by his indiſcreet marriage of the Counteſs of Eſſex, which gave occaſion to ſuch as envied him and hated him to ſay, that if what was ſuſpected had not been true, there would have been no ſuch willingneſs found either in him or her, ſo haſtily, and in the midſt of ſuch rumours, to have concluded this indecent marriage (30), which by an odd accident was made doubly indecent: Sir Francis Knolles, the father of the Lady, being not able to perſuade himſelf that the match was really made ſo ſoon, and being reſolved to truſt no other eyes but his own, obliged them to be married again in his preſence (31), which made a freſh outcry in the nation, and kept thoſe ſtories alive and in remembrance, which, in this world at leaſt, had otherwiſe ſunk into oblivion.

(30) Leiceſter's Commonwealth p. 26. Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 486.

(31) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 309.

[G] *Of all the country round about.*] The Earl's body was brought over to Wales as ſoon after his deceaſe as poſſible, by Mr. Waterhouſe, but was not interred till the 26th of November, when his obſequies were performed in the pariſh church of Carmarthen (32), and his funeral ſermon preached by Dr. Richard Davies Lord Biſhop of St. David's. That Reverend Prelate had been long and intimately acquainted with this noble perſon, and from his own knowledge gave him a very high character. He ſaid (33), that taking no pride in the nobility of his birth, he had made it the buſineſs of his life to render his titles illuſtrious by his actions; that, inheriting the courage of his anceſtors, he had given ſuch proofs of it upon all occaſions, that her Majeſty, if he had lived, might have uſed his ſervice to be a terror to all enemies foreign and domeſtick; that his prudence and diſcretion were admirable from his youth; that his eloquence was natural and eaſy; his affability, and gentleneſs of behaviour, altogether unaffected; that his piety was perfectly ſincere; ſo that religion loſt in him an excellent advocate, and a zealous protector. That, from his youth, he was conſtantly inclined to ſuch ſtudies as ſuited his condition, to Hiſtory in general, and to that of his own country in particular; and that if any thing more eſpecially claimed his attention, it was genealogies, deſcents, and pedigrees, in which he was ſo thoroughly verſed, as to be well acquainted with all the noble houſes in Europe: that for his fortitude he was revered in England and Ireland, and that there was no ſubject could affright or corrupt him from the execution of ſtrict juſtice: that to the haughty and arrogant he was as a lion, to the humble and meek as a lamb: that he had the utmoſt abhorrence for oppreſſion; and that he once remembered, when complaint was made to his Lordſhip of one of his men who had done a violent thing, he ſaid that his ſervant could do him no greater diſhonour, than, by pretence of his authority, to do any poor man wrong; and the Biſhop appealed to all who heard him for the truth of this part of his character, that he was a comfortable refuge to all in adverſity, and the conſtant ſupport of ſuch as were oppreſſed by power. He added farther, that as in the time of King Richard II. Sir Thomas Montacute was called *the good Earl of Salisbury*, and in the reign of Henry VI. Sir Thomas Beauchamp was ſtiled *the good Earl of Warwick*, ſo in this of Queen Elizabeth he deſerved, for the like qualities, to be called *the good*, *the virtuous*, and *the valiant Earl of Eſſex*. This ſermon, together with a long genealogical epitaph in Latin verſe, was printed, and dedicated to the young Earl by Edward, afterwards Sir Edward, Waterhouſe (34), and was held ſo remarkable in thoſe days, that Raphael Holinſhed having brought his book juſt then to a cloſe, inſerted it at the end of his Chronicle. After all, Queen Elizabeth herſelf did the greateſt honour to this noble Peer, when, in a letter under her hand, ſhe ſtiled him (35) *the rare jewel of her realm, and the bright ornament of her nobility.*

(32) Strype's Ann. Vol. II. p. 466.

(33) Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1263.

(34) There is only an extract of the ſermon in Holinſhed.

(35) In the Dedication by Mr. Waterhouſe to Robert Earl of Eſſex.

Before we part with this ſubject it may be proper to give the reader the two laſt paragraphs of that celebrated Dedication, becauſe they contain matter very curious in itſelf, and which, though frequently mentioned elſewhere, yet always ſuppoſed to be grounded upon this indiſputable authority.

'To the end, ſays Mr. Waterhouſe to the young 'Earl, that you may know what you are by birth and 'blood, and that you ſhould not by ignorance, or 'lack of knowledge of yourſelf, do any thing unworthy the noble houſes from whence you are de-'ſcended: a well-wiſher of your's hath joined to this 'ſermon, amongſt other epitaphs containing your fa-'ther's due praiſes, his ſtately deſcent in well-digeſted 'Latin verſes, not to puff you up with any ſwelling 'vanities, but to give you a reaſon how you bear your 'armour and badges of honour, and to remember 'you what error you enter into, if you ſhould blemiſh the virtues of your noble anceſtors, or to do 'any thing as I ſaid unworthy your birth and calling.

'Laſtly, my Lord, have always before your eyes 'the fear of God, and the counſel of the Earl your 'father at his death, namely, that you ſhould ever 'be mindful of the moment of time aſſigned both to 'your father and grandfather, the eldeſt having attained but to ſix and-thirty years, to the end, that 'upon conſideration of the ſhort courſe of life that 'you in nature are to look for, you might ſo employ 'your tender years in virtuous ſtudies and exerciſes, 'as you might in the prime of your youth become a 'man well accompliſhed to ſerve her Majeſty and 'your country, as well in war as peace, whereunto 'he commanded you to bend all your endeavours, 'and with theſe conditions heaped his bleſſings upon 'you. I pray therefore that God will increaſe thoſe 'conditional bleſſings, and the cauſes of them in you, 'to the end that her Majeſty may think of you hereafter, as of a true ſervant, and humble ſubject, one 'of the pillars of her eſtate, her Majeſty's kinſman 'by many alliances, and the ſon of a moſt noble 'father.'

In order to his clearly underſtanding the firſt part of the foregoing quotation, it is neceſſary for the reader to ſee the titles given to this noble Peer, at, and after his deceaſe. He was then ſtiled (36) 'The 'Right Honourable Walter Devereux, Earl of Eſſex 'and Eu, Earl Marſhal of Ireland, Viſcount Hereford, and Bourcher, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, 'Bourcher, and Louvain, Knight of the moſt noble 'Order of the Garter.' It does not however appear, that this noble perſon in his life-time ever took the title of Earl of Eu, or of Viſcount Bourcher, which may more clearly appear by the manner in which Garter proclaimed his ſtile at the time of his creation, and this was in the following words (37): *Du treſhault et puiſſant Seigneur Gautier d'Evereux Count d'Eſſex, Viſcount de Hereford, Baron Ferrers de Chartley, et Chevalier de treſnoble Order de la Jarretiere.* However, as it is recited in the preamble of this noble Lord's Patent, that he was heir male of the noble family of the Bourchers, Earls of Eſſex; it was thence inferred, that he was the heir of all their honours: now

(36) Holinſhed's Chron. p. 1263.

(37) Milles de nobilitate polit. vel civil. p. 72.

Lettice, daughter to Sir Frances Knolles, Knight of the Garter, who ſurvived him many years, and whoſe ſpeedy marriage after his death to the Earl of Leiceſter, upon whom common fame threw the charge of haſtening his death, did not at all contribute to diſcredit that report (*n*). By this lady he had two ſons, Robert and Walter. Of the former we ſhall ſpeak in the next article, and incidentally likewiſe of the latter; as alſo two daughters, Penelope, firſt married to Robert Lord Rich, and then to Charles Blount Earl of Devonſhire; and Dorothy, who becoming the widow of Sir Thomas Perrot, Knight, eſpouſed for her ſecond huſband Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland (*o*).

(*n*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 309. Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(*o*) Paronagium Angliæ, MS. fol. 12. Vincent's Correction of Brooke's Catalogue, p. 187. Dugd. Bar. Vol. II. p. 173.

now William Bourcher was created by Henry V. Earl of Eu in Normandy (38), and his ſon Henry Bourcher was, in the twenty-fifth of Henry VI. created Viſcount Bourcher (39), and by that title ſummoned to Parliament (40); and in the firſt year of Edward IV. he was created Earl of Eſſex (41). Thus the writer ſees clearly how theſe titles came to be attributed to the family of Devereux. C.

(38) Rot. Norman. 7 H. V. p. 1. m. 4.

(39) Clauſ. 25 H. VI. m. 24. in dorſ.

(40) Vincent's Corrections of Brooke, p. 192.

(41) Chart. 1 E. IV. p. 2. n. 1.

*** [It is not true, as is aſſerted at the cloſe of the note [*A*], that the title of Lord Viſcount Hereford became extinct in Price Devereux, who died on the 22d of July, 1748. In 1750, the title was revived, by claim, in another deſcendant of Sir Edward Devereux of Caſtle Bromwich, in the county of Warwick. Edward, the preſent Lord Hereford, is the twelfth Viſcount of the family (42); which, however, has undergone conſiderable changes in point of property.

(42) Collins's Peerage, Vol VI. p. 10. fifth edit.

From the whole of this Article, the character of Walter Earl of Eſſex appears in a very reſpectable light. His letter to the Council, inſerted in note [*D*], is admirably written. It ſhews the Earl's great abilities, and the perfection to which the Engliſh language was carried at that time. The ſame may be obſerved concerning the letter of Sir Nicholas White. From a vaſt number of inſtances, it is evident, that the reign of Queen Elizabeth was an illuſtrious reign in point of talents. There muſt have been a high degree of ſolidity and judgment in the education of a period which produced ſo many able men.

In Murden's Collection of State Papers, are two Letters, written by the Earl of Eſſex; one, two days before his death, and the other on the day preceding that event. The firſt is addreſſed to the Queen; and in it he recommends his family to her Majeſty in very pathetic terms. In the ſecond, which is to Lord Burleigh, he expreſſes his earneſt deſire that that nobleman would take upon him the wardenſhip of his ſon, whom he wiſhes, likewiſe, to be under the protection of the Earl of Suſſex, then Lord Chamberlain. Both theſe letters prove the Earl of Eſſex to have been a moſt affectionate father, as well as a man of judgment and addreſs. Indeed, they exhibit an amiable picture of his heart and his head (43).

(43) Murdin's State Papers, p. 300—302.

Perhaps our ingenious predeceſſor has paid more attention to the report of the Earl of Eſſex's having been poiſoned than the ſubject merited. Suſpicions of this kind were readily entertained in that age. The vexations he had met with, and the continuance of a violent and painful flux from the twenty-firſt of Auguſt to the twenty-ſecond of September, will ſufficiently account for his deceaſe. As to what is ſaid in the article, that the ſpeedy marriage of the Counteſs of Eſſex with the Earl of Leiceſter, upon whom common fame threw the charge of haſtening her huſband's death, did not at all contribute to diſcredit that report, the remark is certainly founded on a miſtake. The marriage in queſtion did not take place till the twenty-firſt of September, 1578, when the Lady had been a widow two years, one day excepted (44).

(44) Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. I. p. 74.

It muſt not be concealed, that there is a tranſaction mentioned by Dr. Leland, in his hiſtory of Ireland, which, if true, reflects great diſhonour on the Earl of Eſſex's memory. The ſtory, as literally tranſlated, by Mr. O'Connor, from the Iriſh manuſcript annals of Queen Elizabeth's reign is as follows: "Anno 1574. A ſolemn peace and concord "was made between the Earl of Eſſex and Felim "O'Nial. However, at a feaſt wherein the Earl "entertained that Chieftain, and at the end of their "good cheer, O'Nial with his wife were ſeized; "their friends who attended were put to the ſword "before their faces. Felim, together with his wife "and brother, were conveyed to Dublin, where "they were *cut up in quarters*. This execution gave "univerſal diſcontent and horrour (45)." Conſidering the general character of the Earl of Eſſex, we cannot avoid greatly doubting of the authenticity of this fact; and, indeed, if it was founded on truth, it muſt appear very extraordinary that it ſhould not have occurred in any other narration of the times] K.

(45) Leland's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 357.

DEVEREUX (ROBERT) Earl of Eſſex, a gallant ſoldier, a great favourite, and an unhappy victim to the arts of his enemies and his own ambition, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was ſon to Walter Earl of Eſſex, of whom we have ſpoken in the preceding article, and Lettice, daughter to Sir Francis Knolles, who was related to Queen Elizabeth, born November 10th, 1567, at Netherwood, his father's ſeat in Herefordſhire (*a*), when that noble perſon had attained no higher title than that of Viſcount Hereford (*b*). In his tender years it is reported, that there did not appear any pregnant ſigns of an extraordinary genius; and one, who was long in his ſervice, and could not but be well acquainted with the ſecrets of the family, aſſures us, that his father died with but a very cold conceit of him (*c*), which, ſome thought, proceeded from his extraordinary affection for his younger ſon Walter Devereux, who, it ſeems, had quicker and more lively parts in his childhood. When Walter Earl of Eſſex breathed his laſt in Ireland, he recommended this ſon of his, then in the tenth year of his age, to the protection of Thomas Radcliffe Earl of Suſſex, and to the care of William Cecil Lord Burleigh (*d*), whom he appointed his guardian. Mr. Waterhouſe, then Secretary for Ireland, a perſon equally favoured by his father, and Sir Henry Sidney, Lord-Deputy of Ireland, had the immediate direction of his perſon and eſtate, which, though not a little injured by his father's public ſpirit, was, however, very conſiderable; and the regard ſhewn for his concerns, by the moſt powerful perſons at Court, was ſo remarkable, that Mr. Waterhouſe made no difficulty of affirming, there was not, at that time, any man ſo ſtrong in friends as the little Earl of Eſſex (*e*). It was, certainly, out of reſpect to both families, that this gentleman laboured earneſtly to bring to a happy concluſion a treaty of marriage,

(*a*) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 863.

(*b*) Fuller's Worthies, Herefordſhire, p. 38.

(*c*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 19, 20.

(*d*) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 221.

(*e*) Sidney's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 147.

marriage, which had been for ſome time on foot between Mr. Philip, afterwards Sir Philip, Sydney, the Lord-Deputy's ſon, and Penelope, ſiſter to the Earl of Eſſex; in which, however, he had not the ſucceſs he deſired (*f*). His application on behalf of the young Earl, that he might be preſerved in the poſſeſſion of thoſe honours which his father had enjoyed in Wales, and which were attended with power and influence rather than profit, had better fortune through the aſſiſtance of the Earl of Suſſex (*g*) who eaſily procured from the Queen this mark of favour for a tender youth, whoſe father had deſerved ſo well [*A*]. In 1578, when he was about twelve years of age, he was ſent to the Univerſity of Cambridge by the Lord Burleigh, who placed him in Trinity-College, under the care of Dr. Whitgift, then maſter of it, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*b*). He was educated there with much ſtrictneſs, and applied himſelf to learning with great diligence, ſo that, his quality conſidered, there were few young men of his ſtanding more diſtinguiſhed, either for ſolidity of judgment, or for an eaſy and eloquent manner of expreſſing their ſentiments (*i*). Some bold writers have aſſerted, that, as Dr. Whitgift roſe in his preferments (*k*), he ſunk in the eſteem of his pupil, who, as they would have us believe, conceived an early diſlike to Biſhops; but ſuch as knew the world well in thoſe days, and had the faireſt opportunities of knowing the Earl, aſſert the direct contrary, and that he continued always to treat the Archbiſhop as his particular friend, and to reſpect him as a parent (*l*). In 1582, having taken the degree of Maſter of Arts, he ſoon after left Cambridge (*m*), and retired to his own houſe at Lampſie in South Wales, where he ſpent ſome time in privacy and retirement; and was ſo far from having any thing of the eagerneſs or impetuoſity natural to youth, that, inſtead of being diſpleaſed, he became enamoured of his rural retreat (*n*); inſomuch, that it was with difficulty he was prevailed upon to leave it (*o*). His firſt appearance at Court, at leaſt as a candidate for royal favour, was in the ſeventeenth year of his age; when however he came thither, it is certain he could not have hoped, or even wiſhed, a better reception (*p*) [*B*]. He brought

(*f*) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 863. Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 147.

(*g*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 465.

(*b*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 19. Yet his being bred under that Prelate is doubtful.

(*i*) Winſtanly's Engliſh Worthies, p. 221.

(*k*) Codrington's life of Robert the ſecond Earl of Eſſex.

(*l*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 19.

(*m*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 136.

(*n*) As he tells us himſelf, in his Apology addreſſed to Mr. Anthony Bacon.

(*o*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 2, 3.

(*p*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

[*A*] *Whoſe father had deſerved ſo well.*] We have mentioned Sir Edward Waterhouſe in the text, as the perſon who took care of the young Earl of Eſſex immediately after his father's death. He was indeed a very extraordinary perſon, and deſerves to be as much remembered as any man of his rank that ever lived. He was deſcended from an antient and honourable family ſeated in Hertfordſhire, where King Henry VIII. dining at his father's houſe, that Monarch, upon a view of his children, ſaid of Edward, who was the youngeſt, *this will be the crown of your family* (1). His parts were ſo great, and his probity ſo generally underſtood, that he was at once the favourite of the Earl of Eſſex, Sir Henry Sydney, and the Lord Burleigh. When the firſt was dying he is ſaid to have taken his leave of this gentleman with many kiſſes, crying out, *Oh, my Ned, Oh my Ned, farewel! Thou art the faithfulleſt and friendlieſt Gentleman that ever I knew* (2). His fidelity reached beyond the grave, for he immediately tranſported the Earl's dead corpſe to Wales, where he was infinitely beloved, and from thence, on the third of October, he wrote to the Earl of Suſſex, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, with a requeſt concerning the young Earl (3), 'That whereas 'his Lordſhip, for the education of his children, and 'payment of his legacies, by aſſurance in his life-time, 'and by his laſt Will and Teſtament, repoſed eſpe'cially therein upon his Lordſhip, foraſmuch as the 'late Earl had in his life-time divers offices, as the 'keeping of the caſtle of Carmarthen, ſtewardſhip of 'divers of her Majeſty's ſeigneuries in thoſe parts of 'South Wales, the whole fees accuſtomed to ſuch 'offices not amounting to above one hundred marks: 'which fees his Lordſhip always beſtowed upon his 'under-offices; by occaſion of which offices, the in'habitants in thoſe ſeigneuries did the rather depend 'upon his Lordſhip, and now would be ſorry that any 'other than the new Earl of Eſſex ſhould have com'mandment in ſuch office over them: and becauſe he 'well underſtood that the having of theſe ſmall offices 'might be to the new Earl's great continuing of the 'hearts of his countrymen, and beſides might be the 'better able, when he ſhould come to years, to do 'ſervice to his Sovereign; he therefore was, in behalf 'of his Lordſhip and my Lord Treaſurer, to requeſt, 'that all theſe offices might be beſtowed upon this new 'Earl of Eſſex; which ſhould be as well executed as 'if his Lordſhip were of full age. And if occaſion of 'ſervice ſhould require, his Lordſhip might, although 'he were an infant, have the willing hearts of many 'to do him ſervice.' By this application theſe offices were preſerved to the young Earl, who ſpent his youth in thoſe parts, and had a very great intereſt there; ſo that the world wondered much in the laſt action of his life, that this Earl did not rather chooſe to bring over his friends into that part of the iſland from Ireland, where he had ſuch numbers at his devotion; but it was his hard fate to rely upon an influence which he had not, and to ſlight that which he really had (4).

(1) Fuller's Worthies, Hertfordſhire, p. 21.

(2) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 537.

(3) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 465.

(4) Oſborn's Works, Vol. II. p. 70.

[*B*] *Or even wiſhed a better reception.*] It is a very difficult thing to give a true account of this Lord's firſt introduction to favour, as the beſt authors we have not only contradict each other, but are frequently inconſiſtent with themſelves, in what they have left us upon this ſubject. Sir Henry Wotton ſays (5), 'that there 'was, for ſome time, a very ſtiff averſion in the Earl 'of Eſſex, from applying himſelf to Leiceſter, for 'what ſecret conceits he knew not' (which is not a little ſtrange, ſince this writer could not be ignorant of the report that his father was poiſoned by Leiceſter's procuring), 'but howſoever that humour was 'mollified by time, and by his mother, ſo to the 'Court he came under this Lord.' Sir Robert Naunton, who was very well acquainted with thoſe times, ſeems to doubt of this; for though he agrees that Leiceſter might have his reaſons for bringing that young Lord to court (6), 'yet (ſays he) that the ſon of a 'Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Viſcount Hereford, and 'Earl of Eſſex, who was of the antient Nobility, and 'formerly in the Queen's good grace, could not have 'a room in her favour without the aſſiſtance of Leiceſ'ter, was beyond the rule of her nature, which, as 'I have elſewhere taken into obſervation, was ever 'inclinable to favour the Nobility.' Dr. Fuller reckons up, in his manner, the ſeveral titles which the young Earl had to Queen Elizabeth's kindneſs and affection, and amongſt the reſt he lays great weight upon his mother's intereſt, who was of the Queen's kindred. But Camden tells us the Queen hated his mother, which is probable enough, her character being none of the brighteſt. Upon the whole, the Earl of Clarendon ſeems to have given the cleareſt and moſt probable account of this matter (7): 'tho' 'the firſt approach, ſays he, of the Earl to court was 'under the ſhadow of the great Earl of Leiceſter, yet 'he owed him rather for his invitation thither, than 'his preferment there. For no queſtion he found ad'vantage from the ſtock of his father's reputation, 'the people looking on his quality with reverence (for 'I do not find that any young Nobleman had yet ſur'prized their hopes or drawn their eyes) and on his 'youth with pity, for they were nothing ſatisfied con'cerning

(5) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 4.

(6) Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(7) Diſparity between George Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Eſſex.

brought thither, amongſt other ſtrong recommendations, a fine perſon, an agreeable behaviour, and an affability which procured him many friends, beſides the rare qualities of true piety, unaffected zeal for the public welfare, and a warmth and ſincerity in his friendſhips, which entitled him to univerſal eſteem (*q*). He, by degrees, ſo far overcame that reluctance which he is ſaid to have ſhewn, to uſe the aſſiſtance of the powerful Earl of Leiceſter, that, towards the cloſe of the year 1585, he accompanied him, with many others of the nobility, to Holland, where we find him the next year in the field, with the title of General of the Horſe (*r*); and, in this quality, he gave the higheſt proofs of perſonal courage in the battle of Zutphen, September 22d, 1586, in which action Sir Philip Sydney was mortally wounded (*s*). It was for his gallant behaviour upon this occaſion that the Earl of Leiceſter conferred upon him the honour of a Knight-Banneret in his camp (*t*). On his return to England it very quickly appeared that the Queen not only approved but was deſirous alſo of rewarding his ſervices; and his father-in-law the Earl of Leiceſter, being advanced to the office of Lord Steward of her Majeſty's Houſehold, ſhe, on the 23d of December, 1587, made the Earl of Eſſex Maſter of the Horſe in his room (*u*). In the ſucceeding year, which ſome have held the moſt critical of that reign, he continued to riſe, and, indeed, almoſt reached the ſummit of his fortune; for, when her Majeſty thought fit to aſſemble an army at Tilbury, for the defence of the kingdom, in caſe the Spaniards had landed, ſhe gave the command of it, under herſelf, to the Earl of Leiceſter, and created the Earl of Eſſex General of Horſe (*w*), ſhewing him, upon that occaſion, not only as much countenance as his own high ſpirit could expect, but a degree of favour even ſuperior to that of Leiceſter (*x*); ſo that, from this time, he was conſidered as the favourite declared; and, if there was any mark yet wanting to fix the people's opinion in that reſpect, it was ſhewn by the Queen's conferring on him the moſt noble order of the Garter (*y*). We need not wonder that ſo quick an elevation, and to ſo great a height, ſhould ſomewhat affect the judgment of ſo young a man; therefore there will not appear any thing ſtrange in the eagerneſs he is ſaid to have ſhewn in diſputing the Queen's favour with Sir Charles Blount (*z*), who, in proceſs of time, became Lord Montjoy and Earl of Devonſhire; which, however, coſt him ſome blood; for that brave man taking diſtaſte at ſomewhat the Earl ſaid of a favour beſtowed upon him by the Queen, challenged him, and, in Marybone-Park, after a ſhort diſpute, wounded him in the knee; with which the Queen, who did not love to be controuled in her actions, was ſo far from being diſpleaſed, that ſhe ſwore a round oath, it was fit that ſome one or other ſhould take him down, otherwiſe there would be no ruling him (*a*). However, ſhe reconciled the rivals, and it will remain an honour to both their memories, that, profeſſing themſelves friends, they remained ſuch, ſo long as they lived together (*b*). In the beginning of the year 1589, the Earl of Eſſex took a very extraordinary ſtep, which, how much ſoever it might increaſe the reputation of his courage, did certainly no great credit to his prudence (*c*). Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake had undertaken an expedition for reſtoring Don Antonio to the crown of Portugal, which the Earl beheld as an action too glorious for others to perform while he was a ſpectator only. He followed the fleet and army therefore to Spain, and, having joined them at Corunna, proſecuted the reſt of the expedition with great vigilance and valour; which, however, was not attended with much ſucceſs, at the ſame time that it expoſed him to the Queen's diſpleaſure (*d*) [C]. At his return, however, he ſoon recovered her Majeſty's good graces; nor was

(*q*) Fuller's Worthies, Herefordſhire, p. 38.

(*r*) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1434.

(*s*) Stowe's Annals, p. 737.

(*t*) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1434.

(*u*) Pat. 30 Eliz. p. 18.

(*w*) Stowe's Annals, p. 749.

(*x*) Earl of Clarendon's Diſparity between George Duke of Buckingham and Robert Earl of Eſſex.

(*y*) Milles de Nobilitate Politica vel Civili, p. 180.

(*z*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(*a*) See the artic. of BLOUNT (CHARLES) Earl of Devonſhire.

(*b*) As appears by Bacon's Apology addreſſed to this Nobleman.

(*c*) Stowe's Annals, p. 752.

(*d*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 6, 7.

'cerning his father's death, who had been advanced 'to honourable dangers, by the mediation of ſuch as 'delighted not in his company. And if there were 'not any ſuch compaſſion in the Queen, yet ſurely ſhe 'beheld him as the ſon of an excellent man, that died 'in her ſervice, and had left a precious fame ſurviving.' This agrees perfectly well with what the Earl himſelf ſays, *that he had but few friends when he firſt came to Court* (8), and therefore we muſt refer the political endeavours of Leiceſter to plant him in the Queen's favour, either to leſſen the weight of his own attendance, and that burthen of public hate which fell upon him as a favourite, or elſe to his deſire of giving a counterpoiſe to Ralegh, who, though likewiſe of his own raiſing, had now ſpirit as well as ſtrength enough to ſtand upon his own legs, or to his return from Holland, where he had received the higheſt honours, behaved himſelf with ſo much courage, modeſty, and generoſity, upon all occaſions, that the fame of his actions abroad was the harbinger that procured him ſo good quarter at home (9). The Queen loved to ſee her Nobility reſpected and eſteemed by foreigners, more eſpecially when theſe honours did not leſſen a juſt ſenſe of their dependence upon, and duty to, herſelf, which was the caſe of this Earl, who, at the beginning, ſhewed ſuch a profound deference and ſubmiſſion to the Queen, as of all things wrought moſt upon her nature. Beſides, at that time, the Earl being a new man at Court, had no party that rendered him formidable, which made the Queen more eaſy in beſtowing her favours, eſpecially when ſhe ſaw this young Nobleman was very acceptable to the people; ſo that ſhe did not ſeem to make him ſo much her own, as to receive him for her favourite from their choice, which ſhe lived afterwards to repent (10).

(8) See his Apology near to the beginning.

(9) Stowe's Annals, p. 736, 737.

(10) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

[C] *That it expoſed him to the Queen's diſpleaſure.*] The reaſons which induced the Earl of Eſſex to riſque at once his life and the Queen's favour, by thruſting himſelf into the dangers of this expedition both by ſea and land, are very differently repreſented. Some ſay, that it was merely from a thirſt of glory that he quitted the pleaſures of a Court, to expoſe himſelf firſt at ſea, and then in the field (11); others, that his hatred to the Spaniards was what chiefly prompted him; while there want not thoſe again, who aſcribe that action to a ſofter paſſion, his pity for the unfortunate Don Antonio King of Portugal (12). Mr. Camden indeed ſuggeſts, that he flattered himſelf with the honour of commanding in chief, becauſe moſt of the officers ſtood indebted for his brother's aſſiſtance in obtaining their commiſſions (13). The truth ſeems to be, that he was inſtigated by a mixture of all theſe motives, excepting the laſt, and chiefly by the deſire of being preſent at ſettling the new King upon the throne of Portugal,

(11) Stowe's Annals, p. 752.

(12) Fuller's Worthies, Herefordſhire, p. 38.

(13) Annal. Eliz. p. 603.

was it long before this was teſtified to the world, by his obtaining new marks of favour, in grants of a very conſiderable value; a circumſtance in which his credit with the Queen ſeemed much ſuperior to that of all her other favourites (*e*). He had now loſt the ſupport of his father-in-law the Earl of Leiceſter, who died the preceding year, and who, though he was ſuppoſed to act the politician, in preferring him to the Queen's favour (if, indeed, that was at all his work), yet ſhewed the ſincerity of his affection to him by ſeveral clauſes in his will (*f*); notwithſtanding which loſs, he kept his ground at Court, and by careſſing Mr. Cartwright and others, looked upon as Puritans, ſeemed to affect becoming the head of that party which adhered to Leiceſter while living (*g*). About this time he ran a new hazard of the Queen's favour by a private, and, as it was then conceived, inconſiderate match with Frances, only daughter of Sir Francis Walſingham, and the widow of Sir Philip Sidney, which her Majeſty apprehended to be, in ſome meaſure, derogatory to the honour of the houſe of Eſſex (*b*); and though, for the preſent, this buſineſs was paſt by, yet it is thought that it was not ſo ſoon forgotten. In 1591, Henry the Fourth of France having demanded freſh aſſiſtance from the Queen, though he had already a body of her troops in his ſervice, ſhe was pleaſed to ſend the Earl of Eſſex with four thouſand men, a ſmall train of artillery, and a competent fleet, into Normandy, where it was propoſed that he ſhould join the French army, in order to undertake the ſiege of Rouen (*i*). The French King, however, either through want of power, the diſtraction of his affairs, or ſome other cauſe, neglected to perform his promiſe, notwithſtanding that Eſſex made a long and hazardous journey to his camp, at that Monarch's requeſt, in order to have concerted meaſures for giving the Queen ſatisfaction (*k*). Upon his return from this journey, which proved of little conſequence, Eſſex, to keep up the ſpirit of his officers, conferred the honour of knighthood upon many of them; a circumſtance with which the Queen was much offended (*l*). He likewiſe made excurſions from his camp to the very walls of Rouen; and the Earl, expoſing his perſon very freely in theſe ſkirmiſhes, came off indeed unhurt himſelf, but loſt there his only brother Walter Devereux, then in the flower of his age, being two years younger than the Earl (*m*). He returned ſome time after, to give an account of the ſtate of things to the Queen, and then came back to his charge, the ſiege of Rouen being formed, and the French King expreſſing a great deſire to become maſter of it. This winter-ſervice harraſſing the troops exceedingly, provoked Eſſex not a little, who ſolicited King Henry for leave to proceed in his manner, promiſing to make a breach with his own artillery, and then to ſtorm the place with the Engliſh troops; which the King, however, refuſed, as being not at all deſirous of having that rich place taken and plundered by the Engliſh in his ſight (*n*). Eſſex, ſtill more diſ-

(*e*) Camd. Ann. p. 862.

(*f*) See that Earl's Teſtament in the Introduction to the Sidney Papers.

(*g*) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians, p. 349.

(*b*) Sidney State Papers, Vol I. p. 312.

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 462.

(*k*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 628.

(*l*) She ſaid his Lordſhip had done well to have built his almſhouſes before he had made his Knights.

(*m*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 27.

(*n*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 630.

which thoſe beſt acquainted with the hiſtory of theſe times, and with the conduct of that expedition (14), acknowledge to have been feaſible enough, if they had proceeded directly to Liſbon; but they failed by making an attempt upon Corunna, with which the Earl was not acquainted, and ran a great hazard by ſeeking the Engliſh fleet upon the coaſt of Portugal, while they were thus employed. His Lordſhip carried with him his brother Walter Devereux, Sir Philip Butler, Sir Roger Williams, and Sir Edward Wingfield (15). They joined the Engliſh fleet on the 13th of May, 1589; on the 16th they landed, and the ſame day the Earl ſkirmiſhed with the Spaniards. He was preſent in every action that paſſed in the neighbourhood of Liſbon, and, by a trumpet, challenged the Governor, or any of equal quality with himſelf, to ſingle combat (16). At length, when for want of artillery it appeared impracticable for them to become maſters of the caſtle, and their army, which had been much leſſened by the attack upon Corunna, diminiſhing daily, it was found neceſſary to return home, which they did towards the cloſe of the month of June (17). This may ſerve for a fair account of what happened to the Earl abroad in this adventure: as to the conſequences of it at home, they are very conciſely as well as elegantly repreſented by Sir Henry Wotton (18).

(14) See what the Earl himſelf ſays on this ſubject in his Apology.

(15) Stowe's Annals, p. 754.

(16) Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 223.

(17) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 15, 16, 17.

(18) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 6, 7.

'All his hopes of advancement, ſays he, had like 'to have been ſtrangled almoſt in the very cradle, by 'throwing himſelf into the Portugal voyage without 'the Queen's conſent, or ſo much as her knowledge, 'whereby he left his friends and dependants near ſix 'months in deſperate ſuſpence what would become of 'him. And, to ſpeak truth, not without good rea'ſon: for firſt, they might well conſider, that he was 'himſelf not well plumed in favour for ſuch a flight: 'beſides that now he wanted a Lord of Leiceſter at 'home, for he was dead the year before, to ſmooth 'his abſence, and to quench the practices at Court. 'But above all, it lay open to every man's diſcourſe, 'that though the bare offence to his Sovereign and 'miſtreſs was too great an adventure, yet much more 'when ſhe might, as in this caſe, have fairly diſ'charged her diſpleaſure upon her laws. Notwith'ſtanding, a noble report coming home before him, 'at his return all was clear, and this excurſion was 'eſteemed but a ſally of youth: nay, he grew every 'day more and more in her gracious conceit. Whe'ther ſuch intermiſſions as theſe do ſometimes foment 'affection, or that having committed a fault he be'came the more obſequious and pliant to redeem it; 'or that ſhe had not received into her royal breaſt any 'ſhadows of his popularity.' The truth of this relation, with reſpect to the Queen's reſentment, will appear more clearly from her Majeſty's own letter (19) upon his firſt departure from Court.

(19) Fuller's Worthies in Herefordſhire, p. 38

'ESSEX,

'YOUR ſudden and undutiful departure from our 'preſence and your place of attendance, you may 'eaſily conceive how offenſive it is and ought to 'be unto us. Our great favours beſtowed upon you 'without deſerts, have drawn you thus to neglect and 'forget your duty: for other conſtruction we cannot 'make of theſe your ſtrange actions. Not meaning 'therefore to tolerate this your diſordered part, we 'gave directions to ſome of our Privy-Council, to let 'you know our expreſs pleaſure for your immediate 'repair hither, which you have not performed as your 'duty doth bind you, increaſing thereby greatly your 'former offence and undutiful behaviour in departing 'in ſuch ſort without our privity, having ſo ſpecial of'fice of attendance and charge near our perſon. We do 'therefore charge and command you forthwith, upon 'the receipt of theſe our letters, all excuſes and delay 'ſet apart, to make your preſent and immediate repair 'unto us, to underſtand our farther pleaſure. Whereof 'ſee you fail not, as you will be loth to incur our in'dignation, and will anſwer for the contrary at your 'uttermoſt peril. The 15th of April, 1589.'



pleaſed

pleaſed at this, and reſolved not to continue in a place where no reputation was to be gotten, firſt challenged the governor of Rouen, Mr. Villars, and, upon his refuſing to fight (o), left the command of the Engliſh troops to Sir Roger Williams, an officer of great courage and experience, and then embarked for England, where his preſence was become very neceſſary, his enemies having repreſented his behaviour in a very indifferent light to the Queen his miſtreſs (p) [D]. At this time he was exceedingly courted by very different ſorts of people; for many of the young Nobility, who were deſirous of entering into the world under the patronage of ſome eminent perſon, preferred the Earl, as well on account of his great affability to his followers, as becauſe of his known intereſt with the Queen (q). All the military men that were not of a very old ſtanding, looked upon him as their chief, and one from whoſe favour they were to derive preferment: the Puritan Miniſters alſo, and their dependents, conſidered him as the ſucceſſor to the Earl of Leiceſter, and, conſequently, as their protector (r). One need not wonder therefore, that, having ſuch power, he had ſo many enemies, and that theſe ſhould gain advantages over him in his abſence: but, upon his return, he triumphed for the moſt part; and the Queen, who looked upon herſelf as tied to him by former acts of kindneſs, ſeldom refuſed him any new marks of favour, for which he was importunate in his demands (s). We find him preſent in the Parliament which began at Weſtminſter, February 19th, 1592-3 (t), in which ſeſſion, chiefly through his intereſt, Sir Thomas Perrot, who had married his ſiſter, was reſtored in blood, which had been corrupted by the attainder of Sir John Perrot his father, who had been Lord-Deputy of Ireland; and in this ſeſſion it was that the Houſe of Peers paid a very extraordinary compliment to the Earl of Eſſex (u) [E].

(o) Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 223.

(p) Camd. Ann. p. 647.

(q) Fuller's Worthies, Hereſordſhire, p. 38.

(r) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(s) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 9.

(t) Dewes's Journals of the Reign of Queen Eliz. p 456.

(u) Townſend's Hiſtorical Collections, p. 41.

[D] *In a very indifferent light to the Queen his miſtreſs.*] It is very ſeldom that ſkilful courtiers are at a loſs in framing general accuſations againſt ſuch as they would ruin, more eſpecially if they have an opportunity of doing this in their abſence. Againſt the Earl of Eſſex his enemies inſinuated, that having carried a fine body of troops under old and experienced officers out of the kingdom, with a promiſe of great things, he had nevertheleſs done little or nothing; that with ſome danger to himſelf, and much more to the troops, he had made a long journey to the French King, which ended in no more than an audience of compliment; that his fierce and haſty ſpirit had led him to thoſe uſeleſs and dangerous excurſions under the walls of Rouen, where he had loſt an only brother, the Queen a gallant officer, and the nation a perſon infinitely beloved; that whereas he was ſent abroad to ſerve his country, by reducing Rouen, which might ſerve as a place of arms, and a cautionary town for the ſecurity of Engliſh auxiliaries, he had ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by the French Monarch, had ſerved him in the accompliſhment of other deſigns, leaving this, for which he was ſent, uneffected; and, laſtly, that notwithſtanding his troops had been very little in ſervice, they had ſuffered ſo much as not to be able to keep the field without recruits; ſo that, in all this time, the Queen had been loſing her ſubjects and acquiring nothing (20).

(20) Sir Henry Wotton, Sir Robert Naunton, Camden, &c.

But the Earl of Eſſex, upon his return, defended himſelf with great ſenſe and ſpirit againſt this accuſation. He ſhewed that the inaction of the troops upon their firſt going over was a great affliction to him, but far from being his fault, as he was continually labouring to perſuade the King to comply with his agreement, and to undertake the ſiege of Rouen, which, if he could not bring about, it was far from being a crime, though he knew it to be a misfortune; that to remove this inaction he made a hazardous journey to the King's quarters, in which he ſhewed his ſtrong deſire for accompliſhing what he was ſent for; that he had expoſed himſelf in thoſe excurſions as much as any man; and as he was principally wounded by the loſs of his brother, ſo the credit of the nation, inſtead of ſuffering, was raiſed by that high eſteem which the French expreſſed of the bravery ſhewn by the Engliſh in thoſe encounters; that the aſſiſtance he had given the French King and his Generals, was to remove thoſe obſtacles which prevented the ſiege, and which, if not removed, it had never been undertaken; that the loſs which the army had ſuſtained was through the fortune of war, and not from any fault of his, ariſing chiefly from diſeaſes, great inclemency of the weather, and the want of thoſe conveniencies which the allies ought to have furniſhed, and which, notwithſtanding all the inſtances he could make, had been neglected (21).

(21) See the Earl's Apology, addreſſed to Mr. A. Bacon, and the authors before cited.

The French Hiſtorians do all the juſtice imaginable to the Queen's punctuality in performing her promiſes, and to the zeal of the Earl of Eſſex in promoting the ſervice (22). They acknowledge that the ſiege was chiefly retarded by the Marſhal de Biron's opening the trenches before the fort of St. Catherine's: they add, that having demanded the government of the place when it ſhould be taken, and the King having told him that he was under a promiſe to another, the Marſhal was inclined to let that enterprize fail (23); and they farther admit, which is a full juſtification of the Earl of Eſſex, that he offered with his own troops to have opened the trenches between the Mountain of St. Catherine and the town (24), in which, if his advice had been followed, the place muſt certainly have been taken before the Duke of Parma could have marched to its relief.

(22) Abrégé Chronologique de l'Hiſtoire de France, par le Sieur de Mezeray, Tom. VI. p. 63.

(23) Memoires du Sieur du Pleſſis Mornay, Tom. II. p. 95.

(24) Memoires de Sully, Tom. I. cap. cxxxiii.

[E] *Paid a very extraordinary compliment to the Earl of Eſſex.*] As this matter of fact appears to be of a very ſingular, as well as of a very commendable nature, it was judged that the reader would not be diſpleaſed with ſeeing it taken notice of here. On Tueſday the 13th of March, 1592-3, the Biſhop of Worceſter took notice that ſeveral poor ſoldiers were ſeen begging in the ſtreets, who were wounded or maimed in the ſervice of their Queen and country, in France, in the Low Countries, or on the ſeas; and therefore moved, that their Lordſhips would condeſcend to a contribution for their relief. This was immediately agreed to, and it was ordered, that every Archbiſhop, Marquis, Earl, and Viſcount, ſhould pay forty ſhillings; every Biſhop thirty ſhillings; and every Baron twenty ſhillings; which ſums the Biſhop of Worceſter was appointed to receive from the Lords Spiritual, and the Lord Norris from the Temporal Peers; the diſtribution of the ſaid collection being referred by their Lordſhips to the Earl of Eſſex and the Lord Willoughby of Ereſby (25). On Thurſday the 5th of April following, the Houſe of Lords made a farther order, reciting that before mentioned, that it had been complied with, and that the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, had alſo contributed very largely; but the number of diſtreſſed objects being great, and the relief but ſmall, it was farther decreed by them, That all the Lords of Parliament who had been abſent, and did not contribute before the end of the ſeſſion, ſhould be required by the Lords who had their proxies, or by the Lord Keeper, to pay double the ſums before mentioned; and notice is likewiſe taken of an order to the ſame purpoſe by the Houſe of Commons: it is added at the cloſe, if any Lord Spiritual or Temporal ſhould refuſe to do this, which it was hoped in honour none would, there ſhould be means uſed to levy the ſame (26).

(25) Townſend's Hiſtorical Collections, p. 41.

(26) Dewes's Journal of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 463, 464.

About

About this time alſo the Queen, who had given him ſo many marks of her favour, added to them a new honour, which was, at the ſame time, a very high teſtimony of her confidence, by cauſing him to be ſworn one of the members of her moſt honourable Privy-Council (*w*). He met, however, in this, and in the ſucceeding years, with various cauſes of chagrin, partly from the loftineſs of his own temper, but chiefly from the artifices of thoſe who envied his great credit with the Queen, and were deſirous of reducing his power within bounds. Occaſion was taken, in this reſpect, from a dangerous and treaſonable book, written abroad by Parſons the Jeſuit, and publiſhed under the name of Doleman, with intention to create diſſention in England about the ſucceſſion to the crown (*x*); which book, as the whole deſign of it was moſt villainous, ſo, from a ſuperior ſpirit of malice, it was dedicated to the Earl of Eſſex, on purpoſe to create him trouble; in which it had its effect (*y*). But what chiefly grieved and broke his ſpirits, or, rather, ſoured them, was his perceiving plainly, that, though he could, in moſt ſuits, prevail for himſelf, yet he was able to do little or nothing for his friends, as particularly appeared in the caſe of Sir Francis Bacon, which, though the Earl bore with ſome impatience, yet it gave him an opportunity of ſhewing the greatneſs of his mind, by giving that Gentleman a ſmall eſtate in land, which ought to have bound him better to his fortunes (*z*) [*F*]. Indeed, the Earl of Eſſex was never wanting, upon any occaſion, to his friends, as many of the writers of thoſe times agree, and of which Camden gives a remarkable inſtance in the year 1595, in his attending the funeral of Sir Roger Williams, an old experienced officer, whom he had long encouraged and ſupported; though the roughneſs of his behaviour had expoſed him to the diſlike of Sir Walter Raleigh, and other conſiderable perſons (*a*). But whatever diſadvantages Eſſex might labour under from intrigues at Court, yet, in times of danger, the Queen had commonly recourſe to his aſſiſtance. Thus, in 1596, when the Spaniards in the month of April laid ſiege to Calais, and the diſcharges from their batteries were heard at Greenwich; an army was haſtily raiſed, and marched towards Dover, the command of which was given to the Earl of Eſſex (*b*): the Queen intended to have embarked theſe troops for the aſſiſtance of the French, which, however, they wiſely declined, being willing rather to let the Spaniards keep Calais for a little while, than ſee it reſcued from them by the Engliſh, who would, preſuming on their old rights, probably keep it for ever (*c*). The Queen, however, taking advantage of that warm diſpoſition which appeared in her people, to contribute, as far as in them lay, to keep the war at a diſtance, and to prevent the Spaniards from meditating a ſecond invaſion, ordered a fleet to be equipped for attacking Cadiz, the beſt part of the expences being born by the principal perſons engaged in that enterprize (*d*). The command of this army and fleet was, with joint authority, intruſted to Robert Earl of Eſſex, and Charles Lord Howard, then Lord High Admiral of England, with whom went many of the moſt diſtinguiſhed officers, both for the land and ſea ſervice, that were then in England; the Council being compoſed of Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Conyers Clifford; the fleet, for its number of ſhips, and for the land ſoldiers and mariners aboard, being the moſt conſiderable that, in thoſe times, had been ſeen (*e*). On the firſt of June they ſailed from Plymouth, but were forced to put back by a contrary wind, which changing, they took the firſt opportunity of putting again to ſea. On the 18th of the ſame month they arrived

(*w*) Dugd. Bar. Vol. II. p. 179. Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 863.

(*x*) A Conference about the next Succeſſion to the Crown of England, 4to. 1593. The Dedication is dated the laſt day of that year.

(*y*) Sidney State Papers, p. 350. 357.

(*z*) See this in Bacon's Apology, addreſſed to the Earl of Devonſhire.

(*a*) Annal. Eliz. p. 707.

(*b*) Stowe's Annals, p. 770.

(*c*) Camd Ann. Eliz. p. 718.

(*d*) See the Earl of Eſſex's Apology.

(*e*) Stowe's Annals, p. 771.

[*F*] *Which ought to have bound him better to his fortunes.*] There are few circumſtances relating to the life of this noble perſon that do greater honour to his memory, than the reſpect he ſhewed for men of parts and learning, in which he acted with ſo much ſincerity and greatneſs of mind, as evidently demonſtrated, that if on any occaſion he had recourſe to their ſervices, they were ſure to find in him not only a kind and very acceſſible patron, but a real friend, and, to the utmoſt of his power, a conſtant and zealous protector. It was this diſpoſition of mind that led him to afford ſo many teſtimonies of friendſhip to Mr. Daviſon, when he laboured under his misfortunes (27); to teſtify ſuch kindneſs to his ſon, as appears in that admirable letter of his which is ſtill extant, and of which it is hard to ſay, whether the peruſal of it raiſes a higher idea of his parts or of his probity. It was this turn of his that induced him to cauſe the immortal Spenſer to be interred at his expence (28). It was this that, in the latter part of his life, engaged him to take the ingenious Sir Henry Wotton, and the learned Mr. Cuffe, into his ſervice, as in his earlier days he had engaged thoſe incomparable brothers, Anthony and Francis Bacon, to ſhare his fortunes and his cares (29). He had a high opinion (as, indeed, who had not?) of the eloquence, and other great abilities of the younger brother, whoſe pen he uſed, when either his want of leiſure or his diffidence would not allow him to employ his own, which indeed was ſecond to none. It was the ſenſe he had of the great ſagacity, the ſtrong penetration, and the extenſive knowledge of the elder brother, more eſpecially in foreign affairs, that inſpired him with a deſire of having him for his conſtant companion, in order to which he gave him an apartment in his houſe, a plentiful penſion out of his purſe, beſides large preſents for occaſional ſervices (30). Some appearances there are, that ſpeak neither of theſe brothers ſo hearty in his intereſt as might have been expected from the ſtrong ties of gratitude they were under. But we muſt not always truſt appearances, more eſpecially in caſes where direct and plain proofs might certainly be had, if the ſuſpicion raiſed upon thoſe appearances were in reality well founded. As to Anthony Bacon, we have already ſhewn that whatever precautions he took for his own ſafety, his affection to and for his noble patron followed him beyond the grave. His brother Francis was of a warmer, but at the ſame time of a leſs firm and ſteady temper. He was ſuſceptible both of hopes and fears, and ſtill more ſuſceptible of praiſe; and, with much of his eloquence, had a tincture of Tully's vanity, as well as his timidity; otherwiſe he would never have pleaded the Queen's *taking a liking to his pen* in defence of a declamation againſt the memory of his friend (31). His refuſal might indeed have coſt him dear; but it would have preſerved his reputation, which is more tarniſhed in this than in any other point of his private character.

(27) Cabala, p. 213—215.

(28) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 783.

(29) See the articles of BACON and CUFF in this Dictionary.

(30) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 13, 14.

(31) See the beginning of his Apology addreſſed to the Earl of Devonſhire.

rived at Cape St. Vincent, where they met with an Iriſh bark, which informed them, that the port of Cadiz was full of ſhips, and that they had no notice whatever of the ſailing of the Engliſh fleet, or that ſuch an expedition was ſo much as intended (*f*). After this welcome news they purſued their voyage, and, on the 20th in the morning, they anchored near St. Sebaſtian's, on the weſt-ſide of the iſland of Cadiz, where the Admiral would have had the forces debarked, in order to their immediate attacking the town; which Eſſex cauſed to be attempted, but found to be impracticable, and, upon the advice of Sir Walter Raleigh, deſiſted (*g*). Camden, indeed, charges this raſhneſs upon Eſſex; but Sir Walter Raleigh, who is certainly better authority in this point, ſtates it the other way (*h*). It was then propoſed by the Earl to begin with attacking the fleet, which was a very hazardous enterprize, but, at laſt, agreed to by the Lord Admiral; of which, when Eſſex received the news, he threw his hat into the ſea for joy. The next day this gallant reſolution was executed with all imaginable bravery; and, in point of ſervice, none did better, or hazarded his perſon more, than the Earl of Eſſex (*i*), who, in his own ſhip, *The Due Repulſe*, went to the aſſiſtance of Sir Walter Ralegh, and offered, if it had been neceſſary, to have ſeconded him in boarding the St. Philip (*k*). The Spaniards behaved very gallantly, ſo long as there were any hopes, and when there were none, ſet fire to their ſhips, and retired (*l*). The Earl of Eſſex then landed eight hundred men at the Puntall; and, having firſt taken proper meaſures for deſtroying the bridge, next attacked the place with ſo much fury, that it was very quickly taken, and, the next day, the citadel ſurrendered upon a capitulation, by which a great ranſom was ſtipulated for the town (*m*). An offer was then made of two millions of ducats to ſpare the ſhips; and more might have been obtained, but the Lord Admiral ſaid, *He came there to conſume, and not to compound*; of which when the Spaniards were informed, they reſolved to have the burning of their own fleet, which they accordingly ſet on fire; their loſs by which was computed at twenty millions (*n*). The Earl was very deſirous of keeping Cadiz, which he offered to have done with a very ſmall garriſon; but the Council differed from him in opinion; ſo that, having plundered the iſland, and demoliſhed the forts, they embarked on the 5th of July, and bore away for the port of Faro in Algarve, which they plundered and deſtroyed: thence they proceeded to Cape St. Vincent, and being driven by a briſk wind out to ſea, it fell under conſideration, whether they ſhould not ſail for the Azores, in hopes of intercepting the Plate-Fleet, which was carried in the negative; and the Earl's propoſal, with two of her Majeſty's ſhips, and ten others, to make this attempt, was rejected likewiſe (*o*); which Mr. Camden attributes to the deſire of ſome of the officers, who had made large booties, to get their treaſure ſafe on ſhore (*p*). They looked in, however, at Corunna, and the Earl would have then proceeded to St. Andero and St. Sebaſtian; but others thinking they had done enough, the fleet returned proſperouſly to Plymouth, on the 8th of Auguſt following, and the Earl, with his ſquadron, two days after (*q*). He was very well received by the Queen, and highly applauded by the people; but, as it was too common with him, not entirely ſatisfied in himſelf; which induced him to write (at a time when ſome faults were imputed to him) a kind of narrative of this exploit, and a cenſure upon other men's conduct; which gained him little credit, and did him leſs good (*r*) [*G*]. Yet, whatever the ſentiments might be of the graver and wiſer part of

(*f*) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 28.

(*g*) Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by William Oldys, Eſq. p. 95.

(*h*) Annal. Eliz. p. 722.

(*i*) See the Cadiz Voyage in Hakluyt. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. fol. 1929. Sir Wm. Monſon's Account, &c. p. 29.

(*k*) Sir Walter Raleigh's Relation of the Cadiz action in his Genuine Remains, publiſhed by his grandſon, p. 23.

(*l*) See the account of this Action at large in Hakluyt.

(*m*) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Q. Elizabeth, p. 30, 31.

(*n*) Stowe's Annals, p. 774.

(*o*) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Q. Elizabeth, p. 32.

(*p*) Annal. Eliz. p. 728.

(*q*) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Q. Elizabeth, p. 33.

(*r*) See this explained in the Notes.

[*G*] *Gained him little credit, and did him leſs good.*] It is commonly ſaid, that, upon the Earl of Eſſex's returning from Cadiz, his glory and his power were both in their utmoſt ſplendour: the Queen and her people being equally diſpoſed to afford the kindeſt reception to their joint favourite. We may, however, form ſome doubt of this from various reaſons, of which we will mention only a few: Firſt then, the Queen was unwilling the Earl ſhould have gone at all, if he could have been perſuaded to have ſtaid at home: ſhe took amiſs his objections to a divided command, and gave many other teſtimonies of her entertaining ſome prejudices againſt him before his departure (32). Next, at his return he was blamed for his partiality to the land officers, for his countenancing opinions directly oppoſite to thoſe of the majority, and for miſrepreſenting the reaſons upon which the ſentiments of the majority were grounded, which, on his firſt coming home, had much weight, and prevented, as will be ſeen in a ſucceeding note, his being able to provide, by his recommendations, for his beſt friends (33). In order to ſupport and maintain himſelf, the Earl drew up a narrative, in which he ſhewed the advantages, and diſplayed the beneficial conſequences, of this expedition, 'in 'which, ſays he, the Engliſh took two galleons, 'routed fifteen gallies with an equal number of ſhips, 'freed many of their countrymen condemned to the 'gallies, and releaſed ſeveral Spaniards from impriſon-'ment; took the beſt fortified city in all Spain, and 'ſtayed thirteen days in their country; brought home, 'beſides the galleons aforeſaid, a hundred braſs guns, 'with a rich booty: and the ſailors, but eſpecially the 'ſoldiers, great plunder. The enemy loſt thirteen of 'his moſt ſerviceable ſhips, forty India merchant-men, 'and four others; beſides vaſt quantities of ammuni-'tion, proviſions, &c. rendering it almoſt impoſſible 'he ſhould in ſome time appear again at ſea in a for-'midable manner (34).' If he had ſtopped here it had been well, for as this did credit to all, ſo there is no doubt that all would have joined in ſupporting the credit which it gave them. But it fell out that the Earl, forgetting his own miſtakes, and more eſpecially the making of ſo many Knights, the far greater part from amongſt his own dependants, would needs write a cenſure of this voyage, by ſetting down whatever was omitted in the proſecution of it, and then, by way of anſwer to theſe objections, imputing all miſcarriages to other men, by which he raiſed to himſelf many implacable enemies, and there is too much reaſon to believe did not gain one friend. A ſpecimen of the laſt objection and its anſwer will abundantly confirm this obſervation, and at the ſame time give great light into his perſonal hiſtory, as well as a ſtrong inſtance of his capacity for writing well, if he had choſen his ſubject better (35).

(32) Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 94.

(33) Camd Ann. p. 729, 730.

(34) Extracted from the Earl's Narrative by Camden.

(35) Burchet's Naval Hiſt. p. 363, 364.

Objection. 'That ſince the chief of our ſervice 'conſiſted in the taking or deſtroying the Spaniſh ſhip-'ping and naval ſtores, why did we not look into 'their principal ports, and do them all the miſchief we 'were able?

'Anſwer.

of the Court, it appears plainly, that, upon his return from this expedition, the Earl of Eſſex ſtood very high in the favour of the Queen, and of the nation; and, perhaps, it might have gained him an acceſſion of favour with the former, if the Earl had not enjoyed ſo much of the latter, or had ſeemed to value it leſs than he did: but, as he had little of diſſimulation in his temper, ſo the warmth with which he diſcovered either his affection or diſlike, expoſed him continually to the ſiniſter practices of his enemies, who were thoroughly ſkilled in thoſe arts which he knew leaſt about (*s*). They inſinuated, therefore, to the Queen, that, conſidering the Earl's popularity, it would not be at all expedient for her ſervice to receive ſuch as he recommended to civil employments: and this they carried ſo far, as to make even his approbation deſtructive to mens' fortunes (*t*), whom they had encouraged and recommended themſelves; a thing hardly to be credited, if we had not the higheſt evidence to prove it [*H*]. It was a natural conſequence that the Earl, who wanted not penetration enough to ſee, or ſpirit to reſent this, ſhould behave towards thoſe he took to be the authors of ſuch counſels with viſible marks of anger

(*s*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(*t*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 730.

'*Anſwer.* That my end in going to Cadiz was not 'only becauſe it was a principal port, but the moſt 'likely to be held by us, in regard not only to the 'ſituation and natural ſtrength thereof, but that alſo 'from thence we might (if ſome greater ſervice did 'not divert us) go to all the ports betwixt that and the 'nethermoſt parts of Biſcay, which ſeemed better to 'me than to have alarmed the enemy firſt in the midſt 'of his country, or the neareſt parts thereof to ours, 'in regard that by acting in that manner, our attempts 'would have been more difficult, and our retreat at 'laſt from thoſe parts leſs ſafe, conſidering the wants, 'ſickneſs, and other inconveniences, which generally 'attend fleets and armies in long voyages. But after 'we had done what we could at Cadiz, it was by all 'our ſea-officers thought a capital offence, ſo much as 'to mention the paſſing over the bar of St. Lucar.

'Between St. Lucar and Liſbon there is not any good 'port, and from the latter I was reſtrained by my in'ſtructions: nay, though we had been permitted to 'have gone thither, yet I found our ſeamen of the 'ſame caſt that Sir Francis Drake and his company 'were, when they loſt the opportunity of taking that 'place, not caring to paſs by the caſtle of St. Julian.

'From Liſbon to the Groyne there is not any port 'capable of containing either the King of Spain's, or 'other large ſhipping; but to the latter place I at 'length prevailed with them, not without great diffi'culty, to go, having both vowed and proteſted 'againſt their refuſal, and even parted company with 'them, when they offered to hold on their courſe; but 'when we came to the mouth of the harbour, and 'ſent in ſome veſſels, we could not diſcover any thing 'there; nor at Ferrol; for in that port we alſo 'looked.

'After this we held our laſt council; and then I 'urged going to St. Andrew's Paſſage, St. Sebaſtian's, 'and all the principal ports along the coaſt; but the 'Lord Admiral abſolutely refuſed going farther, com'plaining of wants, and repreſenting the danger of 'being embayed, with many other inconveniences, in 'which opinion Sir Walter Raleigh confirmed him, ſo 'that both of them ſeemed deſirous to have the ho'nour of fruſtrating the deſign; and as to our landing 'at the Groyne, and attempting the town, they would 'by no means hear of it, but every one preſently 'cried out, *let us make ſail homewards*; ſince which 'time they have uſed ſuch ſpeed, that by my endea'vouring to bring with me the St. Andrew taken at 'Cadiz, and the fly-boat with our artillery, I have 'loſt company with them all, except Monſieur 'Duvenvoord and his ſquadron, and ſome ſmall 'ſhips (36)."

(36) Sir Henry Wotton ſpeaks much like a courtier, if this be the piece of which he ſpeaks when he ſays, that the Cadiz Expedition was the Earl's moſt fortunate action, and no leſs modeſt; for there] he wrote with his own hand a cenſure of his omiſſions.

[*H*] *If we had not the higheſt evidence to prove it.*] It is a juſt obſervation made upon theſe times, that the great Stateſmen knew how to poiſon with oil, and to break men's fortunes by contributing to their exaltation. The rivals of the Earl of Eſſex, whenever he made any propoſals for the public ſervice, were ſure to provoke him with objections, which, out of the warm ſincerity of his heart, he commonly anſwered by promiſing to perform even more than he firſt offered, and then they were ſure to find out pretences for ſending thoſe with him, who would perplex him as much in the execution, as they had done in the firſt contrivance of his project. But how ſucceſsful ſoever theſe arts might be in the cabinet of a Princeſs now full of years and of ſuſpicions, and ſurrounded with the enemies of Eſſex, yet it could not impoſe upon the nation; for which reaſon it did not in the leaſt leſſen that Nobleman's popularity; and therefore thoſe who envied his greatneſs, contrived to render this criminal, by repreſenting to the Queen, that though ſhe might ſafely beſtow honours and employments upon the Earl himſelf, in order to avail herſelf of his great virtues and extraordinary talents, yet nothing could be more dangerous to her tranquillity, than to receive into her ſervice even ſubordinate Miniſters of his recommendation; becauſe being already maſter of the military, he would by that means draw the civil power into his hands. We have ſeen that he could not reſtore Daviſon whom the Queen had made Secretary of State, and whom ſhe thought fitter for that office than any other man. We have ſeen that he could not make Sir Francis Bacon Solicitor-General, though he exerted for that purpoſe the whole ſtrength of his intereſt. We ſhall now ſee, that a promotion being reſolved, his approbation was ſufficient to prevent it; and, what is ſtill more extraordinary, the perſon injured reſents the good will of the Earl, inſtead of taking amiſs that inſolent abuſe of power which other Miniſters had exerciſed in ſetting him aſide, and this in breach too of their own promiſes. The perſon thus treated was Sir Thomas Bodley; and, as nobody can deſerve better credit in this buſineſs, he ſhall tell his ſtory himſelf, who having acknowledged that the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh intended to have made him Secretary of State, in caſe the Earl of Eſſex, upon the general rumour of it, had not highly commended him, tells us, that he had learned from his ſon the Earl of Salisbury, that they had no other motive to ſet him aſide, but the Earl's good opinion, which was grounded only on his belief of Bodley's merit, who, upon this ſubject, makes theſe reflections (37): 'When I had thoroughly now 'bethought me firſt in the Earl, of the ſlender holdfaſt 'he had in the favour of the Queen, of an endleſs 'oppoſition of the chiefeſt of our Stateſmen, like ſtill 'to wait upon him; of his perillous, and feeble, and 'uncertain advice, as well in his own, as in all the 'cauſes of his friends: and when moreover for my'ſelf I had fully conſidered, how very untowardly 'theſe two Counſellors were affected unto me, upon 'whom before in cogitation I had framed all the fa'brick of my future proſperity; how ill it did concur 'with my natural diſpoſition, to become, or to be 'counted, either a ſtickler or partaker in any public 'faction; how well I was able, by God's good bleſ'ſing, to live of myſelf, if I could be content with a 'competent livelihood; how ſhort time of further life 'I was then to expect by the common courſe of na'ture: when I had, I ſay, in this manner repreſented 'to my thoughts my particular eſtate, together with 'the Earl's, I reſolved thereupon to poſſeſs my ſoul 'in peace all the reſidue of my days: to take my full 'farewel of State employments, to ſatisfy my mind 'with that mediocrity of worldly living that I had 'of my own, and ſo to retire me from the court, which 'was the epilogue and end of all my actions and en'deavours of any important note, till I came to the 'age of fifty-three.' This event happened at the time the great perſons beforementioned were at open enmity, and before that treaty was concluded, of which the reader will have an ample account in the ſucceeding note.

(37) Life of Sir Thomas Bodley, written by himſelf.

and

and diſcontent; and this conduct of his made him frequently upon bad terms even with the Queen herſelf, who was a Princeſs very jealous of her authority, and, in caſes of this nature, bore but very indifferently with any expoſtulations (*u*). However, as well out of her natural kindneſs to him, as from a deſire of ſhewing a juſt acknowledgment for his late ſervice, ſhe was pleaſed, on the 19th of March, 1597, to appoint him Maſter of the Ordnance, by patent (*w*.) This ſeems to have had a good effect, in quieting the mind, and raiſing the ſpirits, of this great Nobleman, who, upon the report that the Spaniards were forming a new fleet at Ferrol and Corunna, for the invaſion of Ireland at leaſt, if not England, readily offered his ſervice to the Queen, and chearfully declared, as Camden aſſures us, that he would either defeat this new armada, which had threatened England for a year together, or periſh in the attempt, as one willingly devoted for the ſervice of his country (*x*). The Queen, well pleaſed with this propoſal, gave it all the countenance that could be deſired, and cauſed a conſiderable fleet, though not ſo conſiderable as the action required, to be equipped for this ſervice. The Earl of Eſſex was appointed General, Admiral, and Commander in Chief, the Lord Thomas Howard Vice, and Sir Walter Raleigh Rear, Admirals; the Lord Montjoy was Lieutenant-General of the land-forces, and Sir Francis Vere, Marſhal. We may gueſs at the intereſt which the Earl had in the ſucceſs of this voyage by the number of his friends, who engaged therein as volunteers; and, amongſt them of the Nobility, were the Earls of Rutland and Southampton, and the Lords Cromwell and Rich (*y*). His ſanguine hopes however were, in ſome meaſure, diſappointed; for ſailing about the 9th of July from Plymouth, they met, at ſixty leagues diſtance, with ſo rough a ſtorm, and of four days continuance, that they were obliged to put back to Plymouth, where they remained wind-bound for the ſpace of a month (*z*), in which time a great part of their proviſions was conſumed. While the fleet was thus laid up, the Earl of Eſſex and Sir Walter Raleigh ſet out poſt for the court, in order to receive freſh inſtructions (*a*). The propoſals made by Eſſex, even after this diſappointment, were very bold and great, but, as Camden ſeems to inſinuate, very difficult and dangerous, if not impracticable; ſo that the Queen would not countenance his projects, but rather left the direction of the expedition to the Commanders in Chief, according as the ſeaſon and circumſtances might encourage or permit (*b*). The ſame Hiſtorian, and almoſt all who have written upon this ſubject after him, ſpeak of an old miſunderſtanding between Eſſex and Sir Walter Raleigh before they left England, which was productive of moſt of the miſchiefs that afterwards happened; which there is good reaſon however to believe a groundleſs imputation upon both (*c*) [*I*]. As ſoon as the fleet was repaired, and the land forces were debarked that, by the Queen's command, were to remain at home, they ſailed again from Plymouth the 17th of Auguſt, having now two points in view, the one to burn the Spaniſh fleet in their own harbours, the other to intercept the ſhips they expected from the Weſt Indies. Camden blames Eſſex for appearing openly within ſight of the Spaniſh coaſt, and thereby alarming the enemy; but Sir William Monſon acquaints us with the true reaſon of the Earl's conduct, which was, by making a ſhow of a few ſhips to draw out the enemy's fleet, it being found impoſſible to

(*u*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 24, 25.

(*w*) Pat. 39 Eliz. p. 7.

(*x*) Ann. Eliz. p. 738.

(*y*) Stowe's Annals, p. 783.

(*z*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 738.

(*a*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1935.

(*b*) Ann. Eliz. p. 739.

(*c*) See this explained in the Note.

[*I*] *Which there is good reaſon, however, to believe a groundleſs imputation upon both.*] There ſeem to be few opinions better founded than that which, with due caution, admits the private letters of perſons of good ſenſe and experience, written at the time when things were tranſacted, to be the beſt documents for ſuch points, either of public or of private Hiſtory, as are not likely to be generally known with the ſame degree of certainty as facts of another ſpecies. Amongſt other papers of a very curious and inſtructive nature, which have been publiſhed lately in a very valuable collection, are the letters of Rowland White, Eſq. to Sir Robert Sydney, at that time Governor of Fluſhing. Mr. White was Sir Robert's agent at Court; and from theſe letters it appears, that the Nobleman, on whoſe favour Sir Robert chiefly relied, was the Earl of Eſſex; ſo that we cannot well have better authority, in reference to what paſſed at Court in thoſe days, than the informations of this gentleman, concerned to make the cloſeſt enquiries he could, and bound in honour to relate what proved the reſult of them with the utmoſt fidelity. We learn from him, that, in the beginning of the year 1597, there were great intrigues at Court, where Secretary Cecil was the moſt favoured Counſellor, had long private conferences with the Queen, and retarded or advanced men's ſuits at his pleaſure (38). Eſſex at this time was in ſome diſcontent, though a great favourite likewiſe, and kept or was ſaid to keep his bed, when he was not very ſick, receiving frequent meſſages from the Queen, and having alſo private audiences (39). In the beginning of the month of March Sir Walter Raleigh had ſeveral private interviews with the Earl, in order to bring about a good underſtanding between him and the Secretary, which he urged would have ſerved good conſequences, ſuch as making the Queen eaſy, removing a great obſtacle in the management of public affairs, and contributing not a little to the forwarding the ſchemes concerted for humbling the common enemy (40). It is eaſy to ſee from hence, that there could be no pique between the Earl and Sir Walter Raleigh; for if there had, Sir Robert Cecil was too wiſe a man to have employed him. While this treaty was in negotiation, there was a competition for the office of Warden of the Cinque Ports, Sir Robert Cecil ſupporting the new Lord Cobham, and the Earl of Eſſex recommending Sir Robert Sydney firſt, and finding that would not do, ſtanding for it himſelf, upon which it was propoſed that he ſhould accept of the Maſterſhip of the Ordnance, which he did (41). Soon after this, Sir Henry Leigh was, at the recommendation of the Earl of Eſſex, made Knight of the Garter (42); and the Earl concurred in promoting the Lord Berows to the government of Ireland. In May the treaty was in a manner concluded; the Earl, by the mediation of Sir Walter Raleigh, was reconciled to the Secretary; and they concerted together all the meaſures preparatory to the Iſland Expedition; and from the ſame letters we learn, that Sir Walter Raleigh, who was entruſted with the care of victualing the fleet, had been remarkably civil to the Earl of Eſſex in what related to the proviſion of his own ſhip; and when they were obliged to return by contrary winds, Mr. White repreſents their coming to London together as the effects of their perfect intelligence, and does not give the leaſt hint of any variance between them.

(38) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 23.

(39) Ibid. p. 18.

(40) Ibid. p. 24.

(41) Ibid. p. 31.

(42) Ibid. 47.

burn

burn them in port (*d*). He alſo inſinuates, that Sir Walter Raleigh kept at a diſtance from the fleet, which was another diſcouragement; but, from the beſt accounts we have, this alſo appears to be a groundleſs imagination (*e*). Sir Walter is afterwards ſaid to have ſeparated from the fleet by deſign, under pretence of repairing his ſhip; but Sir William Monſon tells us plainly, that this ſeparation was owing to an involuntary miſcarriage in Eſſex himſelf (*f*). When they joined again at the iſlands, it appears plainly that Eſſex and Raleigh were very good friends, notwithſtanding there were ſome on both ſides who laboured all they could to incenſe them againſt each other. When they had refreſhed at Flores, Eſſex commanded Ralegh to ſail for Fayall, which he intended to attack with the whole fleet; but Sir Walter coming there firſt, and apprehending that the ſmalleſt delay might have prevented their deſign, very gallantly attacked, and very happily ſucceeded, in making himſelf maſter of the iſland before the arrival of Eſſex with the reſt of the fleet (*g*). This gave occaſion to Sir Walter's enemies to repreſent his vigilance and activity in the light of diſobedience and contempt to Eſſex, which occaſioned very high diſputes; but, by the interpoſition of Lord Thomas Howard, all things were compromiſed, Sir Walter excuſed what had happened to the Earl, and the Earl accepted his excuſe (*b*). As the relations of this, which is called the *Iſland Voyage*, already publiſhed, are very exact, and in themſelves larger than this whole life, it cannot be expected that we ſhould enter here into all the other particulars of this voyage: we ſhall therefore content ourſelves with obſerving, that, notwithſtanding the Spaniſh fleet eſcaped, and ſome other untoward accidents happened, in which the Earl was not altogether without blame, yet three ſhips from the Havannah, the cargoes of which amounted to near one hundred thouſand pounds, were taken, by which the beſt part of the expences of the undertaking was defrayed, and ſo the fleet returned to England towards the cloſe of October (*i*). In reſpect to what Camden ſuggeſts, that, after their arrival in England, Eſſex and Raleigh accuſed each other, by which great diſturbances were occaſioned (*k*), there is ſome reaſon to doubt the matter of fact, and to believe they were both wiſer men, and knew their reſpective intereſts better than to act in ſuch a manner [*K*]. It is very true, that the Earl of Eſſex, upon his return from the Iſland Voyage, ſhewed evident ſigns of deep diſpleaſure, retired to his houſe at Wanſtead, and, under pretence of ſickneſs, abſented himſelf from the ſervice of Parliament then ſitting; and it is alſo very true which Camden reports, that his diſſatisfaction aroſe from the Lord Admiral's being created Earl of Nottingham in his abſence, with ſome particular clauſes in the preamble of his patent, which, as they were highly honourable for that noble Peer, Eſſex conceived threw ſome diſparagement upon himſelf (*l*). But as to what the ſame Hiſtorian inſinuates, that he was no leſs diſpleaſed that Sir Robert Cecil was advanced to be Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter, becauſe he conſidered him as his principal antagoniſt, and a faſt friend to Sir Walter Raleigh (*m*), there is ſome reaſon to queſtion; and in the notes it will be ſhewn, that the firſt was the great if not the ſole cauſe of the Earl's diſquiet, that his diſtaſte was very far from being peeviſh or unreaſonable, and that thoſe who are reputed to have been his geateſt enemies, were, in reality, the very perſons that procured this noble perſon the ſatisfaction he deſired [*L*]. This ſatisfaction conſiſted in creating the Earl of Eſſex

(*d*) Ann. Eliz. p. 740. Sir Wm. Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. p. 34.

(*e*) Ann. Eliz. p. 740. See the accurate Account of this Expedition, written by Sir Arthur Gorges, in the IVth Vol. of Purchas's Pilgrims.

(*f*) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Q. Elizabeth, p. 34. Annal. Eliz. p. 740.

(*g*) Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 116.

(*b*) See the Accounts of this Voyage before referred to.

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 784. Sir Wm. Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 37, 38.

(*k*) Ann. Eliz. p. 745.

(*l*) Dewes's Journal of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 529. 531. Ann. Eliz. p. 746.

(*m*) See this explained in the Note.

[*K*] *Than to act in ſuch a manner.*] In the text we have given ſeveral inſtances of Mr. Camden's inclination to repreſent the diſputes between the Earl of Eſſex and Sir Walter Raleigh as the principal cauſe of the miſcarriages in this voyage, which, from the facts contained in the laſt note, ſeem not very probable. We may add to this, that Sir Arthur Gorges, who wrote the very beſt account of this voyage, tells us, that when the Earl and Sir Walter met at Flores, the Earl acquainted him with the ſurmiſes that had been vented of his abſence, and named to him ſome who had taxed him ſecretly, and yet pretended to love him; upon which Sir Arthur makes the following reflexion (43): 'Though the Earl had many doubts and 'jealouſies buzzed into his ears againſt him, yet I 'have often obſerved, that both in his greateſt actions 'of ſervice, and in the time of his chiefeſt recreations, 'he would ever accept of his counſel and company, 'before many others who thought themſelves more in 'his favour.' In reference to the high diſpute at Fayall, Sir Henry Wotton tells us, that when one, whoſe name he ſays he need not remember, preſſed the Earl to put Sir Walter at leaſt to a Court Martial, he anſwered (44), *That I would do if he were not my friend.* Some copies indeed read, *if he were my friend*, which perhaps is the true reading. We may very eaſily reconcile all this, by ſuppoſing that both the Earl and Sir Walter might have their reaſons for not letting the world know how far they were friends. Mr. White, in his Letters to Sir Robert Sydney during the Earl's abſence on this expedition, obſerves, that the creation of Barons, which it was intended ſhould have preceded the meeting of Parliament, was, by Secretary Cecil, put off till the Earl's return (45), and this plainly ſhews that he kept, or would be thought to keep, that treaty of good correſpondence which he had concluded with his Lordſhip.

(43) See his Account of that Voyage in the IVth Vol. of Purchas's Pilgrims.

(44) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 31.

(45) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 69.

[*L*] *The ſatisfaction he deſired.*] In order to apprehend this matter clearly, we muſt firſt learn what was the true cauſe of the Earl of Eſſex's diſcontent, which was very far from being ſo idle or unreaſonable as ſome have repreſented it. The Lord Admiral Howard had, in his abſence, been raiſed from the degree of a Baron to the title of Earl of Nottingham, and in the preamble of the patent his taking of Cadiz is particularly mentioned. Now, by virtue of a regulation made in the reign of Henry VIII. the Great Chamberlain of England, the Earl Marſhal, the Admiral, and the Steward of the Houſhold, were to have precedency in Parliament of all Peers of the ſame rank; ſo that if the Earl of Eſſex had attended the ſervice of the Houſe, the Earl of Nottingham, though created but a few days before, would have taken place of him in virtue of this regulation (46), though in the ſervice for which he was raiſed to his new title, the Earl of Eſſex had the precedency, and had no reaſon to believe that the Queen was not perfectly ſatisfied with his behaviour in that expedition. It was this that occaſioned his retiring from Court, and ſhewing ſuch high marks of diſcontent, with the motives of which, when the

(46) Camd. Ann. p. 745, 746.

Eſſex Earl-Marſhal of England, which was done December 28th, 1597 (*n*), and he took his place in Parliament accordingly on Wedneſday the 11th of January following: but whereas Camden reports, that this office had been ſuppreſſed, or lain dormant, from the death of the Earl of Shrewſbury, whence it might be inferred, that it was a very extraordinary thing for the Queen to be drawn to this promotion, it is clearly a miſtake, the Earl of Suſſex ſitting, in this very Parliament, as Earl-Marſhal, and having precedence accordingly (*o*). We may add to this, that Camden himſelf had occaſion to conſider this point of the ſucceſſion, power, and prerogative of the Earls Marſhal of England very cloſely; nor is it at all improbable that it was upon this very occaſion; for the Earl of Eſſex is the laſt Marſhal mentioned in his liſt, and he ſhews very fully his hereditary claim to that great honour (*p*). It is generally agreed, that this noble perſon had nothing of diſſimulation in his nature, and therefore, having obtained this new favour of the Queen, he was perfectly well pleaſed, and very readily promiſed Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State, who was appointed to execute a commiſſion of great importance to the French King, that nothing to the prejudice of his intereſt ſhould be done in his abſence, without which promiſe the Secretary would not have gone; and this he not only performed with the utmoſt punctuality, but even diſcharged the Secretary's buſineſs, in his abſence, with the utmoſt care and vigilance; and all this time there were no quarrels with Sir Walter Raleigh, or ſo much as the leaſt coldneſs. On the contrary, Sir Walter knowing that the Earl had engaged himſelf to his relation Sir Robert Sydney, in reference to the poſt of Vice-Chamberlain, which was then vacant, he declined ſoliciting for it purely out of reſpect to Eſſex (*q*). But in the month of May, 1598, Sir Robert Cecil returning to England with new notions in relation to the peace, there quickly aroſe freſh diſputes in the Council about the expediency of that meaſure, which was very earneſtly as well as eloquently preſſed by the old and wiſe Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, and as warmly decried by the Earl of Eſſex, who wanted not very plauſible reaſons in ſupport of what he ſaid (*r*). The Treaſurer, at length, grew into a great heat, inſomuch that he told the Earl of Eſſex, that he ſeemed to be intent upon nothing but blood and ſlaughter. The Earl explained himſelf upon this, that the blood and ſlaughter of the Queen's enemies might be very lawfully his intention; that he was not againſt a ſolid but a ſpecious and precarious peace; that the Spaniards were a ſubtle and ambitious people, who had contrived to do England more miſchief in time of peace than of war; and that as to an enemy, whoſe hands it was impoſſible to bind by treaty, it was better not to tie up our own (*s*). The Treaſurer at laſt drew out a Prayer-Book, in which he ſhewed Eſſex this expreſſion, *Men of blood ſhall not live out half their duys* (*t*). Yet Camden, from whom we have all this, acknowledges, that many thought the arguments of Eſſex had weight, and that, in reality, his chief concern was for the honour and happineſs of his native country, which he thought might be better promoted by an open war, which would always keep the King of Spain's hands full at home, than by an unſteady peace, which might give his Catholic Majeſty time to recover his ſucceſſive loſſes, and allow him leiſure alſo to practiſe his uſual arts for weakening us (*u*). As the Earl knew well enough, that various methods would be uſed to prejudice the common people againſt him, more eſpecially ſuch as, in any degree, got their living by trade, or thought themſelves oppreſſed by the taxes levied for the ſupport of the war, he reſolved to write a vindication of his own proceedings, and to deliver his own arguments with all the advantages that his own pathetic eloquence could give them (*w*), which he addreſſed to his dear friend Anthony Bacon, and which ſtill remains a memorial of his great virtues and admirable abilites [*M*]. About this time died the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh (*x*), which

(*n*) Spelman's Poſthumous Works, p. 171.

(*o*) Ann. Eliz. p. 746. Dewes's Journal of the Reign of Q. Elizabeth, p. 523.

(*p*) See the Appendix to Camden's Letters, publiſhed by Smith, p. 96.

(*q*) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 82. 87—93.

(*r*) Stowe's Ann. p. 789. Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 765—767.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 771.

(*t*) See the article of CECIL (WILLIAM) Lord Burleigh, in this Dictionary. Cabala, p. i. p. 344.

(*u*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 771.

(*w*) This apology ſtole into the world not long after it was written, with which the Queen was exceedingly offended.

(*x*) Camd Ann. p. 773.

Queen was thoroughly acquainted, ſhe ſhewed herſelf ſo little pleaſed, that the Earl of Nottingham thought proper to retire, though he was Lord Steward as well as Lord Admiral, and going to his houſe at Chelſea gave out that he was ſick (47). The Queen immediately laid the fault upon the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh and Sir Robert Cecil, who, ſays Mr. White, with infinite proteſtations, execrations, and vows, denied it. However, to ſet matters right again, they had recourſe to Sir Walter Raleigh, whom they ſent to the Earl of Eſſex to diſpoſe him to admit of ſome expedient (48), which is certainly a proof that Sir Walter and he were not upon bad terms, or had been accuſing one another to the Queen. By his interpoſition the Earl was content, that his hereditary claim to the dignity of Earl Marſhal being admitted, by which he recovered his precedency again, he was willing to forget what was paſt; and it is very remarkable, that, after this agreement was made, Mr. White writes to Sir Robert Sydney, that the world exceedingly wondered to ſee the too great familiarity that was grown between the Earl of Eſſex, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir Walter Raleigh: none but they enjoy him, ſays he, and they carry him away as they liſt (49). This is a very ſingular piece of ſecret Hiſtory, and ſets the whole of theſe tranſactions in a new point of light.

(47) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 77.

(48) Idem, ibid.

(49) Ibid. p 79.

[*M*] *Of his great virtues and admirable abilities.*] The title of this work runs thus: *To Mr. Anthony Bacon, an Apologie of the Earle of Eſſexe, againſt thoſe which falſlie and maliciouſlie take him to be the only Hindrance of the Peace and Quiet of his Countrie* (50). In it he gives a ſuccinct and very impartial account of the undertakings and conduct of his whole life; he declares his love of peace; and his diſlike of war when it is a worſe evil than a bad peace; he explains the cauſes for ſuſpecting the ſincerity of the Spaniſh offers; obſerves, that when they treated before, they at the ſame time laboured to corrupt Dr. Lopez, the Queen's Phyſician, to poiſon her; and even at this time he aſſerts, that there was one Anthony Rolles, a priſoner in the Tower, who came over with a commiſſion from the King of Spain, to offer him, the Earl of Eſſex, whatever title, preferment, or penſion he ſhould deſire, for taking their part (51). He next opens the political motives that might, in all probability, induce the Catholick King to conclude a peace, without any

(50) Reprinted under the title of the Earl of Eſſex's Vindication of the War with Spain in 1729, 8vo.

(51) Earl of Eſſex's Vindication of the war with Spain, p. 24.

which was a great misfortune to the Earl of Eſſex, ſince the remembrance of his father, the truſt repoſed in him by committing this his eldeſt ſon to his care, and the reſpect and obedience which had been ſhewn him by the young Lord for ſeveral years, preſerved in him a tenderneſs for his perſon, and a real concern for his fortunes. But when that great Counſellor was gone, thoſe who hated the Earl acted without any reſtraint, croſſed whatever he propoſed, ſtopped the riſe of every man he loved, and treated all his projects with an air of ſupercilious contempt, except one, which they thought would be his ruin. By the death of the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh the Chancellorſhip of the Univerſity of Cambridge became vacant, upon which, as the higheſt mark of their reſpect poſſible, that learned body choſe the Earl of Eſſex (*y*) in his room. Upon this account he went down to pay them a viſit, was entertained at Queen's College with great magnificence, and, as a proof of their general affection, the room in which he lay was, long after, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Eſſex Chamber (*z*). We may account this as one of the laſt inſtances of this great man's felicity, for he was now advanced too high to ſit at eaſe; and thoſe who longed for his honours and employments, very buſily ſtudied how they might bring about his fall. The firſt great ſhock he had given him in the Queen's favour, was on the ſcore of the perſon he propoſed to be ſent over to Ireland, before he was drawn to have thoughts of going thither himſelf; and though, in appearance, he was reconciled and reſtored to the Queen's favour, yet there is good reaſon to doubt whether it was ever recovered in reality (*a*), or at leaſt to the degree in which he formerly held it. The reader will find the cauſe, the circumſtances, and the conſequences of this quarrel, in the notes [*N*]. An event happened much about this time, which ſhewed the ſentiments the enemies of England had of this noble perſon, and ought therefore to have endeared him to ſuch as had a real affection for their country. There was one Edward Squire ſeized and impriſoned for treaſon, and his caſe came out to be this: he had been a groom in the Queen's ſtables, went afterwards to ſea with Sir Francis Drake, was taken priſoner and carried to Spain, where he was perſuaded by a Jeſuit to undertake poiſoning the Earl of Eſſex, and afterwards Queen Elizabeth; for performing which he had poiſon given him in a bladder (*b*). He found means to rub this, as he was directed, upon the pommel of the Queen's ſaddle, got himſelf afterwards recommended to ſerve on board the Earl's ſhip in the Iſland Voyage, where, in like manner, he poiſoned both the arms of his great chair; yet no effect followed in either caſe (*c*). Upon this, the Spaniſh Jeſuit ſuſpecting the man, and not his drug, cauſed information to be given in England againſt Squire, who, finding himſelf betrayed by his Confeſſor, opened the whole ſcene, and plainly acknowledged his endeavours to diſpatch both the Queen and

(*y*) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 864.

(*z*) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 156.

(*a*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 772.

(*b*) Bp. Carleton's thankful Remembrances of God's Mercy, cap. xiv.

(*c*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 779.

true intention of living at quiet; the great advantages that might ariſe from thence to Spain, and bad conſequences to us and our allies, more eſpecially the States of Holland, of whoſe government and intereſts he diſcourſes with great clearneſs and capacity; and ſhews how fit he was to manage, as he did that very year, a new treaty between the Queen his Sovereign and that Republick (52).

(52) Camd. Ann. p. 776.

[*N*] *In the notes.*] We have the beſt, indeed the only full account of this matter from Camden, who was a very judicious man, as well as furniſhed with the beſt memoirs of that reign that were to be procured, and therefore we will give it in his words. Having mentioned the motives alledged by Eſſex for carrying on the war, he proceeds thus (53): 'There followed after this,' ſays he, 'a pretty warm diſpute between the Queen and Eſſex, about the choice of ſome fit and able perſon to ſuperintend the affairs of Ireland, at which none were preſent but the Lord Admiral; Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary; and Windebanke, Clerk of the Seal: for whereas the Queen looked upon Sir William Knolles, uncle to Eſſex, as the moſt proper perſon for that charge; and Eſſex contending that Sir George Carew would much better execute that office (perhaps on purpoſe to get rid of him), and when the Queen could by no means be perſuaded to approve his choice, he quite forgot himſelf and his duty, and turned his back upon his Prince in a kind of contempt. The Queen, not able to bear his inſolence, beſtowed on him a box on the ear, and bade him go and be hanged. He immediately clapped his hand on his ſword, and the Lord Admiral ſtepping in between, he ſwore a great oath he neither could nor would put up an affront of that nature, nor would he have taken it at the hands of Henry VIII. himſelf, and in a great paſſion immediately withdrew from the Court. The Lord Keeper adviſed him, in a ſerious and conſiderate letter, to apply himſelf to the Queen for pardon (54), alledging, *that 'twas the beſt way to ſtoop to her anger for the preſent, remembering that paſſage of Seneca*, If the law puniſhes a guilty perſon he muſt ſubmit to juſtice; if one innocent he muſt yield to fortune. *If he had given the Queen a juſt offence, 'twas not in his power to make her amends; whereas if ſhe had done him an injury, he was obliged in prudence, duty, and religion, to bear with his Sovereign, to whom he had ſo many obligations, for that there was a vaſt difference between a Prince and a ſubject.* He ſent the Lord Keeper his anſwer in a long and paſſionate letter, which his friends afterwards unadviſedly divulged, wherein he appealed from the Queen to God Almighty, in expreſſions ſomething to this purpoſe: 'That there is no tempeſt ſo boiſterous as the reſentment of an angry Prince: that the Queen was of a flinty temper: that he well enough knew what was due from him as a ſubject, an Earl, and Grand Marſhal of England, but did not underſtand the office of a drudge or a porter: that to own himſelf a criminal was to injure truth, and the author of it, God Almighty: that his body ſuffered in every part of it by that blow given him by his Prince: that 'twould be a crime in him to ſerve a Queen who had given him ſo great an affront. What! was it impoſſible for crowned heads to do wrong, and ſo to ſtand accountable to their ſubjects? Was any power below of an unlimited nature? And did not Solomon ſay, that he is a fool who laughs when he is ſtricken? They only that were gainers by the miſcarriages of Princes were obliged to take the indignities they offered, and thoſe who ſuſpected the omnipotence of the Deity, might, if they pleaſed, place it in earthly Princes: for my part,' ſaid he, 'I have ſuffered ſo many and great injuries, that I cannot but reſent them from my very heart.' However, in a little time he became more pliant, received his pardon, and was re-admitted into the Queen's favour, who always thought it a leſs crime to offend a perſon, than to proſecute him with a perfect hatred. However, his friends were apt to date his ruin from this unlucky circumſtance, having made this remark, That fortune ſeldom careſſes a caſt-off favourite a ſecond time, and Princes once diſobliged are ſeldom heartily reconciled.

(53) Idem, ibid. p. 771.

(54) Theſe letters may be found at large in the Cabala, P. I. p. 216, 217. As alſo in Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 232. where there is a ſtrange miſtake, as to the time in which the Earl's anſwer was written.

the

the Earl, for which he was deſervedly executed (*d*). The miſeries of Ireland continued all this time, or rather increaſed; and when propoſals were made, in the Queen's Council, for ſending over a new Governor, with certain reſtrictions, Eſſex took occaſion of ſhewing, that nothing had been hitherto ſo expenſive as an ill-timed frugality, and that the Iriſh rebels had been the only gainers by the reſtraints put upon the Engliſh Deputies (*e*). Thoſe who hated this noble perſon were not diſpleaſed when they found him in this diſpoſition, and at length took in their turn occaſion, from his objections, to ſuggeſt, that the total reduction of that iſland was to be expected from none but himſelf; which at firſt he declined; but perceiving that he could enjoy little quiet or comfort at home, that it was with difficulty he maintained his credit, and that by failing the expectations of his friends he ſhould gradually loſe them, he conſented to accept that fatal preferment, and agreed to go over into that kingdom, which had been the grave of his father's fortunes, and which his beſt friends foreſaw would prove the gulf of his own (*f*). It is indeed true, that he had a great army granted him, and that due care was taken for the payment of it; that his powers were very large, and his appointments very great; but theſe were obtained with many ſtruggles, and notice was taken of every thing he promiſed, or ſeemed to promiſe, in order to obtain them (*g*); and, when all things were regulated, he was ſo far from going with alacrity, as to a place which he had ſought, and to a command which he had meditated for the ſake of greater things, that he ſeemed rather to look upon it as a baniſhment, and a place aſſigned him for a retreat from his Sovereign's preſent diſpleaſure, rather than a potent government beſtowed upon him by her favour [*O*]. On the 12th of March, 1598-9, his commiſſion for Lord Lieutenant paſſed the Great Seal (*h*), and, on the 27th of the ſame month, about two in the afternoon, he ſet out from Seething Lane, and paſſed through the city in a plain habit, accompanied by many of the Nobility. He was attended by vaſt crowds of people out of town; and it was obſerved, with a view perhaps to prepare the world to have a bad opinion of his conduct, that the weather was exceeding fair when he took horſe, but by that time he came to Iſlington there was a heavy ſtorm of rain, attended with thunder and lightning (*i*). The like bad weather he met with at ſea, ſo that he did not arrive at Dublin, or take upon him his charge, before April 15th, 1599 (*k*). He found things in that country in a ſtate very different from what he expected, and perceived that there was nothing to be done, at leaſt to any purpoſe, till he was well acquainted with the country in which he was to act. He found likewiſe that the new-raiſed men he had brought over were altogether unfit for action, till they were ſeaſoned to the country, and well acquainted with diſcipline (*l*). Theſe conſiderations hindered him from marching directly to Ulſter, for fear Tir-Oen ſhould make any advantage of his weakneſſes; and the Council deſiring that he would ſuppreſs ſome diſorders in Munſter, he thought that a fair occaſion of exerciſing his new troops, and did it effectually (*m*). On his return to Dublin, that very day two months on which he had received the government, he wrote a letter to the Queen, containing a free, fair, and full repreſentation of the ſtate of things in that country; which moſt admirable performance, pointing out all the ſteps that were afterwards taken, and by which his ſucceſſor made an end of the war, remains upon

(*d*) Stowe's Annals, p. 785.

(*e*) This is affirmed by Bacon in his declaration of the Earl of Eſſex's treaſon.

(*f*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 27.

(*g*) As appeared from the ſpeeches of the Lords of the Privy-Council in the Star-Chamber.

(*h*) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. II. p. 111.

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 788.

(*k*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. I. p. 416.

(*l*) Collected from the ſeveral accounts of his proceedings in that kingdom.

(*m*) As is acknowledged in a letter of Sir Robert Cecil's, in Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 57 71.

[*O*] *Beſtowed upon him by her favour.*] The truth of this may be not only probably collected, but in ſome meaſure proved, from an epiſtle of his to the Queen, written after his appointment to the government of Ireland, and before his going thither, of which there is a very imperfect copy in the Cabala (55); but that loſs is now ſupplied, by the following full and correct tranſcript of that valuable and authentick paper, from the collections in the Harleian Library (56). If we conſider the Earl's character, and how incapable he was of diſſembling, the weight of this evidence will be the greater. But, without taking in that, I look on the very ſtile of the letter to be ſuch as will put all ſuſpicion of artifice out of the caſe, which will teach the reader what to think of the Declaration of his treaſons, that ſtands entirely upon this bottom, that he had plotted a revolution in England before he went to Ireland, and deſired the Lieutenancy that he might put himſelf at the head of an army, and enter into a confederacy with the rebels.

(55) Cabala, P. I. p. 216.

(56) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 133.

To the Queen.

'FROM a mind delighting in ſorrow, from ſpirits waſted with paſſion, from a heart torn in 'pieces with care, grief, and travel; from a man that 'hateth himſelf, and all things elſe that keep him 'alive; what ſervice can your Majeſty expect, ſince 'any ſervice paſt deſerves no more than baniſhment 'and proſcription to the curſedeſt of all iſlands? It is 'your rebels pride and ſucceſſion muſt give me leave to 'ranſom myſelf out of this hateful priſon, out of my 'loathed body, which, if it happen ſo, your Majeſty 'ſhall have no cauſe to miſlike the faſhion of my 'death, ſince the courſe of my life could never pleaſe 'you.

*Happy he could finiſh forth his fate*
*In ſome* unhaunted deſart, *moſt obſcure*
*From all* ſociety, *from* love *and* hate
*Of worldly* folk; *then ſhould he ſleep ſecure:*
*Then wake again and yield* God *ever* praiſe,
*Content with* hips, *and* haws, *and* brambleberry,
*In contemplation paſſing out his days,*
*And change of* holy thoughts *to make him merry;*
*Who when he* dies *his* tomb *may be a* buſh,
*Where harmleſs* Robin *dwells with gentle* Thruſh.

Your Majeſty's exil'd ſervant,

ROBERT ESSEX.

record in Ireland (*n*); but of the contents thereof not a ſyllable is mentioned in Camden, or the reſt of our hiſtorians. This letter he ſent over to the Queen by his Secretary, in hopes that from thence ſhe might have derived a juſt notion of the ſtate of things in that iſland; but it produced no ſuch effect. On the contrary, the Queen was exceedingly provoked that he had not marched into Ulſter, in order to attack Tir-Oen, and repeated her orders upon that head in very ſtrong terms (*o*). Before theſe arrived, Sir Henry Harrington, with ſome of the freſh troops, had been worſted by the O'Brians; which ſo provoked Eſſex, that he cauſed the remains of thoſe troops to be decimated (*p*); which, with the throwing a ſoldier overboard in his laſt expedition, with his own hands, are the only inſtances of ſeverity that are recorded of him (*q*). When he received the Queen's orders, and was on the point of marching into Ulſter, he was prevailed upon to enter the country of Ophaly, to reduce the O'Conners and the O'Moores, which he performed; but his troops were ſo harraſſed and diminiſhed thereby, that, with the advice and conſent of the Council of Ireland, he wrote home for a recruit of two thouſand men (*r*). In the midſt of theſe croſſes in Ireland, an army was ſuddenly raiſed in England, under the command of the Earl of Nottingham; nobody well knowing why, but, in reality, from the ſuggeſtions of the Earl's enemies to the Queen, that he rather meditated an invaſion on his native country, than the reduction of the Iriſh rebels (*s*). At length Eſſex, intending for Ulſter, ſent orders to Clifford, who commanded at Connaught, to march towards the enemy on that ſide, that Tir-Oen might be obliged to divide his forces; which was executed, but with ſuch ill fortune, that the Engliſh, being ſurprized, were beaten, with the loſs of their Commander in Chief, together with Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, and one hundred and forty men (*t*). Upon the arrival of the ſuccours which he had demanded, the Lord Lieutenant marched, though with a ſmall force, againſt Tir-Oen, in the latter end of the month of Auguſt; but, on the eighth of September following, was prevailed upon to confer with him alone at the ford of Ballaclynch; and afterwards with counſellors on both ſides, when he concluded a truce for ſix weeks; and ſo from ſix weeks to ſix weeks, till May, provided that, on a fortnight's notice, either party might be at liberty to reſume the war (*u*). He was led to this by the weak and deſperate reſolution he had taken of returning to England, whither he had once ſome thoughts of tranſporting a body of his forces; but was diſſuaded from it by his friends. However, upon receiving a ſharp letter, directed to him and the Council, from the Queen, he determined to ſtay no longer, ſettled the government in the beſt manner he could, and, with a few of his friends, came over to England (*w*). He arrived before any notice could be received of his deſign; went directly to the court at Nonſuch; and preſented himſelf to the Queen on the 28th of September, where he met with a tolerable reception, but was, ſoon after, committed, treated with a mixture of kindneſs and ſeverity, till, upon his abſolute ſubmiſſion, he was brought before ſome of the Privy Council, ſeverely reprimanded, diſmiſſed from the Board, ſuſpended from the exerciſe of all his great offices, excepting that of Maſter of the Horſe, and committed to a Keeper, Sir Richard Barkley, who was, not long after, withdrawn (*x*). Such was the iſſue of the Queen's reſentments. As for what happened afterwards, it was the effect of his own ill conduct, wrought up to a degree of madneſs from the artifices of his ſubtle enemies [*P*]. In

(*n*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. I. p. 421.

(*o*) Camd. Ann. p. 790.

(*p*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. I. p. 421.

(*q*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 30.

(*r*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. I. p. 421.

(*s*) Sir William Monſon's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Q. Elizabeth, p. 39.

(*t*) Cox's Hiſt. P. I. p. 421.

(*u*) Camd. Ann. p. 791, 792.

(*w*) Stowe's Annals, p. 789.

(*x*) Camd. Ann. p. 795—799.

[*P*] *From the artifices of his ſubtle enemies.*] It may not be amiſs, for the ſake of preſerving the connection of this great man's hiſtory, and to prevent that confuſion which may eaſily happen from two diſtinct proceedings againſt him upon this affair, to ſet down the dates a little more particularly, but at the ſame time as conciſely as poſſible. He was preſently after his arrival, that is, on the ſecond of October, confined in the houſe of the Lord Keeper Egerton very ſtrictly, ſo that even his family were not permitted to ſee him, his friends had little countenance at Court, and the Queen ſpoke with more or leſs vehemence, but ever with diſpleaſure (57). But her Majeſty being informed, that the people both in town and country took great liberty in their diſcourſes, the Lords of the Council in the Star-chamber, at the laſt ſitting in Michaelmas term, on the twenty-eighth of November, 1599, were commanded to ſay, what they thought might juſtify what had been done, and put a ſtop to theſe murmurs. The Lord Keeper began with obſerving, that the Queen was an abſolute Princeſs, and yet condeſcended to inform her people, that the army lately ſent into Ireland was ſuch a one as a King's ſon might have thought it an honour to command, and a better than our antient Kings had to conquer France; that ſhe forgave the perſon ſhe choſe to command it a debt of eight thouſand pounds, and put into his purſe a gift to the value of twenty-two thouſand; that the ſcheme of the war was laid down in Council, which himſelf approved; that he followed quite another courſe in Ireland, and contrary to the Queen's expreſs commandment, which was a contempt of a very high nature; and ſince his return the Privy-Council of Ireland had diſavowed his actions; and of theſe points the Lord Keeper directed the Juſtices of Peace to give full information in their reſpective counties. The Lord Treaſurer Buckhurſt ſhewed how the Queen's treaſure had been waſted; the Lord Admiral Nottingham magnified the promiſes the Earl made before he went; his ſaying that he would make the earth tremble beneath him; that notwithſtanding this the army had ſuffered much diſhonour, was greatly weakened, and ſuch propoſals of peace brought over, as, with a great oath, he ſwore the Queen would hazard her perſon, and die amongſt them, before ſhe would grant. The Lord Chamberlain Hunſdon ſaid only, that the army was great, and that with ſuch an officer at their head as the Earl of Eſſex it might have endangered Spain. Sir Francis Knolles ſpoke to the ſame effect. The Secretary, Sir Robert Cecil, in a ſpeech full of proteſtations, in which he ſtiled thoſe who diſliked the Queen's Miniſters the devil's children and wicked ſpirits, affirmed, that in a little more than ten years the Queen had ſpent three millions four hundred thouſand pounds upon Ireland; that the Earl had a royal army; that he had diminiſhed it without doing any thing; that he returned, contrary to her Majeſty's expreſs commands; and that if he had ſtaid but twenty days longer the Queen had ſent him a ſucceſſor (58). The Earl was not preſent at that time, nor had any opportunity of defending

(57) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135. 139, 140, 141, 142. 144.

(58) Theſe ſpeeches are annexed to the laſt edition of the Earl's Apology. Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 146.

In the ſummer of the year 1600 he recovered his liberty, and, in the autumn following, he received Mr. Cuſſe, who had been his ſecretary in Ireland, into his counſels; who laboured to perſuade him, that ſubmiſſion would never do him any good; that the Queen was in the hands of a faction, who were his enemies; and that the only way to reſtore his fortune, was to find a means of obtaining an audience, in which he might be able to repreſent his own caſe, let the means be what it would (*y*). The Earl heard this dangerous advice without conſenting to it, till he found there were no hopes of getting his farm of the ſweet wines renewed: then it is ſaid that, giving a looſe to his paſſion, he let fall many vehement expreſſions, and, amongſt the reſt, this fatal reflection (*z*), *That the Queen grew old and cankered, and that her mind was become as crooked as her carcaſe.* Camden ſays (*a*), that this was aggravated by ſome of the Court Ladies, whom he had diſappointed in their intrigues. The Earl of Clarendon ſeems to ſuſpect the truth of it (*b*); but another great Hiſtorian, who knew all the paſſages of thoſe times well, is more clear in this reſpect (*c*). We have elſewhere traced the progreſs of his unlucky contrivance, in which he ſeemed to act rather as the inſtrument of his enemies, in ſhaping his own and his friends deſtruction, than as a man of abilities (which ſurely he did not want) ſtruggling with the frowns of fortune (*d*). Thoſe enemies, who had exact intelligence of all that he propoſed, having provided effectually againſt the execution of his deſigns, hurried him upon his fate by a meſſage ſent on the evening of the 7th of February, requiring him to attend the Council; which he declined (*e*.) He then gave out that they ſought his life, kept a watch in Eſſex-Houſe all night, and ſummoned his friends for his defence the next morning. The Queen, being informed of the great reſort of people of all ranks to the Earl, ſent the Lord Keeper Egerton, the Earl of Worceſter, Sir Francis Knolles (his uncle by the mother's ſide), and the Lord Chief-Juſtice Popham, to know his grievances, whom, after a ſhort and ineffectual conference, he confined; and then, attended by the Earls of Rutland and Southampton, the Lord Sands, the Lord Monteagle, and about two hundred Gentlemen, he went into the city, where the Earl of Bedford, the Lord Cromwell, and ſome other Gentlemen, joined him; but his dependence on the populace failed him; and Sir Robert Cecil prevailing upon his brother the Lord Burleigh to go with Sir Gilbert Dethick, then King at Arms, and proclaim Eſſex and his adherents traitors, in the principal ſtreets, the Earl found it impoſſible to return to his houſe by land; and, therefore, ſending Sir Ferdinando Gorges before to releaſe the Chief-Juſtice, who, for his own ſake, thought fit to extend that order to the reſt of the Privy-Counſellors; the Earl, with his principal attendants, returned in boats to Eſſex-Houſe, which was quickly inveſted by the Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral, with a great force, to whom, after many diſputes, and ſome blood ſpilt, he and his adherents at laſt ſurrendered (*f*). Eſſex was carried that night to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's palace at Lambeth, with the Earl of Southampton, and the next day they were ſent to the Tower (*g*). On the 19th of the ſame month they were arraigned before their Peers, and, after a long trial, the moſt material circumſtances of which we have had occaſion to mention elſewhere, they were found guilty, and ſentence of death pronounced by the Lord Buckhurſt, who ſat as Lord High Steward (*h*). Upon this melancholy occaſion all that Eſſex ſaid was, *If her Majeſty had pleaſed, this body of mine might have done her better ſervice; however, I ſhall be glad if it may prove ſerviceable to her any way* (*i*). After he was remanded to the Tower, there were great pains taken to draw from him very large and full confeſſions; which was the more eaſy, as he was truly and ſincerely pious; and, after he was once perſuaded that his project was of a treaſonable nature, made it a point of conſcience to diſcloſe all he knew, though it was highly prejudicial to his friends, and could do no good to himſelf; and, indeed, he did not appear either to deſign or deſire it (*k*). Two reaſons ſeem eſpecially to have moved ſuch as ſet on foot theſe practices, by which the honeſty of Eſſex was rendered fatal even to his laſt breath, and they were ſuch as became politicians, who had nothing but ſelf-intereſt in view, which, if they could promote, they had not either conſideration or pity for others. The firſt was, that, by his proper confeſſion, they might effectually eſtabliſh the truth of his plot, increaſe the number of its circumſtances, heighten the apparent danger of its conſequences, and thereby furniſh plentiful materials for proclamations, ſermons, and declarations (*l*), which might remove from the unhappy Earl all means of obtaining mercy, excite in the Queen the utmoſt horror, and, at the ſame time,

(*y*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 31.

(*z*) Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, p. 230.

(*a*) Ann. Eliz. p. 837.

(*b*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 52.

(*c*) Sir Walter Raleigh's *Prerogative of Parliaments in England.* Middleburgh, 1628. 4to. p. 43.

(*d*) See the article of CUFFE (HENRY) in this Dictionary.

(*e*) See the Declaration of Treaſons of the Earl of Eſſex, by Sir F. Bacon.

(*f*) Stowe's Annals, p. 792.

(*g*) Camd. Ann. p. 846.

(*h*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 208.

(*i*) Camd. Ann. p. 857.

(*k*) See extracts of his confeſſions at the end of the declaration of his treaſons.

(*l*) See the Earl of Clarendon's Diſparity between the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Eſſex.

defending himſelf. His confinement continued all the winter with the ſame ſeverity. This threw him into a grievous fit of ſickneſs, from which he recovered but ſlowly, through his exceſſive anxiety. At length he was permitted to ſee his Lady, and ſome hopes were given him, as if the Queen meant to humble and not to cruſh him. Laſt of all he was brought to a public audience, before a Committee of the Privy Council and others, in the Lord Keeper's houſe, June 5, 1600, where, for eleven hours, he heard all the ſpeeches that were made againſt him with great humility, kneeling, till, upon the motion of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, he was allowed to ſtand, then to lean, and at laſt to ſit upon a ſtool (59). But he knelt again when he received his ſentence, and though no mention was made of his poſt of Maſter of the Horſe, yet the Earl of Worceſter performed the functions of it, and he had no aſſurance of his being reſtored (60). He was remanded into cuſtody, and his keeper continued with him till the 27th of Auguſt, and then he was permitted to retire to Ewelme-lodge in Oxfordſhire (61).

(59) See the Proceedings upon this Commiſſion, drawn up by Sir F. Bacon. Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 199.

(60) Idem, ibid. p. 201.

(61) Idem, ibid. p. 213.

terrify her with dismal apprehensions, while the nation in general was astonished, and its affection for the unhappy sufferer cooled, or, at least, confounded. In all this, for a time, they gained their end [Q]. The other motive was finding out evidence against the chief of his adherents, many of them of great quality, and some also of great fortune, whom they meant to let escape out of the briars, provided nevertheless that they left their fleeces behind them, in which they were likewise but too successful (*m*), rendering highly profitable to themselves that clemency which their Royal Mistress would have extended freely. Camden adds to this another circumstance, which wants explaining: he says, that he discovered many in Scotland, France, and the Low-Countries, who were embarked with him, besides others in England, and the Lord Montjoy, who succeeded him in the government of Ireland; so that their numbers obliged the Queen to dissemble what she knew: he adds, that he gave a confession under his hand, which his enemies shewing to King James some time after, brought him and his friends into great disesteem with that Prince (*n*). We shall endeavour to give some light into this in the notes [R].

(*m*) English Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 319.

(*n*) Camd. Ann. p. 860.

After

[Q] *They gained their end.*] What it was that in these times the enemies of this unfortunate Peer laboured to impute to him, seems to be most clearly stated by Heylyn (62), as Sir William Dugdale well observes; and his account is the true key to what was suggested by the Attorney General Coke at the Earl's trial, and is covertly insinuated in the long Declaration of treasons, drawn at the Queen's command by Sir Francis Bacon, and much altered by direction, as himself confesses. Take this passage in Heylyn's own words: 'While the Prelates of the Church were busied upon disputes, the Presbyterians found themselves some better work, in making friends, and fastening on some eminent patron to support their cause. None fitter for their purpose than the Earl of Essex, gracious amongst the military men, popular beyond measure, and as ambitious of command as he was of applause. He had his education in the house of the Earl of Leicester, and took to wife a daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, who fitted and prepared him for those applications which hitherto he had neglected, upon a just fear of incurring the Queen's displeasure. But the Queen being now grown old, the King of Scots not much regarded by the English, and very-ill obeyed by his natural subjects, he began to look up towards the Crown, to which a title was drawn for him as the direct heir of Thomas of Woodstock Duke of Gloucester, one of the younger sons of King Edward III. This man the Puritans cry up with most infinite praises, both in their pulpits and in their pamphlets, telling him that he was not only great in honour and the love of the people, but *temporis expectatione major*, far greater in the expectation which his friends had of him.' And he accordingly applies himself to those of the Puritan faction; admits them to places of most trust and credit about his person; keeps open house for men of those opinions to resort unto, under pretence of hearing sermons; and hearing no sermons with more zeal and edification than those which seemed to attribute a power to inferior Magistrates for curbing and controuling their undoubted Sovereigns. Which questionless must needs have ended in great disturbance to the Church and State, if he had not been outwitted by Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, and the rest of their party in the Court, by whom he was first shifted over into Ireland, and at last brought upon the scaffold, not to receive a crown, but to lose his head. Which happened very opportunely for King James of Scotland, whose entrance might have been opposed, and his title questioned, if this ambitious man had prospered in his undertakings, which he conducted generally with more heat than judgement.'

(62) History of the Presbyterians, p. 349.

[R] *In the notes.*] We have elsewhere mentioned a letter written to Anthony Bacon, Esq. concerning the death and confession of this unfortunate Peer (63); and in that we find a fair and genuine account of his Lordship's real intentions, corresponding exactly with what Camden hints, who was unwilling to speak plainer, because, as he elsewhere confessed, he knew King James's thoughts upon this matter, notwithstanding they were none of the plainest; for sometimes he stiled Essex *his martyr*; and, at others, he expressed no great kindness for him. What follows will sufficiently account for both, and fulfil all that has been promised for it in the text (64).

(63) See the article of BACON (ANTHONY) in this Dictionary.

'After his Lordship's condemnation, upon his suit 'to the Lords, there was sent to him one Ashton, that 'was preacher in his house, a man base, fearful, and 'mercenary, but such a one, as, by a formal shew of 'zeal, had gotten a good opinion of that noble Lord, 'who that way (being himself most religious) might 'easily be deceived. How the man was prepared I 'touch not; but how he dealt, the substance of which 'was his own confession to a worthy person, as he 'well knoweth, I will fully relate unto you. At his 'coming to my Lord he found his Lordship exceeding 'chearful, and prepared with great contentation for 'his end, with whom he began to deal to this effect: '"My Lord, I am unfeignedly sorry to see no more 'sense in you of these great and fearful sins into 'which you have fallen, whereby you have dishon-'oured God, shamed your profession, offended your 'Sovereign, and pulled upon yourself many notes of 'infamy. You have now manifested to the world, 'that all your shew of religion was mere hypocrisy; 'that you are in heart either an Atheist or a Papist, 'which doth plainly appear, in that all your instru-'ments, followers and favourers, were of this quality, 'most of them men of no means, but either base per-'sons whom you had raised, or such as had lewdly 'consumed their own patrimony. And if there were 'any of better condition for their state, yet were they 'either recusants, or such as were discontented with 'the present government, so as the badness of both 'your cause and action doth herein shew itself, that 'not one man, but of the sort beforementioned, took 'your part or liked your course. Besides, however 'you would colour it with other pretences, your end 'was an ambitious seeking of the crown, the hope 'whereof, for their own raising, made these men so 'follow, animate, and applaud you. So that if by a 'true confession and unfeigned repentance you do not 'unburthen yourself of these sins, you shall carry out 'of the world a guilty soul before God, and leave 'upon your memorial an infamous name to posterity. 'Therefore I will say to you, as Joshua did to Achan '(for you have dishonoured God more than ever he 'did), Give glory to God, and make confession of your 'faults; for, as Solomon saith, He that hides his sins 'shall not prosper."

'Many more words of gall and bitterness to this 'effect he spake, as himself confessed, wherein, tho' 'peradventure I may forget in the preciseness of form, 'I religiously protest I fail not in the substance and 'matter. My Lord with this strange style was much 'amazed, his expectation being so greatly deceived, 'as looking rather in his case for a comforter than so 'bitter and slanderous an accuser, who after a sad and 'silent pause made answer to this effect: "Mr. Ashton, 'you have laid grievous things to my charge, of 'which, if I could not with truth free and clear my-'self, I might justly be holden one of the most un-'worthiest creatures on earth. And I assure you, to 'have these reports carried and believed in the world, 'is more grievous to me than a thousand deaths. 'First, touching my Religion, I have always abhorred 'atheism and superstition, believing in the true God, 'and desiring to serve him in that form of his worship

(64) In the Appendix to the genuine addition of Camden's Annals by T. Hearne.

'professed

After drawing out of Eſſex all that he could ſay, and thereby rendering death more deſirable to him than life, the 25th of February was fixed for his execution, as to which the Queen was irreſolute to the very laſt, ſo that ſhe ſent Sir Edward Cary to countermand it; but, as Camden ſays, conſidering afterwards his obſtinacy, his refuſing to aſk her pardon, and declaring that his life was inconſiſtent with her ſafety, ſhe countermanded thoſe orders, and directed he ſhould die (o). There is a ſtrange ſtory current in the world about a ring, which the Earl of Clarendon ſtiles a looſe report, that crept into diſcourſe (p) ſoon after his miſerable end. Yet a foreign writer, of great reputation, gives us this as an undoubted truth, and that upon the authority of an Engliſh Miniſter, who might be well preſumed to know what he ſaid; and therefore, in the words of that writer, we ſhall report it (q) [S]. The manner of the Earl's ſuffering death is ſo largely related in Camden, and

(o) Annal. Eliz. p. 860.

(p) Diſparity between the Duke of Bucks and Earl of Eſſex.

(q) Maurier Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de Hollande, p. 215.

' profeſſed and maintained in England, in which from ' my infancy I was brought up, and have conſtantly ' holden the profeſſion thereof to this day. True it is, ' in thoſe publick ſervices wherein I have been employed, I have had uſe of men of ſundry qualities; ' but, howſoever I loved their valour, faithfulneſs, and ' knowledge of ſervice that were not religious, I was ' ever grieved for the want thereof in them, and ' neglected no opportunity I poſſibly could gain to ' bring them unto it. For the crown I never affected it, neither, praiſe I God, was I ever ſo careleſs of my ſoul, as, by ſeeking a crown on earth, to ' which I had no manner of title, to deprive my ſoul ' of a crown in Heaven where I have ſo aſſured hope. ' Neither am I ignorant what ſucceſs God, in his juſtice, hath laid upon ſuch ambitious courſes in ages ' paſt. But being a principal member in this commonwealth, I could not but ſee and feel what miſery was ' near unto my country, by the great power of ſuch as ' are known indeed to be Atheiſts, Papiſts, and Penſioners, to the mortal enemies of this kingdom. ' I knew myſelf bound in conſcience as a Chriſtian to ' prevent the ſubverſion of religion; and, as an Engliſhman, to have regard of my native country. ' The only means left to turn away theſe evils was, ' to procure my acceſs to her Majeſty, with whom I ' aſſured myſelf to have had that gracious hearing, that ' might have tended to the infinite happineſs of this ' State, both in removing evil inſtruments from about ' her perſon, and in ſettling a ſucceſſion for the crown, ' to the preventing of Spaniſh ſervitude, and ſaving of ' many thouſand Engliſhmen's lives: no, no, Mr. Aſhton, I never deſired other condition than the ſtate of ' a ſubject, but only to my Sovereign, and not to baſe ' and unworthy vaſſals under her.' 'My Lord,' ſaith ' Aſhton, 'theſe are general ſpeeches, and not unlike ' to thoſe you uſed at your arraignment, and not much ' more believed of me now than they were of many ' then. You muſt remember you are going out of the ' world, you know what it is to receive ſentence of ' death here, but yet you know not what it is to ſtand ' before God's judgment ſeat, and to receive the ſentence of eternal condemnation. Leave therefore all ' glorious pretences, free your conſcience from the ' burthen of your grievous ſins, for I proteſt I cannot ' believe that you had any other pretence than that I ' have told you, or can name one man (other than ' ſuch as I have mentioned) that was either adviſer, ' perſuader, or approver of your purpoſes. Neither ' ſee I any reaſon why, that I being watchman over ' your ſoul, ſhould not as well have been adviſed ' withal if theſe things had been ſo, as any other.' ' His Lordſhip with infinite grief replied, 'Mr. Aſhton, ' I cannot marvel though my proteſtations are not be' lieved of my enemies, when they ſo little prevail ' with a man of your quality. But I am able to tell ' you that are a Miniſter and preacher of the Goſpel ' and the meſſenger of God to me at this my laſt end, ' by particulars ſo to confirm that which I have ſpoken, ' as you ſhall no longer doubt of it.' Then his Lordſhip ſhewed him, as he confeſſed, his whole end to ' tend to the ſettling of the ſucceſſion by Act of ' Parliament on the King of Scotland, as the true and ' indubitate heir, after her Majeſty, of this kingdom; ' and named to him ſundry worthy perſons, both of ' religion, honour, and ſtate, that had their conſents, ' and were engaged with him therein. Aſhton, having very attentively marked my Lord's words, made ' this reply: 'Theſe be great matters your Lordſhip ' hath opened unto me, and the concealing of them ' may touch my life. Alſo I hold myſelf bound in ' allegiance to reveal them: beſides, the publiſhing of ' them may give ſatisfaction to many that hold the ' ſame opinion of your courſes which I did; and further, it may be dangerous to her Majeſty's perſon in ' ſome practice hereafter, by them, or ſome of their ' inſtruments, the burthen whereof your ſoul muſt ' bear, if you can and do not prevent it, and I will be ' a witneſs againſt you that you have ſpoken it.' Thus ' being extremely urged, he made confeſſion according ' to the premiſſes, namely, that he meant to have ' eſtabliſhed the King of Scots's title in ſucceſſion, and ' that in this intention he had many of the worthieſt ' perſons of the land in conſent with him; which alſo ' he had an earneſt purpoſe to have revealed at his ' death, as Aſhton and others have confeſſed, but that ' he was ſo mightily diſſuaded and commanded to the ' contrary as a thing that might tend to the great danger of her Majeſty's perſon.'

[S] *We ſhall report it.*] There are without doubt many falſhoods and fables relating to our Hiſtory, recorded very ſeriouſly in foreign writers, for want of having a due knowledge of our cuſtoms and conſtitution. Thus the French Ambaſſador here, or his ſon (65), wrote a letter to the Duke de Rohan, in which he aſſures him, that Eſſex's eloquence put all his Judges to ſilence at his trial, and that the Lords were all intoxicated with drink and tobacco when they brought him in guilty. Camden has refuted a ſtory that prevailed very early, as if Queen Elizabeth had ſhewn the head of the Earl of Eſſex to the French Ambaſſadors, who were ſent to congratulate her upon diſcovering his conſpiracy (66). But we know with the greateſt certainty, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty Henry IV. was brought to believe there was any truth in it; and that he told the Queen's Miniſter, when he aſſured him that the Earl deſired to die in private, that he knew the contrary, and that Eſſex had deſired earneſtly that his laſt declarations might be made in publick (67). But to the point; the Chevalier Louis Aubery de Maurier, who was many years the French Miniſter in Holland, a man of great parts and unſuſpected veracity, delivers this tale in the following words (68): 'It will not, I believe, be thought ' either impertinent or diſagreeable to add here what ' Prince Maurice had from the mouth of Mr. Carleton, ' Embaſſador from England in Holland, who died Secretary of State: ſo well known under the name of ' my Lord Dorcheſter, and who was a man of great ' merit. He ſaid, that Queen Elizabeth gave the Earl ' of Eſſex a ring in the height of her paſſion for him, ' ordering him to keep it, and that whatever he ſhould ' commit ſhe would pardon him when he ſhould return ' that pledge. Since that time the Earl's enemies ' having prevailed with the Queen, who beſides was ' exaſperated againſt him for the contempt he ſhewed ' for her beauty, which, through age, began to decay, ' ſhe cauſed him to be impeached. When he was condemned, ſhe expected that he ſhould ſend her the ' ring, and would have granted him his pardon according to her promiſe. The Earl, finding himſelf ' in the laſt extremity, applied to Admiral Howard's ' Lady, who was his relation, and deſired her, by a ' perſon whom he could truſt, to return the ring into ' the Queen's own hands. But her huſband, who was ' one of the Earl's greateſt enemies, and to whom ſhe ' told this imprudently, would not ſuffer her to acquit ' herſelf of the commiſſion; ſo that the Queen con-

(65) This letter is printed in Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 296.

(66) Annal. p. 877.

(67) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 309.

(68) Hiſtoire de Hollande, p. 215, 216.

and others, that we ſhall not meddle with it here, farther than to obſerve, that, as many actions of his life ſpoke him a hero, ſo this laſt action ſhewed him a true Chriſtian, by manifeſting

'ſented to the Earl's death, being full of indignation 'againſt ſuch a proud and haughty ſpirit, who choſe 'rather to die than to implore her mercy. Some-time 'after, the Admiral's Lady fell ſick, and being given 'over by her Phyſicians, ſhe ſent word to the Queen 'that ſhe had ſomething of great conſequence to tell 'her before ſhe died. The Queen came to her bed-'ſide, and having ordered all the attendants to with-'draw, the Admiral's Lady returned her, but too late, 'that ring from the Earl of Eſſex, deſiring to be ex-'cuſed that ſhe did not return it ſooner, having been 'prevented doing it by her huſband. The Queen re-'tired immediately, being overwhelmed with the ut-'moſt grief: ſhe ſighed continually for a fortnight 'following, without taking any nouriſhment, lying 'a-bed entirely dreſſed, and getting up an hundred 'times a night. At laſt ſhe died with hunger and 'with grief, becauſe ſhe had conſented to the death of 'a lover who had applied to her for mercy. This 'melancholy adventure ſhews, that there are fre-'quent tranſitions from one paſſion to another, and 'that as love often changes to hate, ſo hate, giving 'place ſometimes to pity, brings the mind back again 'into its firſt ſtate.' Sir Dudley Carleton, who is made the author of this ſtory, was a man who deſerved the character that is given of him, and could not but be well informed of what paſſed at Court; but who-ever conſiders the age of Queen Elizabeth at the time when the Earl of Eſſex firſt entered her preſence, will find it difficult to believe the Queen ever conſidered him in the light of a lover. This Counteſs of Nottingham was the daughter of the Lord Viſcount Hunſdon, re-lated to the Queen, and alſo by his mother to the Earl of Eſſex. Before we part with this ſubject it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that ſomething of truth there cer-tainly is as to the Queen's death being haſtened by an accident relating to a ring, and by her reflecting on the death of the Earl of Eſſex. In the ceremony of her coronation ſhe was wedded to the kingdom with a ring, which ſhe always wore, till, the fleſh growing over it, it was filed off a little before her deceaſe. About the ſame time obſerving, that the loſs of Eſſex, and the confuſion of his friends, had put her entirely into the hands of thoſe who began to neglect her, and to court her ſucceſſor, ſhe could not help ſaying, in an exceſs of paſſion, *They have now got me in a yoke, I have nobody left me that I can truſt, my condition is the perfect reverſe of what it was* (69). It is alſo true, that a melancholy ſenſe of this brought her to her end about twenty-five months after the death of Eſſex.

(69) Ann. Eliz. p. 910, 911.

C.

*** [Notwithſtanding the copious account which our ingenious predeceſſor has given of Robert Devereux, the ſecond Earl of Eſſex, ſuch were the eminence and celebrity of his character, that the article is ſtill capa-ble of farther additions. Theſe additions, however, will be chiefly of a private and perſonal nature; for it is not neceſſary to enter more largely, than has already been done, into a detail of events which occur in all the general hiſtories of the time.

It has been thought that the Earl of Eſſex did not diſplay, in his tender years, any promiſes of extraor-dinary capacity; and it is ſaid, in the article, that his father died with but a very cold conceit of him. But if we may judge of him from a Latin letter, which was written by him to Lord Burleigh, when he was not quite eleven years of age, it will appear that a wrong judgment had been formed concerning the deficiency of his early abilities. The letter, which is preſerved in "Murdin's Collection of State Papers," is as fol-lows: "Voluntati tuæ et amicorum deſiderio ſatis-'feci, honoratiſſime domine; primum enim me rus 'contuli, ubi omnibus videbar gratiſſimus; quaprop-'ter tibi mittenti, et illis me excipientibus immor-'tales gratias habeo. Deinde cum ad Oppidum Tam-'worth veniſſem, Cognatum Ferrers accerſivi, quem 'interrogabam, utrum mihi cederet, et contentus eſſet, 'ut ego Oppidanorum eſſet Seneſchallus. Ille pri-'mum ſe cedere affirmabat. Tum omnes me ſuum 'Seneſchallum agnoſcebant, et Balivi cum cæteris 'Oppidanis me per Oppidum ſuum comitati. Idem 'intra Biduum poſt ea fecerunt, et quiſque mihi Se-'neſchallo gratulari, et omnes inter ſe gaudere vide-'bantur. Nunc tandem in Academiam redii, ſine 'aliqua, uti ſpero, ſtudii Jactura; et hactenus Fluc-'tibus agitatus, jam ad Ithacam meam, quæ mihi eſt 'Immortalitate charior, veni, ubi Fructus illos ex 'Doctrinæ Fontibus me exhauſturum ſpero, ut Tem-'pus non malè conſumptum, ſed bene impenſum vide-'bitur. Deus tuam dominationem ſervet ſalvam et 'incolumem.

'Vale, Vto. Cal. Octobris, 1578.

'Honoris tui obſervantiſſimus,

'R. ESSEX. (70)'

(70) Murdin's Collection of State Papers, p. 317.

'To the Right Honorable my very good
'Lord and patron, the Lord Burghley,
'Lord High Treſerour of England.'

It may, indeed, be ſuggeſted, nor is it an unnatural ſuggeſtion, that, in this compoſition, our young Noble-man might receive aſſiſtance from his preceptors. But, on the other hand, it ſhould be conſidered how ſtrict and ſevere was the education of that time; and eſpecially, that ſuch a man as Lord Burleigh, who was the Earl's guardian, was not likely to be impoſed upon by the appearance of improvements in his ward which he did not poſſeſs.

It is taken notice of in the article, 'how anxious the Earl of Eſſex was for the advancement of his friends, and how much he was hurt when his endeavours to procure their promotion were unſucceſsful. Of this many proofs occur in Dr. Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, where the Earl's character in the point we are ſpeaking of is amply diſplayed. In that work great light is thrown upon his temper and con-duct in general, and various minute circumſtances are recorded concerning him, for which we muſt refer to the book itſelf. Such particulars however, as ſeem to demand peculiar attention ſhall not be omitted. Among other things which will be found in Birch's Memoirs, is a very copious detail of the Earl of Eſſex's connections and correſpondencies with An-thony and Francis Bacon, and with the famous Spaniard, Antonio Perez, whoſe curious ſtory is re-lated in Geddes's Tracts.

When Eſſex was no more than twenty-one years of age, he was competitor with the Lord Chancellor Hatton for the Chancellorſhip of the Univerſity of Oxford, which had become vacant by the death of the Earl of Leiceſter, on the fourth of September, 1588. Into this Univerſity our young Earl had been incor-porated Maſter of Arts in the preceding April. He did not ſucceed in the conteſt; for being generally conſidered as a patron of the puritan party, as his deceaſed father-in-law had been, the intereſt of the Lord Chancellor, ſupported by that of Archbiſhop Whitgift, carried the election againſt him (71). He was again diſappointed, in a ſimilar attempt, which he made at the latter end of the year 1591, upon the death of Sir Chriſtopher Hatton. On this occaſion, a majority of the electors would have declared in his favour, had they not been influenced by the authority of the Queen, who recommended by letters Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurſt, and he was accordingly choſen (72). Notwithſtanding this and other oppo-ſitions to the Earl of Eſſex's wiſhes, which he deeply felt, her Majeſty, at different times, was very peculiar and open in manifeſting her regard to him. At the play and dancing of the twelfth night of 1593-4, ſhe appeared in a high throne, richly adorned, and next to her chair was the Earl, 'with whom ſhe often 'deviſed in ſweet and favourable manner.' (73).

(71) Memoirs of the Reign of Q. Elizabeth, Vol. I. p. 74, 75.

(72) Murdin's State Papers, p. 649, 650.

The Earl of Eſſex's device, at a public tilting at court, in the year 1595, affords ſuch a ſpecimen of the manner in which the gallantry of the age was diſ-played, that an account of it will probably not be unacceptable to our readers. Some time before his lordſhip came in himſelf to the tilt, he ſent his page with a ſpeech to the Queen, who returned with her Majeſty's glove; and when he came himſelf, he was met by an old hermit, a Secretary of State, a brave ſoldier, and an Eſquire. The firſt preſented him with a book of meditations; the ſecond with political diſ-courſes;

(73) Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Q. Elizabeth, Vol. I. p. 146.

manifeſting that he was far leſs careful of his body than his ſoul, and much more afraid of his ſin than of his puniſhment (*r*). His character is very fully drawn by Sir Henry Wotton,

(*r*) Stowe's Annals, p. 794.

courſes; the third with orations of brave-fought battles; and the fourth was his own follower, to whom the other three imparted much of their purpoſes before the Earl came in, and each of them endeavoured to perſuade his Lordſhip to that particular courſe of life, which was ſuitable to their own inclinations. Then came unexpectedly into the tilt-yard the ordinary poſt boy of London, in rags, and all bemired, upon a poor lean jade, galloping and blowing for life, and delivered to the Secretary a packet of Letters, which he immediately offered to the Earl; and with this dumb ſhew the eyes of the ſpectators were fed for that time. In the after-ſupper before the Queen, the hermit delivered a well-penned ſpeech to move the Knight to leave his vain following of Love, and to betake himſelf to heavenly meditations; the Secretary's ſpeech tended to engage him to follow matters of State; and the ſoldier's perſuaded him to the war. But the Eſquire anſwered them, and concluded with an excellent exhortation, that the Knight would never forſake his miſtreſs's love, whoſe virtue made all his thoughts divine, whoſe wiſdom taught him all true policy, and whoſe beauty and worth were at all times able to make him fit to command armies. He ſhewed them the defects and imperfections of all their courſes, and repreſented that of ſerving his Miſtreſs as the beſt. Some unjuſt conſtructions were made of the ſpeeches in the Earl's device, the characters of the hermit and Secretary being applied to two of the Lords, and that of the Soldier to Sir Roger Williams. The Queen ſaid, if ſhe had known that ſo much would have been ſpoken concerning her, ſhe would not have been preſent that night; upon w h c ſhe retired to bed (74). If theſe diverſions of our anceſtors ſhould incur blame on account of their pedantry, it ſhould be conſidered, on the other hand, that there was a dignity in them, and that they were calculated to unite inſtruction with recreation.

(74) Birch, ubi ſupra, p. 314, 315.

In Birch's Memoirs, among other proofs of the high eſteem in which the Earl of Eſſex was held by the moſt eminent of his contemporaries, mention is made of a letter that was written to him by Henry the Fourth of France, ſtrongly expreſſive of the regard which he entertained for his Lordſhip. The King declares that the Earl's correſpondence was as dear to him as his friendſhip was valuable. "I wait," adds his Majeſty, "from my good fortune proper opportunities for doing "you ſome agreeable ſervice, and to enjoy the honour "of your preſence, in order that my words and ſen-"timents may confirm the feeble aſſurances of my "letters (75). It appears, likewiſe, that the greateſt and wiſeſt perſons in Holland were much devoted to Eſſex (76).

(75) Ibid. p. 396.

(76) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 199.

One of the moſt ſtriking circumſtances of the Earl of Eſſex's life is the blow which he received from the Queen; and his behaviour on that occaſion may be conſidered as giving the turn to his fate. Some obſervations on this event occur in note [*N*]; and our predeceſſor has inſerted a ſhort abſtract of the letter which was ſent by the Earl in reply to one that he had received from the Lord Keeper, Sir Thomas Egerton. But the abſtract is remarkably inaccurate, being made from a very imperfect copy; beſides which, the whole letter is ſo admirably written, and ſo ſtrongly diſplays the ſpirit, temper, and character of Eſſex, that we ſhall oblige our readers by inſerting it without mutilation or abridgment. To render the view of the ſubject more complete, we ſhall prefix that letter of Sir Thomas Egerton's, to which the Earl's is an anſwer.

The Lord Keeper's letter, dated the 15th of October, 1598, was as follows:

'My very good Lord,

'It is often ſeen, that he that is a ſtander-by, ſeeth 'more than he that playeth the game; and for the 'moſt part any man in his own cauſe ſtandeth in 'his own light, and ſeeth not ſo clearly as he ſhould. 'Your Lordſhip hath dealt in other men's cauſes, and 'in great and weighty affairs, with great wiſdom and 'judgment. Now your own is in hand, you are not 'to contemn and refuſe the advice of any that love 'you, how ſimple ſoever. In this order I rank my-'ſelf, among others, that love you; none more ſim-'ple, and none that loves you with more true and 'honeſt affection; which ſhall plead my excuſe, if 'you ſhall either miſtake or miſconſtrue my words 'or meaning: yet in your Lordſhip's honourable 'wiſdom I neither doubt nor ſuſpect the one nor the 'other. I will not preſume to adviſe you, but ſhoot 'my bolt as near the mark as I can, and tell you 'what I think.

'The beginning and long continuance of this ſo 'unſeaſonable diſcontent you have ſeen and proved, 'by which you may aim at the end. If you hold 'ſtill your courſe, which hitherto you find worſe and 'worſe (and the longer you tread this path, the far-'ther you are ſtill out of the way) there is little hope 'or likelihood that the end will be better than the 'beginning. You are not ſo far gone, but you may 'well return. The return is ſafe, but the progreſs 'dangerous and deſperate in this courſe you hold. 'If you have any enemies, you do that for them, 'which they could never do for themſelves; whilſt 'you leave your friends to open ſhame and contempt, 'forſake yourſelf, overthrow your fortunes, and 'ruinate your honour and reputation; giving that 'comfort to our foreign foes, as greater they can-'not have. For what can be more welcome and 'pleaſing news to them, than to hear, that her Ma-'jeſty and the realm are maimed of ſo worthy a 'member, who hath ſo often and ſo valiantly quailed 'and daunted them? You forſake your country, 'when it hath moſt need of your help and counſel: 'and laſtly, you fail in your indiſſoluble duty, which 'you owe to your moſt gracious Sovereign; a duty, 'not impoſed upon you by nature and policy only, 'but by the religious and ſacred bond, in which the 'divine majeſty of GOD hath, by the rule of Chriſ-'tianity, obliged and bound you.

'For the four firſt, your conſtant reſolution may 'perhaps move you to eſteem them as light; but, 'being well-weighed, they are not lightly to be re-'garded: and for the two laſt, it may be your private 'conſcience may ſtrive to content yourſelf; but it is 'not enough. Theſe duties ſtand not alone in contem-'plation and inward meditation; their effects are 'external, and cannot be performed but by external 'actions; and where that faileth, the ſubſtance itſelf 'faileth.

'Now this being your preſent ſtate and condition, 'what is the beſt to be done herein? and what is 'the beſt remedy for the ſame? My good Lord, I 'want wiſdom and lack judgment to adviſe you; but 'I will never want an honeſt and true heart to will 'and wiſh you well; nor, being warranted by a good 'conſcience, forbear to ſpeak what I think. I have 'begun plainly. I hope your Lordſhip will not be 'offended if I proceed ſtill after the ſame faſhion. '*Benè cedit, qui tempore cedit.* And Seneca ſaith, *Lex 'ſi nocentem punit, cedendum eſt juſtitiæ; ſi innocentem, 'cedendum eſt fortunæ.* The beſt remedy is not to 'contend and ſtrive, but humbly to ſubmit. Have 'you given cauſe, and yet take ſcandal to yourſelf? 'Why, then all you can do is too little to make ſa-'tisfaction? Is cauſe of ſcandal given to you? Yet 'policy, duty, and religion, inforce you to ſue, yield, 'and ſubmit to your Sovereign, between whom and 'you there can be no proportion of duty. And GOD 'himſelf requireth it as a principal bond of ſervice to 'himſelf. When it is evident, that great good may 'enſue of it to your friends, your country, and ſove-'reign, and extreme harm by the contrary, there 'can be no diſhonour or hurt to yield; but in not 'doing it, is diſhonour and impiety. The difficulty, 'my good Lord, is to conquer yourſelf, which is 'the height of all true valour and fortitude, where-'unto all your honourable actions have tended. Do 'it in this, and GOD will be pleaſed, her Majeſty 'well ſatisfied, your country will take good, and 'your friends comfort by it: yourſelf (I mention 'you laſt, for I know of all theſe you eſteem yourſelf 'leaſt)

Wotton (s), very fairly by Sir Robert Naunton (t), very freely by Camden (u), and very finely touched by the masterly pen of the Noble Historian (w): neither are there wanting some

(s) In his parallel between the Earl of Essex and the Duke of Buckingham.
(t) Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.
(u) Annal. p. 861—864.
(w) Disparity between the Duke of Bucks and the Earl of Essex.

'least, shall receive honour, and your enemies (if 'you have any) shall be disappointed of their bitter 'sweet hope.

'Thus have I uttered what I think, simply and 'truly, and leave you to determine. If I have erred, 'it is *error amoris*, and not *amor erroris*. Construe, I 'beseech you, and accept it, as I mean it, not as an 'advice, but as an opinion to be allowed or can-'celled at your pleasure. If I might conveniently 'have conferred with you myself in person, I would 'not then have troubled you with so many idle blots. 'Yet whatsoever you shall judge of this mine opi-'nion, be you well assured, my desire is to further 'all good means that may tend to your good. And 'so wishing you all honourable happiness, I rest,

'Your Lordship's most ready and faithful,

'(although of many most unable)

"poor friend,

'THO. EGERTON, C. S.'

The Earl's answer, dated the 18th of October, was in these terms:

'My very good Lord,

'Although there is not that man this day living, 'whom I would sooner make a judge of any question 'that did concern me, than yourself; yet must you 'give me leave to tell you, that in such a case I 'must appeal from all earthly judges; and if in any 'then surely in this, where the highest judge upon 'earth hath imposed upon me, without trial or hear-'ing, the most heavy judgment that ever hath been 'known: but since I must either answer your Lord-'ship's arguments, or forsake my just defence, I will 'force my aching head to do me some service for a 'small hour or two, although against my will. I 'must first then deny my discontentment, which was 'forced, to be any humorous discontentment, and 'that it was unseasonable, or of too long continuance. 'Your Lordship should rather condole with me, 'than expostulate about the same: natural seasons 'are expected here below; but violent and unsea-'sonable storms come from above. There is no tem-'pest to the passionate indignation of a prince; nor 'yet at any time is it so unseasonable, as when it 'lighteth upon those who might expect an harvest of 'their careful and painful labours. He that is once 'wounded must feel smart while his hurt be cured, 'or that the part be senseless; but no cure I expect, 'her Majesty's heart being obdurate against me; and 'to be without sense I cannot, being made of flesh 'and blood. But, say you, I may aim at the end. 'I do more than aim, for I see an end of all my good 'fortunes, and I have set an end to my desires. In 'this course do I any thing for mine enemies? When 'I was in the court, I found them absolute; and 'therefore I had rather they should triumph alone, 'than they should have me attendant on their cha-'riots. Do I leave my friends? When I was a 'courtier, I could yield them no fruits of my love 'unto them. Now I am become an hermit, they 'shall bear no envy for their love towards me. Do 'I forsake myself, because I do enjoy myself? or do 'I overthrow my fortune, for that I build not a for-'tune of paper-walls, which every puff of wind 'bloweth down? Do I ruinate mine honour, be-'cause I leave following the pursuit, or wearing the 'false badge or mark of the shadow of honour? Do 'I give courage and comfort to the foreign foe, be-'cause I reserve myself to encounter with him; or 'because I keep my heart from baseness, although I 'cannot keep my fortune from declining? No, my 'good Lord, I give every of these considerations its 'due right, and the more I weigh them, the more 'I find myself justified from offending in any of 'them. As for the two last objections, that I forsake 'my country, when it hath most need of me, and 'fail in that indissoluble duty which I owe unto 'my Sovereign; I answer, that if my country had at 'this time any need of my public service, her Ma-'jesty, that governs the same, would not have driven 'me into a private kind of life. I am tied unto my 'country by two bands: in public peace, to dis-'charge carefully, faithfully, and industriously, the 'trust which is committed unto me; and the other 'private, to sacrifice for it my life and carcase, which 'hath been nourished in it. Of the first I am freed, 'being dismissed, discharged, and disabled, by her 'Majesty. Of the other nothing can free me but 'death, and therefore no occasion of my perfor-'mance shall offer itself, but I will meet it half-way. 'The indissoluble duty which I owe to her Majesty 'is only the duty of allegiance, which I never will, 'nor never can, fail in. The duty of attendance is 'no indissoluble duty. I owe her Majesty the duty 'of an Earl and of Lord Marshal of England. I have 'been content to do her Majesty the service of a clerk, 'but can never serve her as a villain or a slave. But 'yet, you say, I must give way unto the time. So I 'do; for now I see the storm come I put myself into 'the harbour. Seneca saith, we must give place unto 'fortune. I know that fortune is both blind and 'strong, and therefore I go as far out of her way as I 'can. You say, the remedy is not to strive. I nei-'ther strive nor seek for remedy. But, say you, I 'must yield and submit. I can neither yield myself 'to be guilty, or this imputation laid upon me to be 'just. I owe so much to the author of all truth, as I 'can never yield falsehood to be truth, or truth to be 'falsehood. Have I given cause, ask you, and take 'scandal, when I have done? No; I give no cause 'to take so much as Fimbria's complaint against me, 'for I did *totum telum corpore recipere*. I patiently bear 'all, and sensibly feel all, that I then received, when 'this scandal was given me. Nay more, when the 'vilest of all indignities are done unto me, doth reli-'gion enforce me to sue? or doth GOD require it? 'Is it impiety not to do it? What, cannot princes 'err? Cannot subjects receive wrong? Is an earthly 'power or authority infinite? Pardon me, pardon 'me, my good Lord, I can never subscribe to these 'principles. Let Solomon's fool laugh, when he is 'stricken; let those that mean to make their profit of 'princes, shew to have no sense of princes injuries; 'let them acknowledge an infinite absoluteness on earth 'that do not believe in an absolute infiniteness in hea-'ven. As for me, I have received wrong, and feel 'it. My cause is good; I know it; and whatsoever 'come, all the powers on earth can never shew more 'strength and constancy in oppressing, than I can shew 'in suffering whatsoever can or shall be imposed upon 'me. Your Lordship, in the beginning, maketh 'yourself a looker-on; and me a player of my own 'game; so you can see more than I can; yet must 'you give me leave to tell you in the end of my an-'swer, that since you do but see, and I suffer, I must 'of necessity feel more than you do. I must crave 'your Lordship's patience to give him, that hath a 'crabbed fortune, licence to use a crabbed style; and 'yet whatsoever my style is, there is no heart more 'humble to his superiors, nor any more affected to-'wards your Lordship, than that of

'Your honour's poor friend,

'ESSEX (77).'

(77) Birch, Vol. II. p. 384—388.

We must not pass over in silence the extract which is given, in note [2], from Heylin's History of the Presbyterians. If that historian is to be credited, Essex had formed the ambitious design of making himself King. But this assertion appears to have been made entirely without foundation. The supposition of the Earl's having entertained such a purpose had probably no other source than the idle surmises and suspicions of the time, which the bigotry of Heylin was very ready to admit. That Dugdale should quote the passage from Heylin with approbation, reflects no honour either upon his candour or his judgment (78). The reflection on the Earl of Essex, as having aimed at Royalty, is not only without authority, but contrary

(78) Dugd. Bar. Tome II. p. 181.

some useful touches in Osborne (x), Fuller (y), Lloyd (z), Winstanley (a), and other writers of less fame. It appears from the comparison of these, that, in respect to the publick,

(x) In his traditional Memoirs of Q. Elizabeth, and his political deductions from the death of the Earl of Essex.

(y) Worthies, Herefordshire, p. 38.

(z) State Worthies, p. 563.

(a) England's Worthies, p. 221.

contrary to the most decisive evidence. In all the accusations produced against him, when he was brought before the eighteen commissioners, assembled at York House, on the fifth of June, 1600, consisting of the principal officers of state, and when he was treated with great severity, no charge of the kind we are speaking of was ever once mentioned. Nay, Secretary Cecil, who was sufficiently hostile to him, repeatedly acquitted his Lordship of all thoughts of disloyalty (79). If it should be suggested, that, in his last mad attempt, he might have a view to the throne, the suggestion will be fully refuted by reading his conversation with Ashton, his chaplain, at a time when he exonerated his conscience, and, with great contrition and sincerity, made a confession of whatever he had done amiss. In that conversation, which is related in note [*R*], he says, 'for the crown, I 'never affected it, neither, praise I God, was I ever 'so careless of my soul, as, by seeking a crown on 'earth, to which I had no manner of title, to deprive my soul of a crown in heaven, where I have 'so assured hope.' He farther adds, 'No, no, Mr. 'Ashton, I never desired other condition than the 'state of a subject, but only to my sovereign, and not 'to base and unworthy vassals under her;' and in conclusion he declares, that his whole end was to obtain the settling of the succession, by act of Parliament, on the King of Scotland, as the true and undoubted heir, after her Majesty, of this kingdom. It is surprizing that our ingenious predecessor, with the whole paper before him, containing Essex's conversation with Ashton, and which he has inserted at large in the article, should have been induced to give any degree of approbation to the extract from Heylin.

(79) Birch, Vol. II. P. 447—454.

In Murdin's State Papers is a curious letter, written by Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1601, to Sir Robert Cecil, evidently relative to the Earl of Essex, and which at once shews both the malignity and the boldness of Raleigh's mind. It is as follows:

'Sir, I am not wise enough to give you advise, 'butt if you take it for a good councell to relent 'towards this tirant, you will repent it, when it shall 'be too late. His malice is fixt, and will not evaporate by any your mild courses, for he will ascribe 'the alteration to her Majesty's pusillanimity, and not 'to your good nature, knowing that you work but 'upon her humour, and not out of any love towards 'him. The less you make him, the less he shall be 'able to harm you and yours. And if her Majesties 'favour faile him, he will againe decline to a common 'parson. For after-revenges fear them not. For 'your own father, that was esteemed to be the contriver of Norfolk's ruin (80), yet his son (81), 'followeth your fathers son, and loveth him. Humours 'of men succeed not, but grow by occasions, and 'accidents of tyme and power. Somerset (82) made 'no revenge on the Duke of Northumberland's heares. 'Northumberland (83) that now is, thinks not of 'Hatton's (84) issue. Kelloway lives, that murdered 'the brother of Horsey, and Horsey let him go by 'all his life-time. I could name a thousand of those; 'and therefore after-fears are but prophecies, or 'rather conjectures, from causes remote. Look to 'the present, and you do wisely. His son shall be the 'youngest Earle of England but one; and if his father 'be now keipt down, Will. Cecill (85) shall be able 'to keip as many men at his heeles as he, and more 'to. He may also matche in a better house than his; 'and so, that feare is not worth the fearing. But if 'the father continue, he will be able to break the 'branches, and pull up the tree, root, and all. Lose 'not your advantage: if you do, I rede your destiny.

'Let the Queen hold Bothwell (86) while she hath 'him. He will ever be the canker of her estate and 'Sawfty. Princes are lost by security, and preserved by 'prevention. I have seen the last of her good days 'and all ours after his liberty.

'Your's, &c.

'W. R.' (87).

(80) Thomas Duke of Norfolk, beheaded June 2, 1572.

(81) Probably his second son, Lord Thomas Howard, afterwards Earl of Suffolk.

(82) Edward Seymour, son of the Protector Duke of Somerset, by his second wife Anne Stanhope.

(83) Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland.

(84) Henry Percy, eighth Earl of Northumberland, is understood to have killed himself in the Tower, and such was the verdict of the Coroner's Inquest; but there was a suspicion at the time that he was murdered by a servant of Sir Christopher Hatton; which servant had been charged with the custody of the Earl just before his death.

(85) William, only son of Sir Robert Cecil; and afterwards Earl of Salisbury.

(86) This name seems to have been given to the Earl of Essex by Sir Walter Raleigh, in allusion to the character of Francis Stewart Earl of Bothwell, who occasioned much trouble to Scotland, in the reign of James the Sixth.

(87) Murdin's State Papers, p. 811, 812.

The story of the ring, and the relations of the Queen's passion for the Earl of Essex, were long regarded by many writers as romantic circumstances. But these facts are now more generally believed. Hume, Birch, and the most judicious historians give credit to them. Dr. Birch, in his "Historical View "of the Negociations between the Courts of England, "France, and Brussels, from the year 1592 to 1617," has confirmed Maurier's account (given in note [*S*]) by the following narrative, which was often related by the Lady Elizabeth Spelman, a descendant of Sir Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth, whose acquaintance with the most secret transactions of Queen Elizabeth's court is well known.

'When Catharine Countess of Nottingham, wife 'of the Lord High Admiral, and sister of the Earl 'of Monmouth, was dying, (as she did, according 'to his Lordship's own account, about a fortnight be'fore the Queen) she sent to her Majesty, to desire 'that she might see her, in order to reveal something 'to her Majesty, without the discovery of which she 'could not die in peace. Upon the Queen's coming, 'Lady Nottingham told her that while the Earl of 'Essex lay under sentence of death, he was desirous 'of asking her Majesty's mercy, in the manner pre'scribed by herself, during the height of his favour; 'the Queen having given him a ring, which being 'sent to her as a token of his distress, might intitle 'him to her protection. But the Earl, jealous of 'those about him, and not caring to trust any one 'with it, as he was looking out of the window one 'morning, saw a boy, with whose appearance he 'was pleased; and, engaging him by money and 'promises, directed him to carry the ring, which he 'took from his finger, and threw down, to Lady 'Scroope, a sister of the Countess of Nottingham, 'and a friend of his Lordship, who attended upon 'the Queen; and to beg of her, that she would pre'sent it to her Majesty. The boy, by mistake, carried 'it to Lady Nottingham, who shewed it to her 'husband, the Admiral, an enemy of Lord Essex, in 'order to take his Advice. The Admiral forbid her 'to carry it, or return any answer to the message; but 'insisted upon her keeping the ring.

'The Countess of Nottingham having made this 'discovery, begged the Queen's forgiveness; but 'her Majesty answered, *God may forgive you, but I* '*never can*; and left the room with great emotion. 'Her mind was so struck with this story, that she 'never went to bed, nor took any sustenance, from 'that instant: for Camden is of opinion, that her 'chief reason for suffering the Earl to be executed, 'was his supposed obstinacy, in not applying to her 'for mercy.' (88).

(88) Birch's Historical View, p. 206, 207. note.

With respect to the question whether Queen Elizabeth was in Love with Essex, Mr. Walpole has considered it at large, and has treated upon it with his usual vivacity. What he has advanced on the subject is so curious and entertaining that we shall give it at some length.

'I am aware that it is become a mode to treat the 'Queen's passion for him as a romance. Voltaire 'laughs at it, and observes, that when her struggle 'about him must have been the greatest (the time of 'his death) she was sixty-eight———had *He* been 'sixty-eight, it is probable she would not have been 'in love with him. As a great deal turns upon this 'point, and as there are the strongest presumptions 'of the reality of her Majesty's inclination for him, 'I shall take leave to enter into the discussion.

'I do not date this passion from her first sight of 'him, nor impute his immediate rise to it, as some 'have done, who did not observe how nearly he was 'related to the Queen, as appears by the following 'short table:

Thomas

publick, he was truly a Patriot, had a great regard to his Sovereign's honour, and no leſs zeal for his country's ſervice. He valued himſelf on loſing a father and a brother, and in ſpending

Thomas Boleyn Earl of Wiltſhire.

| ANNE, | Mary |
|---|---|
| HENRY VIII. | Wm. Ld. Hunſdon. |
| Q. ELIZABETH, | Katherine, |
| | Sir Francis Knolles. |
| | Lettice, |
| | Walter Earl of Eſſex. |
| | Robert Earl of Leiceſter. |
| | Robert Earl of Eſſex. |

'His mother being couſin to the Queen, and wife of 'her great favourite, Leiceſter, eaſily accounted for 'young Eſſex's ſudden promotion; it went on rapidly 'without thoſe ſupports. At twenty he was made 'Maſter of the Horſe; the next year General of the 'Horſe at the camp at Tilbury, and Knight of 'the Garter. On theſe dignities were afterwards 'heaped the great poſts of Maſter of the Ordnance, 'Earl Marſhal, Chancellor of Cambridge, and Lord 'Lieutenant of Ireland—Lofty diſtinctions from a 'Princeſs ſo ſparing of her favours—of what ſhe was 'ſtill more ſparing, he obtained to the value of '300,000 *l.* In one of her letters ſhe reproached him 'with her great favours beſtowed without his deſert: 'In every inſtance but in his and Leiceſter's, ſhe was 'not wont to over-pay ſervices.

'His early marriage with the widow of Sir Philip 'Sidney did not look as if he himſelf had any idea 'of her Majeſty's inclination for him: perhaps he 'had learned from the example of his Father-in-law, 'that her Majeſty's paſſions never extended to ma-'trimony. Yet before this he had inſulted Sir Charles 'Blount, on a jealouſy of the Queen's partiality. 'Inſtead of ſentimental ſoftneſs, the ſpirit of her 'father broke out on that occaſion: ſhe ſwore a round 'oath, "that unleſs ſome one or other took him "down, there would be no ruling him."

'Lord Clarendon, in his ſenſible anſwer to Sir 'Harry Wotton's parallel of the Earl of Eſſex and 'the Duke of Buckingham, obſerves, that the former 'endeavoured rather to maſter the Queen's affection 'than to win it: if he was croſſed in a ſuit, he ab-'ſented himſelf from court, and made her purchaſe 'his return. A fond woman may be moulded thus; 'it is not the method practiſed on Princes by mere 'favourites. When Charles the Firſt on ſome jealouſy 'reſtrained the Earl of Holland to his houſe, the 'Queen would not cohabit with the King till the re-'ſtraint was taken off. Whenever Eſſex acted a fit 'of ſickneſs, not a day paſſed without the Queen's 'ſending often to ſee him; and once went ſo far as 'to ſit long by him, *and ordered his broth and things.* 'It is recorded by a diligent obſerver of that court, 'that in one of his ſick moods he took the liberty of 'going up to the Queen in his night-gown. In the 'height of theſe fretful fooleries, there was a maſk at 'Black-Friars on the marriage of Lord Herbert and 'Mrs. Ruſſel. Eight Lady-maſkers choſe eight more 'to dance the meaſures. Mrs. Fitton, who led them, 'went to the Queen and woed her to dance. Her 'Majeſty aſked what ſhe was?——AFFECTION—ſhe 'ſaid. AFFECTION!—ſaid the Queen;—AFFEC-'TION IS FALSE.——Were not theſe the murmurs 'of a heart ill at eaſe?—Yet her Majeſty roſe and 'dawnced.——She was then ſixty-eight:——Sure it 'was as natural for her to be in love!

'That her court and cotemporaries had an uniform 'opinion of her paſſion is evident from many paſſages. 'Sir Francis Bacon, in a letter of moſt ſenſible advice 'to the Earl, in which he diſſuades him from popular 'courſes, which the Queen could not brook in her 'greateſt favorites, ſays to him, "win the Queen; "I will not now ſpeak of favour or affection, but of "other correſpondence and agreeableneſs."——That 'is, do not be content with her prepoſſeſſion in your 'favour, but humour and make yourſelf agreeable to 'her. "How dangerous," adds he, "to have her "think you a man not to be ruled, that has her "affection and knows it; that ſeeks a popular reputa-"tion and a military dependence." He adviſes the 'Earl not to play or ſtratagem with too long journeys 'from her; and bids him conſult her taſte in his very 'apparel and geſtures. He concludes remarkably 'with adviſing the Earl even to give way to any other 'inclination ſhe may have, "for whoſoever ſhall tell "me that you may not have ſingular uſe of a favorite "at your devotion, I will ſay he underſtandeth not "the Queen's affection, nor your Lordſhip's con-"dition." The Queen herſelf Sir Francis adviſed, 'as knowing her inclination, to keep the Earl about 'her for *ſociety*. Oſborne aſcribes Eſſex's preſump-'tion to the fond opinion which he entertained that 'the Queen would not rob her eyes of the dear 'delight ſhe took in his perſon. But the moſt marked 'expreſſion is one of Henry the Fourth of France to 'the Queen's own Embaſſador Sir Antony Mildmay, "Que ſa Majeſté ne laiſſeroit jamais ſon Couſin "d'Eſſex s'eſloigner de ſon cotillon." Sir Antony 'reporting this to the Queen, ſhe wrote four lines 'with her own hand to the King, which one may 'well believe were ſharp enough, for he was near 'ſtriking Sir Anthony, and drove him out of his 'chamber.

'When the Earl had offended the Queen ſo much 'by his abrupt return from Ireland, he was treated 'with a whimſical fond mixture of tenderneſs and ſe-'verity. Though he burſt into her bed-chamber as 'ſhe was riſing, ſhe talked to him long with coolneſs 'and kindneſs. When her other counſellors had re-'preſented his boldneſs, ſhe reſented it too. She 'ſuſpended him from all his offices but the Maſterſhip 'of the Horſe; ſhe gave him a keeper, but who was 'ſoon with-drawn. On hearing Eſſex was ill, ſhe 'ſent him word with tears in her eyes, "that if ſhe "might with her honour, ſhe would viſit him."—— 'Theſe are more than ſymptoms of favour: royal 'favour is not romantic; it is extravagant, not galant.

'If theſe inſtances are problematic, are the follow-'ing ſo? In one of the curious letters of Rowland 'White, he ſays, "the Queen hath of late uſed the "fair Mrs. Bridges with words and blows of anger." 'In a ſubſequent letter he ſays, "the Earl is again "fallen in love with his faireſt B.; it cannot chuſe "but come to the Queen's ears, and then he is un-"done. The Counteſs hears of it, or rather ſuſpects "it, and is greatly unquiet." I think there can be 'no doubt but that the faireſt B. and the fair Mrs. 'Bridges were the ſame: If ſo, it is evident why 'ſhe felt the weight of her Majeſty's diſpleaſure.

'It is indeed a very trifling matter for what reaſon 'a Prince chuſes a favourite; nor is it meant as any 'reproach to this great woman, that ſhe could not 'diveſt herſelf of all ſenſibility: her feeling, and 'maſtering her paſſion adds to her character. The 'favourites of other Princes never fail to infuſe into 'them their own prejudices againſt their enemies: 'that was not the caſe with Elizabeth: ſhe was more 'jealous of the greatneſs ſhe beſtowed, than her ſub-'jects could be. How did ſhe mortify Leiceſter, 'when the States heaped unuſual honours on him! 'For Eſſex, it is evident from multiplied inſtances 'that his very ſolicitation was prejudicial. Bacon 'ſays to his brother Antony, "againſt me ſhe is "never peremptory but to my Lord of Eſſex." 'Amongſt the papers of the Bacons is a moſt ex-'traordinary letter from Lord Treaſurer Burleigh to 'Lord Eſſex, recounting unmeaſured abuſe that he 'had received from the Queen, on her ſuſpecting 'Burleigh of favouring the Earl.——So quick was 'her nature to apprehend union where ſhe loved to 'diſunite, and with ſuch refinement did old Cecil 'colour his inveteracy. Her Majeſty was wont to 'accuſe the Earl of *opiniaſtretè*, and *that he would not 'be ruled, but ſhe would bridle and ſtay him.* On 'another occaſion ſhe ſaid, "ſhe obſerved ſuch as "followed her; and thoſe which accompanied ſuch as "were in her diſpleaſure, and that they ſhould know "as much before it were long." No wonder the

ſpending a great part of his ſubſtance in the cauſe of both. His projects were high, but very honourable, and the difficulties with which they were embarrraſſed ſeemed rather to invite

'Earl complained "that he was as much diſtaſted "with the glorious greatneſs of a favorite, as he was "before with the ſuppoſed happineſs of a courtier." 'No wonder his mind was ſo toſt with contradictory 'paſſions, when her ſoul, on whom he depended, 'was a compoſition of tenderneſs and haughtineſs!— 'nay, when even œconomy combated her affection! 'He profeſſes, "that her fond parting with him, "when he ſet out for Ireland, pierced his very ſoul." 'In a few weeks ſhe quarrelled with him for demand- 'ing a poor ſupply of one thouſand foot and three 'hundred horſe.

'Having pretty clearly aſcertained the exiſtence of 'the ſentiment, it ſeems that the Earl's ruin was in 'great meaſure owing to the little homage he paid to 'a Sovereign, jealous of his perſon and of her own, 'and not accuſtomed to pardon the want of a proper 'degree of awe and adoration! Before his voyage to 'Ireland, ſhe had treated him as ſhe did the fair Mrs. 'Bridges——in ſhort, had given him a box on the 'ear for turning his back on her in contempt. What 'muſt ſhe have felt on hearing he had ſaid "that ſhe "grew old and cankered, and that her mind was "become as crooked as her carcaſe!" What provoca- 'tion to a woman ſo diſpoſed to believe all the flattery 'of her court! How did ſhe torture Melville to 'make him prefer her beauty to his charming Queen's! 'Elizabeth's foible about her perſon was ſo well 'known, that when ſhe was ſixty-ſeven, Veriken the 'Dutch Embaſſador told her at his audience, "that he "had longed to undertake that voyage to ſee her "Majeſty, who for *beauty* and wiſdom excelled all "other princes of the world." The next year Lord 'Eſſex's ſiſter, Lady Rich, interceding for him, tells 'her Majeſty, "Early did I hope this morning to "have had mine eyes bleſſed with your Majeſty's "*beauty*.——That her Brother's life, his love, his "ſervice to her *beauties* did not deſerve ſo hard a "puniſhment.——That he would be diſabled from "ever ſerving again his ſacred Goddeſs! whoſe ex- "cellent *beauties* and perfections ought to feel more "compaſſion (89)."

(89) Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. I. p. 129—141.

It is with great propriety that Mr. Walpole has placed the Earl of Eſſex among the noble authors of England. The various pieces written by him, moſt of which are noticed in the article, juſtly entitle him to that diſtinction; and he has a farther claim to it from the numerous Letters of his which occur in the different collections of State Papers, and eſpecially in "Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth." 'But of all his compoſitions," ſays Mr. Walpole, 'the moſt excellent, and in many reſpects equal to 'the performances of the greateſt geniuſes, is a long 'Letter to the Queen from Ireland, ſtating the ſitua- 'tion of that country, in a moſt maſterly manner, 'both as a General and Stateſman, and concluding 'with ſtrains of the tendereſt eloquence, on finding 'himſelf ſo unhappily expoſed to the artifice of his 'enemies during his abſence. It cannot fail to excite 'admiration, that a man raviſhed from all improve- 'ment and reflection at the age of ſeventeen, to be 'nurſed, perverted, fondled, dazzled in a court, 'ſhould notwithſtanding have ſnatched ſuch oppor- 'tunities of cultivating his mind and underſtanding!" 'In another Letter from Ireland, he ſays movingly, "I provided for this ſervice a breaſt-plate but not a "Cuiraſs, that is, I am armed on the breaſt, but "not on the back." (90).

(90) Ibid. p. 156, 157.

It has been ſurmiſed that the Earl of Eſſex uſed the pen, firſt, of Francis Bacon, and afterwards of Cuffe. Speaking of Bacon, Dr. Birch obſerves, that it is certain that Eſſex did not want any ſuch aſſiſtance, and could not have had it upon many and moſt important occaſions, which required him to write ſome of the moſt finiſhed of his epiſtolary performances, the ſtyle of which is not only very different from, but likewiſe much more natural, eaſy, and perſpicuous than that of his friend, who acknowledges it to be *far better than his own* (91). With regard to Cuffe, Mr. Walpole remarks, that he might have ſome hand in collecting the materials relative to buſineſs, but that there runs through all the Earl's Letters a peculiarity of ſtyle, ſo adapted to his ſituation and feelings, as could not have been felt for him or dictated by any body elſe (92).

(91) Birch's Memoirs, ubi ſupra, Vol. II. p. 20.

It was as a proſe-writer that the Earl of Eſſex excelled, and not as a poet. He is ſaid to have tranſlated one of Ovid's Epiſtles; and a few of his Sonnets are preſerved in the Aſhmolean Muſeum. They diſplay, however, no marks of poetic genius. 'But 'if Eſſex,' ſays Mr. Warton, 'was no poet, few 'noblemen of his age were more courted by poets. 'From Spenſer to the loweſt rhymer he was the ſub- 'ject of numerous Sonnets, or popular ballads. I 'will not except Sydney. I could produce evidence 'to prove, that he ſcarcely ever went out of England, 'or even left London, on the moſt frivolous enter- 'prize, without a paſtoral in his praiſe, or a panegy- 'ric in metre, which were ſold and ſung in the 'ſtreets. Having intereſted himſelf in the faſhionable 'poetry of the times, he was placed high in the 'ideal Arcadia now juſt eſtabliſhed: and, among 'other inſtances which might be brought, on his 'return from Portugal, in 1589, he was complimented 'with a poem, called, "An Egloge gratulatorie "entituled to the Right Honorable and renowned "Shepherd of Albion's Arcadia, Robert Earl of "Eſſex, and for his returne lately into England." 'This is a light in which Lord Eſſex is ſeldom viewed. 'I know not if the Queen's fatal partiality, or his 'own inherent attractions, his love of literature, his 'heroiſm, integrity, and generoſity, qualities which 'abundantly overbalance his preſumption, his vanity, 'and impetuoſity, had the greater ſhare in dictating 'theſe praiſes. If adulation were any where juſtifi- 'able, it muſt be when paid to the man who en- 'deavoured to ſave Spenſer from ſtarving in the 'ſtreets of Dublin, and who buried him in Weſt- 'minſter-Abbey with becoming ſolemnity. Spenſer 'was perſecuted by Burleigh, becauſe he was pa- 'troniſed by Eſſex (93)."

(92) Walpole, ubi ſupra, p. 156, note.

(93) Warton's Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, Vol. III. p. 401, 402.

No ſmall degree of popularity has always adhered to the character and memory of the Earl of Eſſex. A ſtrong proof of this is his having been the ſubject of four different Tragedies. We refer to the "Un- "happy Favourite," by John Banks: the "Fall of "the Earl of Eſſex," by James Ralph; the "Earl "of Eſſex," by Henry Jones; and the "Earl of "Eſſex," by Henry Brooke. It is no part of our preſent buſineſs to enter into the merit of theſe ſeveral publications.

An account of the manner of the Earl of Eſſex's death, which is far more particular than what is commonly to be met with, and may be edifying to pious minds, ſhall be inſerted from Dr. Birch's Memoirs.

'Upon Aſh-wedneſday the 25th of February, 1600-1, 'the Earl, about one in the morning, had warning 'given him by the lieutenant of the Tower to pre- 'pare himſelf for death that day; upon which he roſe 'from his bed, and deſired Dr. Barlow, Dr. Mont- 'ford, and Mr. Aſhton, all then with him, to join 'with him in the exerciſes ſuitable to his preſent ſitu- 'ation, and the ſtate into which he was going; and 'Mr. Aſhton preached, at the deſire of the two doc- 'tors. His Lordſhip, among other things, told them 'that the principal reaſon of his requeſting a private 'execution within the Tower, for which he thanked 'GOD and her Majeſty, was his apprehenſion, that 'if it had been public, the *acclamations of the citizens 'ſhould have hoven him up.* Between the hours of ſeven 'and eight he was brought to the place of execution 'within the Tower, where a ſcaffold being ſet up in 'the court, and a form near the place, upon which 'ſat the Earls of Cumberland and Hertford, the Lord 'Viſcount Bindon, the Lord Thomas Howard, the 'Lord Darcy, the Lord Compton, and the Lord Mor- 'ley, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen to the 'number of about an hundred; and among them Sir 'Walter Raleigh, who retired before the Earl's death 'into the armoury, where he ſaw it, without having 'been ſeen by his Lordſhip, and was ſo affected by it 'that he ſhed tears. The Earl was conducted to the 'ſcaffold by the Lieutenant, and about ſixteen par- 'tiſans of the guard, and was dreſſed in a gown of 'wrought

invite than to deject him. He was, however, too covetous of Royal Favour, and, some say, not respectful enough to the Royal Person; and, if there was any truth in this, his fault

' wrought velvet, a black sattin suit, a felt black hat, ' a little ruff about his neck, being attended from his ' chamber by the three divines, whom he requested ' not to leave him, but observe him, and recall him, ' if either his eye, countenance, or speech, should ' bewray any thing, which might not beseem him ' for that time; and all the way desired the spectators ' to pray for him. At his coming to the scaffold, he ' vailed his hat, and with obeisance to the lords spoke ' to this effect:

" My Lords, and you my Christian Brethren, who " are to be witnesses of this my just punishment, I " confess to the glory of GOD, that I am a most " wretched sinner; and that my sins are more in " number than the hairs of my head. I confess, that " I have bestowed my youth in wantonness, lust, and " uncleanness; that I have been puffed up with pride, " vanity, and love of this world's pleasures: and that " notwithstanding divers good motions inspired into " me from the Spirit of GOD, the good which I " would, I have not done; and the evil, which I " would not, that have I done. For all which I hum- " bly beseech my Saviour Christ to be a Mediator to " the eternal Majesty for my pardon; especially for " this my last sin, this great, this bloody, this cry- " ing, this infectious sin, whereby so many have for " love to me been drawn to offend GOD, to offend " their Sovereign, to offend the world. I beseech " GOD to forgive it us, and to forgive it me, most " wretched of all! I beseech her Majesty, and the " state, and ministers thereof, to forgive us: and I be- " seech GOD to send her Majesty a prosperous reign, " and a long, if it be his will. O Lord! grant her a " wise and understanding heart! O Lord! bless her, " and the Nobles and the Ministers of the Church " and State! And I beseech you and the world to " hold a charitable opinion of me for my intention " towards her Majesty, whose death I protest I never " meant, nor violence to her Person. I never was, I " thank GOD, Atheist, not believing the Word and " Scriptures; neither Papist, trusting to my own me- " rits; but hope for salvation from GOD only by the " mercy and merits of my Saviour Jesus Christ. This " faith I was brought up in; and herein I am ready " to die; beseeching you all to join your souls with " me in prayer, that my soul may be lifted up by faith " above all earthly things in my prayer; for now I " will give myself to my private prayer. Yet for that " I beseech you to join with me; I will speak, that " you may hear me."

' As he turned himself aside to put off his gown, ' Dr. Montford requested him to remember to pray to ' GOD to forgive all his enemies, if he had any. To ' whom he answered, *I thank you for it*; and so turn- ' ing himself again to the Lords and the rest, said, ' *I desire all the world to forgive me, even as I do freely* ' *and from my heart forgive all the world.* Then ' putting off his gown and ruff, and presenting himself ' before the block, and kneeling down, he was, by ' Dr. Barlow, encouraged against the fears of death; ' to whom he answered, "That having been divers " times in places of danger, where death was neither " so present nor yet so certain, he had felt the weak- " ness of the flesh; and therefore in this great conflict " desired GOD to assist and strengthen him:" and so, ' with eyes fixed on Heaven, after some passionate ' pauses and breathings, he began his prayer in effect ' following:

" O GOD, Creator of all things, and Judge of all " men, thou hast let me know, by warrant out of thy " Word, that Satan is then most busy when our end " is nearest; and that Satan being resisted, will flee: " I humbly beseech thee, to assist me in this my last " combat; and seeing thou acceptest ever of our de- " sires as of our acts, accept, I beseech thee, of my " desires to resist him, as of true resistance, and per- " fect by thy grace what thou seest in my flesh to be " frail and weak. Give me patience to bear, as be- " cometh me, this just punishment inflicted upon me " by so honourable a trial. Grant me the inward " comfort of thy Spirit. Let thy Spirit seal unto my " foul an assurance of thy mercies. Lift my soul above " all earthly cogitations; and when my life and body " shall part, send thy blessed angels, which may re- " ceive my soul, and convey it to thy joys in Heaven!"

' He then prayed for all estates of the realm, con- ' cluding with the Lord's prayer, and reiterating this ' petition, *Lord Jesus, forgive us our trespasses! Lord* ' *Jesus, receive my soul!* After this, he desired to be ' informed what was fit for him to do in disposing ' himself for the block; upon which the executioner ' on his knees presented himself, asking him forgive- ' ness: to whom the Earl said, *I forgive thee; thou* ' *art welcome to me: thou art the minister of justice.* ' At which time Dr. Montford requested him to re- ' hearse the Creed, which he did, repeating every ' article after the divines. He afterwards opened and ' put off his doublet, and stood in a scarlet waistcoat, ' till being ready to lie down, he said, that he would ' only stretch forth his arms, and spread them abroad, ' for then he would be ready. So bowing towards ' the block the divines requested him to say the two ' first verses of the Fifty-first Psalm, which he did; ' and then inclining his body said, " In humility and " obedience to thy commandment, in obedience to " thy ordinance, to thy good pleasure, O GOD, I " prostrate myself to my deserved punishment! Lord, " be merciful to thy prostrate servant." After this he ' laid himself flat on the boards, and placing his head ' on the block stretched out his arms with these last ' words, which he was requested to say, *Lord, into thy* ' *hands I recommend my spirit.* His head was severed ' from his body by the executioner at three strokes, ' the first of which absolutely deprived him of all sense ' and motion.

Secretary Cecil acknowledged, that his Lordship " suffered with great patience and humility, only (not- " withstanding his resolution, that he must die) the " conflict between the flesh and the soul did appear " thus far, that in his prayers he was fain to be helped, " otherwise no man living could pray more Christianly " than he did."

' Such was the last scene of the life of Robert Earl ' of Essex; whose penitence, humility, and piety ' shewn in it were treated with contempt and ridicule ' by men of no religion, and particularly by Marshal ' De Biron, who said, that his Lordship died more like ' a minister than a soldier; but who received his own ' deserved death about fifteen months after with all the ' rage of a madman (95).'

(94) Birch, ubi supra, Vol. II. p. 481—484.

A farther Quotation from Mr. Walpole, and another from Mr. Hume shall conclude our additions to the important article of the Earl of Essex. ' On a ' review of his character," says Mr. Walpole, ' it ' appears that if the Queen's partiality had not in- ' flated him, he would have been one of the bravest ' generals, one of the most active statesmen and the ' brightest Mecænas of that accomplished age. With ' the zeal, though without the discretion of Burleigh, ' he had nothing of the dark soul of Leicester. ' Raleigh excelled him in abilities, but came not near ' him in generosity. It was no small merit to have ' insisted on giving Bacon to that orb from which one ' of Bacon's first employments was to contribute to ex- ' pel his benefactor. The Earl had a solemn tincture ' of religion, of which his enemies availed themselves ' to work him to the greatest blemish of his life, the ' discovery of the abettors of his last rash design. He ' had scarcely a fault besides which did not flow from ' the nobleness of his nature. Sir Henry Wotton says ' he was delicate in his baths: it was a slight luxury, ' and proceeded so little from any effeminacy in his ' person, that he read letters and attended to suitors ' the whole time he was dressing. Brutality of man- ' ners is not essentially necessary to courage. Leona- ' tus, one of Alexander's Generals, no unmanly ' school, in all the marches of the army was followed ' by camels loaded with sand, which he got from ' Egypt, to rub his body for his gymnastic exercises. ' Essex was gallant, romantic, and ostentatious: his ' shooting matches in the eye of the city gained him ' great popularity: the ladies and the people never

fault was inexcuſable, the Queen preventing his merit by her favours, as well as rewarding it by honours. Nor did he feel the Sun-ſhine only, but the dew of the Court; ſince, if the Lord Treaſurer Buckhurſt computed right, and he was no enemy to my Lord of Eſſex, he received in grants, penſions, and places, to the amount of three hundred thouſand pounds: but then, as he received all this from, he ſpent it for, the Publick: and if he ſometimes appeared covetous, it was that he might be always generous; for, to his honour be it ſpoken, learning never approached him ungraced, merit unrewarded, or want without receiving relief. His Sovereign's favour he loſt often; the fidelity of his friends, and the affection of the people, never; yet he ſometimes truſted thoſe who had been formerly his enemies, and was not fortunate in all his enterprizes, which renders the wonder greater. As to his perſon, he is reported to have been tall, but not very well made, his countenance reſerved, his air rather martial than courtly, very careleſs in dreſs, and very little addicted to trifling diverſions. Learned he was, and a lover of learned men, wrote with that facility which is the true mark of genius, with that cloſeneſs and perſpicuity which is the happieſt fruit of learning, and that noble ſimplicity which is the characteriſtick of a great mind. Sincere in his friendſhip, but not ſo careful as he ought to have been in making a right choice; ſound in his morals, except in the point of gallantry, and thoroughly well affected to the Proteſtant religion, of which he had very juſt notions, deſpiſing alike the meanneſs of Superſtition, and the folly of Infidelity. He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age, leaving, by his wife, only one ſon Robert (*b*), of whom in the next article, and two daughters; Frances, who became the wife of William firſt Earl (then Marquis) of Hertford, and laſtly Duke of Somerſet (*c*); and Dorothy, who firſt married Sir Henry Shirley, of Stanton-Harold in the county of Leiceſter, Bart. and afterwards to William Stafford, of Blatherwyck in the county of Northampton, Eſq. (*d*). He left alſo, by Mrs. Southwell, a natural ſon named Walter.

(*b*) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 863.

(*c*) Dugd. Bar. Vol. II. p. 179.

(*d*) Dugd. Bar. Vol. II. p. 179.

(95) Walpole, ubi ſupra, Vol. I. p. 149—151.

'ceaſed to adore him. His genius for ſhows and 'thoſe pleaſures that carry the image of war, was as 'remarkable as his ſpirit in the profeſſion itſelf. His 'impreſſes and inventions of entertainment were much 'admired; and his device was a diamond with this 'motto, DUM FORMAS MINUIS." (95).

'The Earl of Eſſex,' ſays Mr. Hume, 'was but 'thirty-four years of age, when his raſhneſs, impru-'dence, and violence, brought him to this untimely 'end. We muſt here, as in many other inſtances, 'lament the inconſtancy of human nature, that a per-'ſon endowed with ſo many noble virtues, generoſity, 'ſincerity, friendſhip, valour, eloquence, and in-'duſtry, ſhould, in the latter period of his life, have 'given reins to his ungovernable paſſions, and involved 'not only himſelf but many of his friends in utter 'ruin. The Queen's tenderneſs and compaſſion for 'him, as it was the cauſe of thoſe premature honours 'which he attained, ſeems, on the whole, the chief 'circumſtance which brought on his unhappy fate. 'Confident of her partiality towards him, as well as 'of his own merit, he treated her with a haughtineſs 'which neither her love nor her dignity could bear; 'and as her amorous inclinations, in ſo advanced an 'age, would naturally make her appear ridiculous, 'if not odious, in his eyes, he was engaged by an 'imprudent openneſs, of which he made profeſſion, to 'diſcover too eaſily thoſe ſentiments to her. The 'many reconciliations and returns of affection, of 'which he had ſtill made advantage, induced him to 'venture on new provocations, till he puſhed her 'beyond all bounds of patience; and he forgot, that 'though the ſentiments of the woman were ever ſtrong 'in her, thoſe of the Sovereign had ſtill, in the end, 'appeared predominant." (96).]

K.

(96) Hume's Hiſtory of England, Vol. V. p. 431. edit. of 1789.

DEVEREUX (ROBERT) ſon to the former, and the third Earl of Eſſex of this family. He was born ſome time in the year 1592, at Eſſex-Houſe in the Strand (*a*), and, at the time of his father's unhappy death, was under the care of his grandmother by whom he was ſent to Eton ſchool, where he received the firſt tincture of a learned education (*b*). In the month of January 1602, he was removed to the Univerſity of Oxford, entered a Gentleman-Commoner of Merton-College, where he had an apartment in the Warden's lodgings, then Mr. Savile, afterwards the celebrated Sir Henry Savile, his father's dear friend, and who, for his ſake, was exceedingly careful in ſeeing that he was learnedly and religiouſly educated (*c*). The very next year he was reſtored to his hereditary honours (*d*); and in 1605, King James making a viſit to the Univerſity of Oxford, our young Earl of Eſſex was created Maſter of Arts on the 30th of Auguſt, for the firſt time, which, very probably, he had forgotten, or he would not have received the ſame honour above thirty years afterwards (*e*). At this time Henry Prince of Wales, attended by his Tutor Sir Thomas Chaloner, was matriculated of this Univerſity, and, at this time alſo, from a ſuppoſed harmony in their tempers, we are told, that there was a great intimacy between his Royal Highneſs and the Earl of Eſſex. They were both of a ſerious diſpoſition, yet much inclined to rough and robuſt exerciſes, more eſpecially tennis, at which, it is ſaid, a quarrel enſued between them, attended with ſuch conſequences, as made the King's interpoſition neceſſary (*f*) [*A*]. The remainder of this year, and the beginning of

(*a*) Life and Death of the illuſtrious Robert Earl of Eſſex, by Robert Codrington, M. A. p. 3.

(*b*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 92.

(*c*) Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 350.

(*d*) Vincent's Diſcovery of Errors in Brooke's Catalogue, p. 188.

(*e*) Faſti Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 172. 269.

(*f*) Codrington's Life of Robert Earl of Eſſex.

(1) Life and Death of the illuſtrious Robert Earl of Eſſex, by Robert Codrington, M. A London, 1645. 4to. This piece is reprinted in the firſt Volume of the Harleian Miſcellany.

[*A*] *As made the King's interpoſition neceſſary.*] There is ſome cauſe to wonder, conſidering the great figure this Nobleman made in the world, that we ſhould never have had any tolerable account of his life and actions. As for that written by Mr. Codrington (1), it is not only entirely defective in point of method, but it is alſo very barren of facts, ſuch only excepted as are collected from the news writers of thoſe times. The ſame thing may with equal juſtice be ſaid of Winſtanley's account of this great Peer (2). Yet it is chiefly from theſe accounts that Mr. Wood (3) has taken the memoirs he has given us of this noble perſon, but

(2) England's Worthies, 1660. 8vo. p. 350.

(3) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 91.

of the next, the Earl ſpent in academical ſtudies becoming his age and quality, and ſuitable to the gravity of his temper. In the mean time Robert Earl of Saliſbury, and Lord High Treaſurer of England, who had acted as Prime Miniſter from the time of the King's acceſſion, perceiving that this young Nobleman was like to ſucceed to his father's fortune as well as titles, and to become a favourite both with Prince and People, grew very deſirous that the antient enmity between their families might be extinguiſhed; and, as he had married his ſon and heir-apparent to the Lady Catherine Howard, eldeſt daughter to the Earl of Suffolk, he projected a marriage between the Earl of Eſſex and Lady Frances Howard, the ſecond daughter of the ſame noble Peer (*g*), which proving acceptable enough to both families, took place accordingly, January 5th, 1606, the Lady being thirteen and the Earl fourteen years of age (*b*). The new-married couple being too young to cohabit together, the Earl was ſent to improve himſelf by travel, and the young Counteſs of Eſſex remained with her mother (*i*). His Lordſhip ſpent about four years beyond the ſeas, and returned in the year 1610, with the reputation of being one of the beſt accompliſhed Noblemen of his time (*k*). The Counteſs of Eſſex, in this ſpace, became diſtinguiſhed for her beauty, but at the expence of her diſcretion, the world having made free with her reputation (*l*), upon which it is certain that ſhe ſet too little value [*B*]. It does not however appear, that any of theſe untoward reports reached the ear of her Lord upon his coming to England; for he was very deſirous of conſummating the marriage, and was ſo indulgent as to look upon the averſion ſhewn by the Lady, as the

(*g*) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, in the ſecond Volume of the Compleat Hiſt. of England, p. 686.

(*b*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 92.

(*i*) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, &c. p. 686.

(*k*) Hiſtorical Narration of the firſt fourteen years of King James, cap. v.

(*l*) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, &c. p. 686.

but then they are much better ranged and digeſted. As to this ſtory of the Earl's quarrel with Prince Henry it ſtands upon the credit of Codrington, who mentions no time when it happened, for that is ſupplied by the conjecture of Mr. Wood, in which he has ſhewn great judgment, by placing it in that period, when, if there be any truth in it, this event muſt have happened. Take the relation in Mr. Codrington's own words: 'Prince Henry and the young Earl, ſays he, delighting themſelves one morning with the exerciſe and the 'pleaſure of the tennis-court, after that a ſet or two 'were played, there did ariſe ſome difference upon a 'miſtake: from bandying of the ball, the Prince being 'raiſed into a choler, did begin to bandy words, and 'was ſo tranſported with his paſſion, that he told the 'Earl of Eſſex that he was the ſon of a traitor. The 'Earl of Eſſex was then in the flouriſh of his youth, 'and full of fire and courage, and being not able to 'contain himſelf, he did ſtrike the Prince with his 'racket on the head, and that ſo ſhrewdly, that (as it 'is ſaid) ſome drops of blood did trickle down. The 'news of this was preſently brought to the King's ear, 'who having examined the buſineſs, and fully underſtood the manner and the occaſion of it, did diſmiſs 'the Earl without any great check, and being a true 'peacemaker, he told his ſon, that he who did ſtrike 'him then, would be ſure with more violent blows 'to ſtrike his enemy in times to come.' It is ſurprizing that Mr. Wilſon, who lived many years as a domeſtic ſervant with the Earl of Eſſex, and who took ſo much pains to do juſtice to the Earl's actions, both in his public hiſtory, and in his private memoirs of his own life, which are now printed, ſhould ſay nothing of this; more eſpecially when he had ſo fair an opportunity, as in that paſſage where he endeavours to account for King James's diſlike to the Earl (4), from that inſtinct, or ſecret prediction that divine fate often imprints in the apprehenſion, whereby he did foreſee in him a hand raiſed up againſt his poſterity, ſince, without doubt, this quarrel with, and ſtriking the Prince, had been a much more ſatisfactory reaſon. Beſides, this ſtory does not well agree with the ſpirit of Prince Henry, who would ſcarcely have borne ſuch an inſult, or with that prudence for which he was ſo remarkable, as to be very unlikely to give any ſuch provocation, more eſpecially as his father, in common diſcourſe, often ſtiled the Earl of Eſſex *his martyr*, whence it is improbable the ſon ſhould take him for a traitor.

(4) Hiſtory of Great Britain, &c.

[*B*] *That ſhe ſet too little value.*] It appears from the judicial proceedings for diſſolving this marriage, that the Counteſs of Eſſex was about thirteen when ſhe contracted it (5): the Earl returned from his travels four years after; ſo that her love intrigues muſt have commenced very early: it is not however very eaſy to diſcover with whom ſhe had that familiarity which ſullied her reputation before the Earl's return. Mr. Wilſon tells us (6), 'that ſhe, growing to be a beauty 'of the greateſt magnitude in that horrizon, was an 'object fit for admirers, and every tongue grew an 'orator at that ſhrine. The Prince of Wales, now in 'his puberty, ſent many loving glances as Ambaſſadors 'of his good reſpects, and amorous expreſſions are fit 'ſubjects for jealous reproaches to work on.' What he adds ſoon after, in reference to Prince Henry's quitting her, and the cauſe of it, ſeems to have happened after the Earl of Eſſex came home. Read it in his own words: 'This Lady being taken with the growing 'fortunes of Robert Car Viſcount Rocheſter, and 'grounding more hope upon him than the uncertain 'and hopeleſs love of the Prince, ſhe caſt her anchor 'there, which the Prince ſoon diſcovered, and ſlighted 'her accordingly. For dancing one time among the 'ladies, and her glove falling down, it was taken up 'and preſented to him by one that thought he did him 'acceptable ſervice; but the Prince refuſed to receive 'it, ſaying publicly, he would not have it, it was 'ſtretched by another, meaning the Viſcount: this 'was an aggravation of hatred between the King's ſon 'and the King's friend.' Another writer of great diſtinction, who dealt very much in ſecret hiſtory, and who is believed to have been as well verſed in it as any man of his time, gives us a very plain and clear account of this, interwoven with greater matters, with which, as a curioſity, we will gratify our readers. Speaking of the Counteſs of Eſſex, he ſays (7), 'She 'was ſo delicate in her youth, as, notwithſtanding that 'ineſtimable Prince Henry's martial deſires, and initiation into the ways of godlineſs, ſhe being ſet on by 'the Earl of Northampton, her father's uncle, firſt 'caught his eye and heart, and afterwards proſtituted 'herſelf to him, who reaped the firſt fruits of her virginity. But thoſe ſparks of grace, which even then 'began to ſhew their luſtre in him, with thoſe more 'heroic innated qualities derived from virtue, which 'gave the law to his more adviſed actions, ſoon raiſed 'him out of the ſlumber of that diſtemper, and taught 'him to reject her following temptations with indignation and ſuperciliouſneſs. God beſt knows, whether 'that haſtened his end; moſt certain it is, that ſome 'months before his Highneſs's death, Viſcount Rocheſter's familiarity and her's took its firſt initiation 'by Mrs. Turner's procurement. The Scots have a 'conſtant report amongſt them, as I learned from one 'of them, that Sir Thomas Overbury, ſeeing divers 'croſſings and oppoſitions to happen between that 'peerleſs Prince and ſaid Rocheſter, by whoſe means 'only he expected to riſe; and fearing it would in the 'end be a means to ruin Rocheſter himſelf, did firſt 'give that damnable and fatal advice, of removing 'out of the way and world that royal youth by faſcination, and was himſelf afterwards in part an inſtrument for the effecting of it; and therefore, ſay 'they in Scotland, it happened by the juſt judgmeat 'of God afterwards, as a puniſhment upon him, that 'he himſelf died by poiſon.'

(7) Sir Simmonds Dewes, in his Hiſtory of his own life and times, a valuable MS. in the Harleian Library, fol. 47.

(5) So it is ſet forth in her libel, and the fact is admitted for truth in the Earl's Anſwer.

(6) Hiſtory of Great Britain, &c. p. 686.

effects

effects of that modesty which ought to have been her greatest ornament. While he was soliciting her consent to go down and live with him at his seat in Staffordshire, he was surprized with the small-pox, which were either of the most malignant kind, or were rendered so by the administration of drugs, which were the very reverse of Physick (*m*). However, the Earl's youth, temperance, and strong constitution, got the better of the disease, and the Earl of Suffolk compelled his daughter to comply with her husband's desires, and to go down with him to Chartley (*n*). There her head ran upon the Viscount Rochester, who was at once the King's favourite and her's; and, in hopes of becoming one day his wife, she entered into a variety of wicked practices against the health as well as honour of her Lord; and, at length, having overcome all sense of shame, she instituted a public suit against him, before Commissioners appointed for that purpose, in 1613 (*o*), which remains a blemish to our publick history [*C*]. In the latter end of the month of September sentence was pronounced by the major part of these Commissioners, that the marriage was null and void with respect to the parties, because of the frigidity alledged by the Countess, and acknowledged by the Earl to be in him with respect to her; from which, however, dissented Dr. Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. King, Bishop of London, Sir John Bennet, Francis James, and Thomas Edwards, Doctors of Laws (*p*). The Lady being thus at liberty from a husband she did not love, married with great pomp and splendour, before the close of the year, the man with whom she was so much enamoured; while the Earl of Essex, to whom the disgrace, from the thing itself, was doubled by the circumstances which attended it, endeavoured to hide himself in the country from the observance of the world, and the reproach to which he was exposed from the bad conduct of an unhappy woman, born to be undone by that beauty for which she was so much admired (*q*). His own venerable castle of Chartley in Staffordshire, which descended to him from the antient family of Ferrers, was commonly the place of the Earl's residence, where he lived with great magnificence, in a friendly correspondence with all the Gentlemen of the country round about, and, in process of time, with as general affection and respect from all ranks and degrees of people as he could possibly desire. Sometimes he made a tour to Drayton, where his grandmother the Countess of Leicester resided, and sometimes he visited his brother-in-law the Earl of Hertford in Wiltshire (*r*). Manly sports, such as hunting, shooting, and riding long journies, made a great part of his summer recreations. In the winter, good cheer, feasting, with masks and plays, composed commonly by Arthur Wilson, who was his Groom of the Chambers, served to mitigate my Lord's melancholy, and to give the Country Gentlemen content (*s*). In this manner he passed near seven years, and then, in the spring of 1620, the war being hot in the Palatinate, his Lordship, at the request of his friend Henry Earl of Oxford, resolved to go thither, under the command of Sir Horatio Vere, an old soldier, and one of great reputation (*t*). The two Earls proposed to raise each a regiment, but carried over companies only for the present; composed however, for the most part, of Gentlemen, who went rather to acquire knowledge in the art of war, than to obtain either pay or preferment in that service (*u*) [*D*]. Though the fatigues and disappointments they met with, in

(*m*) Historical Narration, &c. cap. vii.

(*n*) Wilson's Hist. of Great Britain, &c. p. 687.

(*o*) See Archbishop Abbot's Memorial, in relation to the case between the Earl and Countess.

(*p*) Cases of Impotency and Divorce, Vol. III. p. 159.

(*q*) Wilson's Hist. of Great Britain, &c. p. 693.

(*r*) Arthur Wilson's Account of his own Life, printed in the first Vol. of Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, cap. iv.

(*s*) Codrington's Life of Robert Earl of Essex.

(*t*) Winstanley's English Worthies, p. 351.

(*u*) Wilson's Account of his own life, cap. v.

[*C*] *Which remains a blemish to our public History.*] It was without doubt a great weakness in King James to give that countenance which he did to this wicked affair; but he was at that time so much addicted to his favourite, afterwards Earl of Somerset, that he was willing to contribute in any manner whatever to his satisfaction (8). It is however highly probable, his Majesty was persuaded that the Earl of Essex gave his consent to it: neither was this altogether void of truth, for the Earl, tired with his wife's humours, displeased with the world's talk, and desirous to be restored to his former free and happy state of life, was willing enough, upon the persuasion of the Earl and Countess of Suffolk, to part with his Lady; supposing, at that time, it might be done without loss of reputation (9). A commission having passed the Great Seal in the summer of the year 1613, the libel was filed in the month of June, and the Earl put in his answer on the 5th of July. The Archbishop of Canterbury was very much disturbed at this, being equally displeased, that, by collusion between the parties, the bond of matrimony should be dissolved, or that the new distinction which the King so much approved, that my Lord was *impotens in genere versus hanc*, should take place, the sad effects of which, with respect to the reputation of the Commissioners, and the ill consequences that must attend so bad a precedent in the face of the world, he clearly foresaw. Upon this he desired to examine the Earl of Essex more particularly; which was refused, because the Earl, hearing the outcry this matter made, and how much it touched his own character, had altered his sentiments (10). This forced the Commissioners to go on in another way, and to trust entirely to the evidence of the Lady, supported by corroborating circumstances of a very strange, or rather of a very shameful nature. At last, September 25, the sentence of nullity was pronounced, and December 26 the Lady was married again to the Earl of Somerset in the King's Chapel, the foreign Ministers invited to the marriage, and the Archbishop of Canterbury in a manner compelled to honour it with his presence (11). To add to the Earl of Essex's perplexity, he was called upon to pay back his wife's fortune, which did not agree at all with his circumstances, whose quality obliged him to live at the very extent of his income. That he might answer this demand he was compelled to cut down his fine woods at Adderston; nor would this have done, if his grandmother, the Countess of Leicester, had not supplied him with a considerable sum of money, to prevent his selling a part of his estate (12). We need not wonder therefore, that the Earl of Essex was not over-fond of the Court, or that King James, after busying himself so much in this matter, should not be well-pleased with the sight of a man, who, in so tender a point, had been so grossly injured.

(8) See the Article of COKE, (Sir EDWARD).

(9) This appears from Archbishop Abbot's Memorial.

(10) See the Proceedings at large in this cause.

(11) As appears from his second Memorial.

(12) Historical Narration of the first fourteen years of King James.

[*D*] *Than to obtain either pay or preferment in that service.*] It is said by more writers than one, that the Earl of Essex went abroad to learn the art of discipline and arms, that he might be the more capable of doing service to his country. It is much more probable, that the accompanying the Earl of Oxford, and the diverting his own melancholy thoughts, were at this

in their first martial adventure might have discouraged them from proceeding, yet these Lords went over again into Holland in 1621, and, in quality of volunteers, put themselves under the direction of Prince Maurice of Nassau, and, by their behaviour, merited the general applause of the whole army (*w*). They returned in the winter to England, where they both steered the same course, in giving some opposition to the designs of the Court in Parliament, where, though the Earl of Essex was never eloquent, yet he spoke very pertinently, and was very well heard. Into the royal presence he came but seldom, perceiving that he was not very agreeable to the King; which was attributed to the roughness of his deportment, and his affecting the manner and garb of a soldier (*x*). An accidental affair induced King James to publish more of his mind in this respect than he intended, or indeed than it was any way fit he should. The case was this: the Nobility of England in general were much displeased with this Monarch's profusion of honours, so contrary to the practice of his predecessor, and which, they apprehended, lessened the dignity of the Peerage (*y*). Yet what troubled them most was, the vanity of some Gentlemen of large estates, who, by mere dint of money, procured to themselves either Scotch or Irish titles of Viscounts and Earls, in right of which they pretended to take place of English Barons. To remedy this grievance a petition was drawn up, and presented to the King, in which the matter was strongly but succinctly stated; which petition was subscribed by thirty-three of the Nobility, amongst whose names the Earl of Essex makes the third. King James was highly displeased with this application, and, as if he had considered it as flowing entirely from the Earl of Essex, discharged upon him the greatest part of his resentment, making use, as we are told, amongst others, of this expression, *I fear thee not Essex, if thou wast as well beloved as thy father, and had forty thousand men at thy heels* (*z*). This sour treatment at Court gave the Earl so much a greater relish for his military expeditions abroad, which, with no other reward than the increase of his reputation, he followed the two next summers; and, in 1624, when the States of the United Provinces were allowed to raise four regiments, consisting of six thousand men in England, he commanded a third, and the Lord Willoughby the fourth, which is the more remarkable, as these two noble Peers were afterwards at the head of opposite armies in our unfortunate Civil War; the Lord Willoughby, by title of Earl of Lindsey, having the command of the King's army, as the Earl of Essex had of that of the Parliament (*a*). This expedition was none of the most fortunate, and a great sickness breaking out in the army carried off the Earl of Southampton and his son, and the Earl of Oxford, who died before Breda (*b*). In 1625 a grand supply was sent from England; but, by some ill management, the forces were kept so long on board the transports, that an

(*w*) Codrington's Life of Robert Earl of Essex.

(*x*) Wilson's Hist. of Great Britain, &c. p. 736.

(*y*) Annals of the Reign of King James.

(*z*) Wilson's Hist. of Great Britain, &c. p. 747.

(*a*) Wilson's Account of his own Life, cap. iii.

(*b*) Dugd. Bar. Vol. I. p. 200.

time his principal motives, rather than any foresight he could then have of what afterwards fell out. His company was to have consisted of two hundred and fifty men; but such was his interest, and the general affection borne him, that when he came to muster his company in Holland, it consisted of full three hundred, so that the pay of fifty men came out of his own pocket (*t3*). The Marquis of Spinola, with the Austrian army under his command, being in full march for the Palatinate, Prince Henry of Nassau, with a small body of troops, of which the English made a part, undertook to follow him, and to join that army which the Princes of the Union had raised for the defence of that electorate, which his Highness accordingly performed with great address. In this march the inhabitants of the town of Coblentz, very unexpectedly, and without any reason given, fired upon the English from their ramparts, when a cannon ball passed between General Vere and the Earl of Essex, who were talking together, and wounded one Mr. Flood, who stood behind them (*t4*). After they had with much difficulty joined the army of the Princes, who, by that junction, became superior in force to Spinola, the war was carried on in a very dilatory manner, till the season of the year rendered it impracticable to keep the field any longer; and then the English forces being put into garrison in the Palatinate, the Earl returned home through France, where he met with a very odd adventure, of which Mr. Wilson, his Historian, gives us the following account (*t5*): 'We had,' says he, 'from Frankendale, 'a convoy of a hundred horse, which brought us into 'Lorrain. From Mentz we travelled by ourselves 'into France, and came to Compeigne in Champagne, 'where my Lord sent away most of his train the strait 'way to Bologne, and himself, with some few of us, 'took post, though he went three miles out of the 'way to come to the post-road. The next stage was 'Gourney; where the knavish Post-Master seeing us 'likely to be good guests, to keep us there all night, 'delayed, or rather, indeed, refused us horses, pretending he could not furnish them till morning. Which 'being contrary to my Lord's intention, for he took 'the post-road to make more haste, not to hinder him, 'he was much troubled. And as we were wrangling 'for this coarse entertainment with our host, my 'Lord's horses (the Gentlemen and Grooms who went 'with them mistaking the way) came by. Which seen, 'his Lordship with joy presently mounted his own 'horses, to go the next stage. The inn-keeper, deceived of his prey, fell into raging and railing, 'which my Lord not brooking, ran after him with a 'cudgel (for his words were very provoking) to give 'him a parting blow. The inn-keeper's activity carried him to a garret, where, thrusting his head out 'at a window, he cried, *Murder! Murder!* with a 'fury, not thinking there were three stories betwixt 'him and his danger. It seems it was enough; for 'before we got twelve score yards in the street, we 'found ourselves barricadoed with carts, and encircled 'with five hundred people, men, women, and children, with pitchforks, swords, and guns, smiths with 'iron bars, and every one with that came next to hand 'beset us. We had each a case of pistols, and closely 'stood upon our guard. The confusion and noise was 'great; no man knew for what. But we were very 'sensible of some knocks from a little hill above us, 'by Friers, who had filled their laps with stones, and 'kindly distributed them among us. Above half an 'hour we stood in this condition, staring on one another (no man but the virtuous Friers offering us injury), expecting what they had to lay to our charge. 'At last a gentleman came to us who was a lieutenant 'of horse, wishing us to put up our swords and pistols 'if we loved our safety. For if we had done any mischief it was impossible to escape; if we had done 'none, we should receive none. So he went from us 'to examine the business; and in a quarter of an hour 'returned, pacified the people, and opened the way 'to us. My Lord commanded me to give him two 'English pieces; but he refused them.'

(*t3*) History of Great Britain, &c.

(*t4*) Idem, ibid.

(*t5*) Arthur Wilson's Account of his own life, cap. iv.

epidemick

epidemick diſtemper broke out amongſt them, which differed very little from the plague, and carried off the greateſt part (*c*). Upon the death of King James, and a Parliament being ſummoned to meet at Oxford, the Earl of Eſſex came over in the ſummer, and found the plague raging at home, and with no leſs violence at Oxford than at London (*d*). That Parliament breaking up abruptly, his Lordſhip went from Oxford to his brother the Earl of Hertford's houſe in Wiltſhire, where he remained for ſome time. Out of this retirement he was drawn by an order from the King to repair to Court, with intention to employ his Lordſhip in an expedition againſt Spain; to which he was eaſily perſuaded, as having an inclination to carry ſtill higher that reputation which, under his noble father's happy command, the Engliſh had attained at Cadiz (*e*). He was not, however, ſo fortunate, and, indeed, there hardly ever was an attempt made by the Engliſh that did leſs credit either to their courage and conduct, than this naval enterprize, which, as it was badly contrived, was ſtill worſe executed [*E*]. At his return he waited upon the King, and gave him a ſhort account of the diſappointments they had met with, and of the cauſes of thoſe diſappointments; after which he did not remain long at Court, where he was, in ſome meaſure, out of his element, but returned to his old ſeat in Staffordſhire, where, for a few weeks, his friends and his books took up all his time (*f*). In the ſummer of 1626 he returned again to his command in the Low Countries, and marched with the reſt of the army into the Duchy of Cleves, where, that year, they had no great ſucceſs; and yet the Engliſh forces abroad were ſo miſerably harraſſed with fatiguing marches, and dangerous diſeaſes, flowing from an unwholeſome climate, that it was thought expedient to embody all the four regiments in one corps, under the command of General Morgan, and to march that into the country of Bremen; upon which the Earl of Eſſex, conceiving it not for his honour to remain abroad, thought fit to return home (*g*). He arrived in England at a time when it might have been expected that his martial genius, and military experience, would have recommended him to ſome conſiderable command, great preparations being made, at that juncture, for an expedition in ſupport of the French Proteſtants. There is no doubt of the Earl's affection for that cauſe, or of his willingneſs to hazard his life upon ſuch an occaſion: but, as the Duke of Buckingham had formed a reſolution to command in chief, we need not wonder that the Earl of Eſſex, who valued himſelf not a little on the antiquity of his family, declined ſerving under him, and, to avoid all invitations, retired, as uſual, to his ſeat at Chartley (*h*). He came up, however, the next year, to attend his duty in Parliament, where things ran very high; and ſuch as had no good will to the great favourite, puſhed him, with much violence, to the great diſpleaſure of his Royal Maſter, and by impeding the publick ſervice to the no ſmall detriment of the nation (*i*). We find the Earl of Eſſex again at Chartley in the ſummer following, when, upon the murder of the Duke of Buckingham, he diſpatched Mr. Wilſon, now become his Secretary, to Portſmouth, who performed his journey, of nearly three hundred miles, in three days, which argues that he went upon ſome buſineſs of conſequence, but of what nature is to us entirely unknown (*k*). The winter of that year the Earl ſpent at the houſe of his brother the Earl of Hertford, at Netley in Wiltſhire, which wrought a notable change in his circumſtances. There happened to be with his ſiſter the Counteſs of Hertford, as a viſitor, one Mrs. Elizabeth Paulet, a very beautiful young Lady, daughter to Sir William Paulet, of Eddington in the ſame county, who was a natural ſon of the Marquis of Wincheſter's (*l*). With this Lady the Earl was ſo much taken, that ſhe was preſſed to ſtay the Chriſtmas holidays; and, notwithſtanding the misfortunes he had met with from his firſt unlucky marriage, the Earl concluded this with ſome precipitation, marrying his ſecond Lady in the ſpring of the year following (*m*). It was in conſequence of this marriage, and the diſlike which the new Counteſs had to him, that the Earl was forced to part with Mr. Arthur Wilſon, in whom he had re-

(*c*) Wilſon's Account of his own Life, cap. vii.

(*d*) Annals of the Reign of Charles I.

(*e*) Wilſon's Account of his own Life, cap. viii.

(*f*) Winſtanley's England's Worthies, p. 352.

(*g*) Wilſon's Account of his own Life, cap. viii.

(*h*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 9.

(*i*) See Frankland's Annals, Ruſhworth's Collections, and the Compleat Hiſt. of England.

(*k*) Wilſon's Account of his own Life, cap. viii.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 92.

(*m*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 15.

[*E*] *Which, as it was badly contrived, was ſtill worſe executed.*] It was a very unlucky omen, at the very beginning of a new reign, to undertake ſo ſtrange an expedition as this was, of which none who were competent judges had any hopes at all. The reaſon aſſigned for it was, the ill uſage received from Spain, in the negotiation for the Prince's marriage, and in the buſineſs of the Palatinate; but the truth was believed to be, that it was to gratify the Duke of Buckingham's reſentment againſt the Condé Olivarez, and to raiſe his reputation with the people; for at firſt it was intended that he ſhould have commanded the fleet (16): afterwards Sir Edward Cecil was choſen for that command, and for that purpoſe created Viſcount Wimbledon. The Earl of Eſſex and he were great friends: and therefore the King ſent for the Earl, and prevailed upon him to go the voyage in quality of Vice-Admiral (17). The fleet and tranſports conſiſted of about one hundred and twenty ſail, having about ſixteen thouſand ſeamen and ſoldiers on board. They ſailed, the Admiral from Plymouth, and the Earl of Eſſex with his ſquadron from Falmouth, on the 8th of October, 1625, and, after ſome hard weather, which they had reaſon to expect at that ſeaſon of the year, arrived upon the coaſt of Spain, where they performed very little. The Earl of Eſſex, indeed, took a fort, that gave the ſoldiers an opportunity of drinking freely of Spaniſh wines, and this threw them into fevers and fluxes. The Commander in Chief ſhewed himſelf every way unfit for ſuch a charge. He was continually conſulting, giving orders, and iſſuing inſtructions, which the ſeamen never minded; ſo that after much time, and many men loſt, he thought fit to return a few days before the arrival of the Plate Fleet, and came back to England at the very cloſe of the year (18). This untoward buſineſs did not fix the leaſt imputation upon the Earl, who did what little there was done, but was not able to engage the General to act with that ſpirit neceſſary to preſerve diſcipline, and render an army victorious.

(16) See Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, in Churchill's Collection of Voyages.

(17) Arthur Wilſon's Account of his own Life, chap. vii.

(18) See Ruſhworth, Frankland, &c.

posed the greateſt truſt and confidence (*n*). This ſhews that the Earl was far from being a moroſe huſband; and yet, in a ſhort time, there grew ſome ſuſpicions of this Lady's behaviour; notwithſtanding which the Earl owned a child of which ſhe was brought to bed, and cauſed it to be baptized by his own name Robert, which ſon of his lived to be about five years old (*o*). But the Earl was divorced from his Lady in about two years, on account of her familiarity with one Mr. Uvedale; and, from this time, his Lordſhip ſeems to have laid aſide all thoughts of the Ladies, and to have addicted himſelf entirely to cares of another nature (*p*). His temper differed, in many things, from that of his father, whom, notwithſtanding, he endeavoured to imitate in others, more eſpecially in courting the favour of the people, careſſing the Miniſters that were looked upon as puritannically affected, profeſſing an extraordinary friendſhip for military men, and being likewiſe a kind patron to the Poets; methods that, in thoſe ſtirring and tumultuous times, raiſed him a great character, and enabled him to become an inſtrument either of much good, or of much hurt, to the publick (*q*). There is no notice taken in any of our Hiſtories, publick or private, of this Nobleman's going to Ireland, ſo that we are abſolutely ſtrangers to the motives upon which he undertook that voyage; but that he actually went thither in 1632, and was extremely well received by the Lord-Deputy Wentworth, afterwards the famous Earl of Strafford, is very certain, as well as that this produced very ſtrong profeſſions of friendſhip on both ſides (*r*). The Noble Hiſtorian tells us, that this was afterwards changed into an oppoſite diſpoſition, from the conduct of the Earl of Strafford, in reſpect to the Clanrickard family, for which he informs us, that the Earl of Eſſex had a great regard (*s*); as, indeed, he very well might, ſince the Earl of St. Alban's and Clanrickard married his mother (*t*). He paſſed his days after his uſual manner, either at his own ſeat, or thoſe of his friends, and, as occaſion required, at his houſe in London, till the publick ſervice called him again into the view of the world, which was in the year 1635, when King Charles reſolved to vindicate his ſovereignty of the ſeas againſt the French and Dutch, who had formed a deſign of invading it (*u*). It was with this view that the King equipped a ſtout fleet, under the command of the Earl of Lindſey, to anſwer the purpoſes before mentioned: and at the ſame time, a ſmaller ſquadron of twenty ſail put to ſea for the guard of the coaſts, and protection of the trade of England, which, with the title of Vice-Admiral, was commanded by the Earl of Eſſex; and both fleets had all the ſucceſs that could be deſired; for, though the French and Dutch joined their naval forces, they were able to do nothing; and, towards the cloſe of the year, the States ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to compliment the King upon the birth of the Princeſs Elizabeth, which, as a judicious writer obſerves, was a teſtimony of reſpect, flowing purely from this diſplay of his Majeſty's power at ſea (*w*). In 1639 the foreign enemies of the King and kingdom having artfully wrought upon the temper of the Scots, and excited them to rebellion, the King found himſelf under a neceſſity of employing force to reduce them, and, having raiſed a noble army, appointed the Earl of Arundel General, the Earl of Eſſex Lieutenant-General, and the Earl of Holland General of the Horſe (*x*). Eſſex, with a part of the army, had orders to advance to Berwick, and, in his march thither, he met with ſeveral Scotch Noblemen, who pretending to be well affected to the King, informed him of the great ſtrength of their countrymen, of their march towards England, and of the great hazard he muſt run by approaching them with ſo inconſiderable a force. The Earl heard them, quickened his march, took poſſeſſion of Berwick, found the Scots had, in reality, hardly any forces, and, if the King had ſent him proper orders, would have marched on to Edinburgh, and reduced that people to their duty (*y*). The Scots, upon the approach of the King's army, addreſſed themſelves to the King's Generals, and eſpecially to the Earl of Eſſex, with great humility. The other two received their applications kindly enough; but Eſſex behaved with becoming dignity, ſent their letters to the King, and, when his Majeſty was prevailed upon to liſten to an accommodation, refuſed to have any concern in it, or ſo much as to receive the viſits of the Scots Commiſſioners till the pacification was ſigned (*z*). When there was no farther occaſion for his ſervice he was diſmiſſed, rather with coldneſs than civility, which could not but diſguſt a man of his high ſpirit (*a*). In 1640 the Earl of Eſſex both received and returned mortifications; for the Scots broke through all they had promiſed, and raiſed a powerful army, which obliged the King to have, once more, recourſe to a regular force, with which he marched northwards; but, in this expedition, the Earl of Eſſex had no command (*b*). Upon the death of the Lord Aſton, who was Warden of Needwood Foreſt, cloſe by the Earl of Eſſex's houſe at Chartley, his Lordſhip aſked it as a favour to ſucceed him; and was refuſed in ſuch a manner, that he could not avoid taking it for an affront (*c*). On the 28th of Auguſt he ſigned a petition to the King, with eleven other Peers, to terminate theſe diſputes without blood, and for the ſpeedy calling of a Parliament (*d*). On Michaelmas-day following the King appointed him one of the Commiſſioners for treating with the Scots at Rippon; and when the Long Parliament was begun, which obliged the King to think of popular meaſures, the Earl of Eſſex, together with ſeveral other Noblemen, was ſworn of the Privy-Council on the third of February (*e*). At this time the Noble Hiſtorian is very clear, that, whatever diſtaſtes his Lordſhip might have conceived againſt certain men, or certain meaſures, he was perfectly well affected to the Conſtitution,

(*n*) Wilſon's Account of his own Life, cap. ix.

(*o*) Winſtanley's Eng. Worthies, p. 352.

(*p*) Wilſon's Account of his own Life, cap. ix. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 93.

(*q*) Codrington's Life of Robert Earl of Eſſex. Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, &c. p. 736.

(*r*) Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 205. 232.

(*s*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 50.

(*t*) Dugd. Bar. Vol. II. p. 450.

(*u*) Frankland's Annals, Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts.

(*w*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 23, 24.

(*x*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 38.

(*y*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 30. Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 39.

(*z*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 130. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 40, 41.

(*a*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 130. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 42.

(*b*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 35.

(*c*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 48.

(*d*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 36.

(*e*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 52. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 37.

as well in Church as in State (*f*) [*F*]. In the month of May 1641, the Earl of Eſſex was made Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houſhold, upon the removal of the Earl of Pembroke; which was not well received by the angry men in the Houſe of Commons, who fancied that the Earl of Pembroke had loſt the King's favour by his inclination to them (*g*). At this ſeaſon ſome of the wiſeſt perſons about his Majeſty would have perſuaded him to have declared Eſſex General of his army, as the moſt effectual means of preſerving it; with which advice, however, he would not comply. On the other hand, thoſe who were for driving things to extremities, and had framed a bill for taking the militia from the King, propoſed to give the command of all the forces by land to the Earl of Eſſex, and to devolve the power at ſea upon the Earl of Northumberland, with a view, in all probability, to gain over thoſe two great Peers entirely to their intereſts (*h*). When his Majeſty had taken a reſolution of making a journey into Scotland, and found it neceſſary to appoint a ſingle perſon to have the chief command in the ſouthern parts of the kingdom during his abſence, he, in the beginning of Auguſt, ſigned a commiſſion, appointing the Earl of Eſſex Lieutenant-General of all his forces on this ſide Trent, with a power of increaſing their number if it ſhould be found neceſſary (*i*). This mark of royal confidence could not be greater than that which was afterwards beſtowed upon him, in a very unuſual manner, by the Houſe of Lords; for, having taken a reſolution to adjourn themſelves for a certain time, they, by an order, dated September 9th, appointed a Standing Committee, of which the Earl of Eſſex was Chairman (*k*). On the King's return from Scotland things began to run more and more into confuſion, the populace aſſuming a moſt unbounded liberty, and coming in ſuch a tumultuous manner to Whitehall and Weſtminſter, as created no ſmall apprehenſion, both to the King and to the Parliament. In order to remove this, the Houſe of Commons, on the third of January, petitioned his Majeſty for a guard out of the city, under the command of his Lord Chamberlain the Earl of Eſſex, of whoſe fidelity to the King and Commonwealth, they ſaid, no queſtion was ever made (*l*). This his Majeſty thought fit to decline, and the very next day, being the 4th of the ſame month, he went in perſon to the Houſe of Commons, and demanded the five members (*m*). Upon the diſturbances which followed, his Majeſty thought proper to retire from his Capital, and requiring, upon that occaſion, his Houſehold ſervants to attend him, the Earls of Eſſex and Holland pleaded their obligation (*n*) to aſſiſt in the deliberations of the Houſe of Peers; upon which they were removed from their reſpective employments. We are told by the Noble Hiſtorian, that this was entirely the work of the Earl of Holland, who, when he found Eſſex reſolved and prepared to go, aſſured him they ſhould be both murdered at Hampton-Court, which engaged him to go with that Earl into the city; and this was ſo reported to the King as to induce him to treat both with the ſame ſeverity; which was not only a little imprudent, but proved, as the wiſeſt men in thoſe times thought, extremely fatal (*o*) [*G*]. By degrees, and with the mixture

(*f*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 77.

(*g*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 46.

(*h*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 90, 91.

(*i*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 47.

(*k*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 96.

(*l*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. II. p. 20.

(*m*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 52.

(*n*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. II. p. 41.

(*o*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 156.

[*F*] *He was perfectly well affected to the Conſtitution as well in Church as in State.*] It is certainly a thing difficult enough to come at the true characters of the principal perſons on both ſides in this unhappy war; yet with reſpect to the Earl of Eſſex it is generally agreed, that he was a Nobleman of very upright intentions. Sir Philip Warwick (19), who ſpeaks the leaſt favourably of him, allows, that he was no ill ſoldier, and valued much among the men of that profeſſion: he ſays he was a man much diſobliged at Court, and of ſuch a natural confuſed ſpirit, that he was not able to diſcern the ill conſequences of his indifference towards the Crown; but at the ſame time he confeſſes, the Court was not artificial enough to make that right uſe of him, which his intereſt amongſt the ſoldiers, and his blunt, plain Engliſh nature, might have been formed into, by a ſeeming confidence. The Noble Hiſtorian tells us plainly, he had no ambition of title, or office, or preferment, but only to be kindly looked upon, and kindly ſpoken to, and quietly to enjoy his own fortune; and without doubt no man in his nature more abhorred rebellion than he did; nor could he have been drawn into it by any open and tranſparent temptation, but by a thouſand diſguiſes and couzenages. His pride ſupplied his want of ambition, and he was angry to ſee any other man more reſpected than himſelf, becauſe he thought he deſerved it more, and did better require it. For he was in his friendſhips juſt and conſtant, and would not have practiſed foully even againſt thoſe that he took to be his enemies. No man had credit enough with him to corrupt him in point of loyalty to the King, while he thought himſelf wiſe enough to know what reaſon was. But the new notions were too hard for him, and intoxicated his underſtanding, ſo that he quitted his own to follow theirs, who, as he thought, wiſhed as well, and judged better than himſelf. He adds, that when he accepted the commiſſion to be General, he did it with a view of being the preſerver, and not the deſtroyer, of the King and kingdom (20). We have this character fully confirmed by Denzil Lord Holles, who could not but be well acquainted with this Nobleman's real intentions, and was too honeſt to miſrepreſent them (21). The kindneſs he ſhewed to ſuch of the clergy as fell under the diſpleaſure of the Biſhops, was owing to the compaſſion of his nature, and the ſincerity of his zeal for the eſſentials of religion, as the Earl of Clarendon tells us (22), with great candour. 'The Earl of Eſſex,' ſays he, 'was rather diſpleaſed with the perſon 'of the Archbiſhop, and ſome other Biſhops, than in'devoted to the function; and towards ſome of them 'he had great reverence and kindneſs, as Biſhop 'Moreton, Biſhop Hall, and ſome other of the leſs 'formal and more popular Prelates; and he was as 'much devoted as any man to the Book of Common 'Prayer, and obliged all his ſervants to be conſtantly 'preſent with him at it, his houſhold Chaplain being 'always a moſt conformable man, and a good ſcho'lar.'

(19) Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I. p. 130.

(20) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 305.

(21) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles, p. 9. 21. 23, 24. 30.

(22) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 77.

[*G*] *Extremely fatal.*] It is very certain, that, as the Earl of Eſſex was coldly treated at Court, ſo he was never taken into the counſels or confidence of thoſe of the other party, who reſolved to hide from him as much as poſſible their real intentions, and to let him ſee nothing but fair pretences, that might induce him to become their inſtrument (23). The truth of this appears by the meſſages he carried from the King to the Houſe of Peers; and ſtill more from his behaviour upon the King's coming to the Houſe of Commons, and demanding the five members; for he inſtantly moved the Houſe of Lords to intercede on their behalf, ſuppoſing them to be in real danger, and that the King's reſentment would have been fatal to them; at which thoſe in the ſecret ſmiled, knowing well, that thoſe members were to the full as ſecure as the King himſelf (24). It is, indeed, ſtrange that he altered his reſolution upon any thing told him by the Earl of Holland, becauſe he was a man of whom he had formerly

(23) Echard's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 538.

(24) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 117.

mixture of a great deal of art, the Earl of Eſſex was wrought upon to accept the honour, or, rather, to ſuſtain the burthen that was intended to be impoſed upon him; and, about the middle of July 1642, he was declared General of the army raiſed for the ſafety of the King's perſon, and defence of both Houſes of Parliament (*p*), and complimented with their votes of living and dying with him. It is believed, that the Earl accepted this office in hopes that it would have produced a ſpeedy end of theſe troubles; but he was quickly undeceived in that point, by finding, that the King had an army about him, and ſo much reſented his Lordſhip's behaviour, that he had cauſed him to be proclaimed a traitor, and refuſed to accept an application for peace, becauſe it came from his hands (*q*). On the 9th of September following the Earl of Eſſex marched out of London in great pomp and ſplendour, attended by both Houſes of Parliament, to the rendezvous of the army, which was appointed to be at Northampton, where about fifteen thouſand men were aſſembled, and there his ſtandard, which was orange colour, was firſt diſplayed againſt the King (*r*). He marched from thence to Worceſter, his Majeſty being then at Shrewſbury, where having recruited his army, and finding himſelf leſs at a loſs for men than for the means of ſubſiſting them, he began his march directly towards London (*s*), Octob. 14th. The Earl of Eſſex followed his Majeſty from Worceſter; but the King, being leſs incumbered with baggage, gained ground, and might, poſſibly, have accompliſhed what he had in view, if his Majeſty, diſdaining to be purſued, had not turned back, and, on Sunday, October 23d, engaged the army of the Parliament, under the Earl of Eſſex, between Keinton and Edgehill in Warwickſhire, where both ſides claimed the victory, though neither had any great reaſon [*H*]. He retired after this diſpute with his forces to War-

(*p*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. II. p. 97.

(*q*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 61.

(*r*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 16.

(*s*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 249.

formerly no good opinion. But, as the Earl of Clarendon juſtly obſerves, it was much ſtranger that the Court ſhould make no difference in the puniſhment of their offences, where there was ſo wide a difference between the perſons. The Earl of Holland held all that he had by the favour and from the bounty of the Crown, which had raiſed him to what he was (25); whereas the Earl of Eſſex had received great diſobligations, and even in reſpect to his office of Lord Chamberlain, was allowed to have done full as much favour to the Court in accepting his white ſtaff, as was expreſſed by conferring it on him. Yet there is ſomething very extraordinary, and at the ſame time nothing improbable, in what the Noble Hiſtorian ſuggeſts, that the taking from him that white ſtaff, trivial as the circumſtance ſeems, was the true ſource of the Civil War. He reaſons thus (26): if the King had excuſed the attendance of the Earl of Eſſex, had ſignified to him ſo much, and continued him in his employment, he would never have accepted the commiſſion to be General of the Parliament's army, from the punctuality of his temper, and the conſideration of his being immediately in the King's ſervice. If he would not have accepted that commiſſion, there could have been no army, for it was chiefly his reputation that raiſed it, in which alſo Whitlocke agrees (27); and if no army could have been raiſed, an agreement muſt have been made, which would have prevented all the misfortunes, miſchiefs, and miſeries, that afterwards enſued.

(25) See the character of the Earl of Holland in Clarendon and Sir P. Warwick.

(26) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 156.

(27) This we find alſo handſomely expreſſed in May's Hiſt. of the Parliament.

[*H*] *Though neither had any great reaſon.*] Whoever looks for truth in Hiſtory, will find it difficult enough to be met with in moſt caſes, but in none more viſibly than in the accounts given us of battles, where, generally ſpeaking, they rather diſcover the inclinations of the writer than the real ſtate of facts, which are alſo very difficult to be got at. In point of numbers the armies were not very unequal: that of the Earl of Eſſex would have been ſuperior in this reſpect to the King's, if all his forces had been with him; but ſome of his beſt regiments did not come up till the battle was in a manner over. On the other hand, if the King's army that engaged was actually more numerous, it was much worſe armed. A great part of it conſiſted of Welſhmen, who had nothing but pitchforks and cudgels; but they came to their buſineſs with a good-will, and as they charged with the firſt, ſo ſuch as returned from that field picked up arms ſufficient to make a better appearance when they were next called to action. It is certain that the King was the aggreſſor in this battle, from a point of honour, that he would not be purſued, or rather, becauſe he accounted it a dangerous thing to continue his march to London with ſuch a force in his rear. In reference to the perſonal behaviour of the Earl of Eſſex, what follows is the moſt juſt and the moſt particular of any that I have met with (28). 'The Earl of Lindſey, with a pike in his 'hand, led on the main body of the army, in which 'was the King's own regiment, encountered by the 'Lord General Eſſex, who expoſed himſelf to all the 'danger that a battle could make, firſt leading on his 'troop, then his own regiment of foot, and breathing 'courage into them, till, being diſſuaded by divers 'from engaging himſelf too far, he returned to the 'reſt of the army to draw them on. The chief regi'ments having begun the battle, Sir Philip Staple'ton, with a brave troop of gentlemen (which were 'the General's life-guard, and commanded by him), 'charged the King's regiment on their right flank 'within their pikes, and came off without any great 'hurt, though thoſe pikemen ſtoutly defended them'ſelves; and the muſqueteers, being good firemen, 'played fiercely upon them. The battle was hot at 'that place, and ſo many of the King's ſide ſlain, that 'the Parliament army began to be victorious there: 'they took the ſtandard-royal, the bearer, Sir Edward 'Varney, being ſlain; and the General, the Earl of 'Lindſey, ſore wounded, was taken priſoner. But 'the ſame fortune was not in every part, for the 'King's right wing, led by Prince Rupert, charged 'fiercely upon the left wing of the other (conſiſting 'moſtly of horſe), and prevailed altogether, for the 'Parliament troops ran almoſt all away in that wing, 'and many of their foot companies, diſmayed with 'their flight, fled all away before they had ſtood one 'charge. Colonel Eſſex being utterly forſaken by that 'whole brigade which he commanded, went himſelf 'into the van, where he performed excellent ſervice, 'both by direction and execution, till, at the laſt, he 'was ſhot in the thigh, of which he ſhortly after died. 'Some part of their diſheartening was cauſed by the 'revolt of their own ſide; for Sir Faithful Forteſcue, 'at the beginning of the fight, inſtead of charging the 'enemy, diſcharged his piſtol on the ground, and 'with his troop wheeling about, ran to the King's 'army, to whom he had formerly given notice thereof 'by his Cornet. The Parliament army had undoubt'edly been ruined that day, and an abſolute victory 'gained on the King's ſide, if Prince Rupert and his 'purſuing troops had been more temperate in plun'dering ſo untimely as they did, and had wheeled 'about to aſſiſt their diſtreſſed friends in other parts of 'the army; for Prince Rupert followed the chaſe to 'Keynton town, where the carriages of the army were, 'which they preſently pillaged, uſing great cruelty, 'as was afterwards related, to the unarmed waggon'ers and labouring men. A great number of the fly'ing Parliament-ſoldiers were ſlain in that chaſe, which 'laſted two miles beyond Keynton, and ſo far till the 'purſuers were forced to retire, having met with Co'lonel Hampden, who marched with the other bri'gade

(28) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, B. III. p. 18, 19.

Warwick, and from thence returned, in obedience to the preſſing ſolicitations of the Parliament, with as much diligence as it was poſſible, to London, where he was received with all the reſpect and veneration poſſible. On the 7th of November he had the thanks of the Houſes given him in a very ſolemn reſolution, and a preſent beſides of five thouſand pounds (*t*). Theſe ceremonies were diſturbed by the approach of the King's army, which, having taken Reading, continued their march directly to London, Prince Rupert making himſelf maſter of Brentford. The Lord-General Eſſex went immediately to Turnham Green, where he aſſembled his forces, which were greatly augmented by the timely arrival of the city trained-bands under the Earl of Warwick, who gave up his command as ſoon as he came to the army, which faced the King's troops all day, but ſuffered them, at length, to retire, without fighting (*u*). This was a tranſaction attended with much wonder on both ſides. The Noble Hiſtorian ſays, that the Earl of Eſſex made the right uſe of the ſuperiority of his troops, by keeping them in order of battle, the major part of them being ſuch as he could not have relied on if he had engaged, but ſeems to blame the King for not attacking them (*w*); and Sir Philip Warwick is of the ſame opinion (*x*). On the other hand Whitlocke aſſures us, the King's army was in a very indifferent condition in all reſpects, and had not ammunition enough to have ſerved them for a briſk charge (*y*). The beginning of the year 1643 was ſpent in a treaty, the Parliament having ſent Commiſſioners for that purpoſe to Oxford, and, at the requeſt of the King, enlarged the time originally allowed them to the 15th of April; and the very ſame day, the treaty breaking off abruptly, the Earl of Eſſex began his march with their army towards Oxford (*z*). It was the deſire of ſome of the moſt active men in the party, that the Earl might ſtrike at the root as they called it, that is, beſiege Oxford, and make himſelf maſter of the perſon of the King. But whether he found that impracticable, or was not much inclined to that ſervice, ſo it was, that he turned off to Reading, which he inveſted on the 17th. Sir Arthur Aſton commanded in it for the King, with a garriſon of between three and four thouſand men; but the town, being a long and irregular built place, would not admit of proper fortifications; and beſides, the garriſon wanted powder to ſuch a degree, that, in ten days time it was ſurrendered; and for this Colonel Richard Fielding, who made the capitulation, the Governor being wounded, was ſentenced at Oxford to loſe his head; but, however, he did not ſuffer (*a*). The articles granted by the Earl of Eſſex were but ill obſerved by his ſoldiers, of which he ſhewed his reſentment in a very high degree (*b*). After this ſucceſs great things were expected from him by the Parliament; but a ſickneſs which prevailed in his army, and its not being ſupplied ſo well as hitherto it had been, weakened him very much, and put it out of his power to do any thing of importance; which ſo much irritated ſome of the leading men in Parliament, that they talked of removing him, and of giving the command to Sir William Waller; but he being preſently after defeated at Rowndway-Down, an end was put to that ſcheme (*c*). The Lord-General Eſſex was not at all a ſtranger to what was ſaid and thought of him at London; and, as he was a man of great plainneſs and ſincerity, he was reſolved to leave them in no doubt as to what were his real intentions; and, therefore, wrote the Parliament a letter of ſo extraordinary a nature (*d*), that we have judged it neceſſary to inſert it in the notes [*I*]. While the Earl, with his army, quartered

(*t*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 64. Ruſhworth's Collections. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 16.

(*u*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 65. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 233.

(*w*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 261.

(*x*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 233.

(*y*) Memorials, p. 65.

(*z*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II, P. iii. p. 265.

(*a*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 315, 316.

(*b*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 267. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 314.

(*c*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 70.

(*d*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. ii. p. 291.

'gade of the army that brought on the artillery.' As to the King's ſtandard, it was given by the General to his Secretary, Mr. Chambers; from whom it was taken by one Captain Smith, and carried back to the King, to whom the General intended to have reſtored it in caſe it had not been thus recovered (29). The Parliament claimed the victory on account of their keeping the field of battle; for they ſtood all night upon the ſame ground where the King's army was drawn up; and as to the King's title to the victory, it conſiſted in the taking of Banbury the next day, from whence it appears that great faults were committed on both ſides. If the Earl of Eſſex had marched to Banbury, the reputation of his arms had been much raiſed, which at that time was a thing of great conſequence; and if after the taking of Banbury the King had marched to London, he would have reaped all the fruits of a victory whether he had it or not (30).

(29) As appears by the relation ſent to Parliament after the battle.

(30) See Warwick's Memoirs.

[*I*] *To inſert it in the notes.*] We have in another place mentioned the diſpoſition of the Parliament at this juncture, when two parties, that agreed in nothing elſe, joined in preſſing the Earl to advance towards Oxford, one deſiring nothing ſo much as to make an end of the war; and the other, with equal paſſion, thirſting for the deſtruction of the King. The Lord General Eſſex knew, that the former was as much out of his power as the latter was diſtant from his will. It was very much againſt his judgment that he advanced to Tame, where the heat of the weather, and the marſhineſs of the ſoil, increaſed the diſtemper in his army, ſo that hundreds were diſabled in a day; yet he ſtill received the ſame preſſing meſſages from London, in anſwer to which he wrote the following letter (31).

(31) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol II. P. iii. p. 290, 291.

'Mr. Speaker,

'I would have given you the true relation of the 'ſkirmiſh on Sunday laſt, between ſome of the horſe 'and the enemy near Buckingham, but Sir Philip 'Stapleton and Colonel Goodwin being then upon the 'ſpot, I refer the relation thereof unto them. Since 'when, being informed that the King had ſent more 'forces to Buckingham to maintain that place, and 'bring theſe parts into contribution, where the enemy 'ſtaid untill the army came within two miles of them, 'and then made haſte away towards Banbury, notwithſtanding they had perſuaded the people that they 'would not quit the place till they had beaten me out 'of the country. I then underſtanding that they were 'fled, held it not fit to go to the town with my army; 'but ſent Colonel Middleton with ſome horſe to clear 'that town and coaſt; which they did, and then adviſed where to quarter with moſt conveniency for our 'army, and moſt ready for the enemy, the Queen's 'forces being like to join with them very ſuddenly: 'and that our army may the better ſerve the Parliament and city, and counties adjacent, and be more 'ſafely

tered about Tame in Oxfordshire, they suffered not a little by the continual enterprizes of Prince Rupert, who had a numerous body of horse in their neighbourhood; and his endeavours would, probably, have been more successful against any other General than the Earl of Essex, who was not only extremely vigilant, but also very ready to repair in person to any posts that were attacked, by which he prevented the ill consequences that would otherways have attended sudden impressions (*e*). All his care, and all his courage, expressed in their service, did not, however, entirely satisfy the House of Commons; as, on the other hand, his Lordship was very far from being well pleased with that temper which prevailed amongst them; and most of the Nobility, who had hitherto concurred with them, inclined now to the Earl's opinion (*f*). At this juncture it appears, from the best authority, that the King and the Earl of Essex were equally desirous of putting an end to this unhappy war; and that each had it in his power, as well as will, to have accomplished this good design, if both had not suffered themselves to be fatally diverted from their intentions, and thereby lost an opportunity, the like of which never offered itself to either of them any more (*g*) [*K*]. The King, over-persuaded by those who had the least knowledge even, and perhaps the least affection for, his cause, having a better army than he had yet brought into the field, marched towards Gloucester, which, on the 10th of August, he invested (*h*). It had a numerous garrison, commanded by Colonel Massey, who made a vigorous and obstinate resistance, and this weakened the King's army exceedingly, which, without doubt, was least fit for that service. The city of London being greatly alarmed at the news of this siege, which affected them in their trade for the present, and gave them a bad prospect of their security for the future, the Parliament made an advantage of this disposition in their own people, and, on the twenty-first of the same month, published an order, forbidding any shops to be opened till Gloucester was relieved (*i*). In order to effect this, all ways and means were practised to settle the mind of the General; and next, part of the London trained bands and auxiliaries were ordered to recruit his army; so that, on the 29th of the same month, the Earl of Essex marched from Aylesbury with an army very little short of twenty-thousand men (*k*). He proceeded with much caution, and though his motions were observed by General Wilmot, with a great body of horse, yet he carried his point, obliged the King to raise the siege, entered Gloucester in triumph September 15th, and, soon after, surprized Cirencester, where the King had two regiments of horse, and very considerable magazines (*l*).

(*e*) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 322, 323.

(*f*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 71.

(*g*) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 342.

(*h*) Warwick's Memoirs p. 262.

(*i*) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. II. P iii. p. 291.

(*k*) Codrington's Life of Robert Earl of Essex.

(*l*) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 292.

'safely supplied with money from London, and lie most conveniently to join the forces with the Lord Gray in Northamptonshire, I was advised to march to Great Brickhill, as the most fit place for all purposes: the enemies chief strength being in horse, and this army neither recruited with horse, arms, nor saddles, it is impossible to keep the counties from being plundered, nor to fight with them but when and where they list, we being forced when we move to march with the whole army, which can be but slowly, so that the counties must suffer much wrong, and the cries of poor people are infinite. If it were thought fit to send to his Majesty, to have peace, with the settling of religion, the laws and liberties of the subject, and to bring unto just trial those chief delinquents that have brought all this mischief to both kingdoms; and as my Lord of Bristol spake once in Parliament, how we may be secured to have those things performed hereafter: or else, if his Majesty shall please to absent himself, there may be a day set down to put a period to all these unhappy distractions by a battle, which, when and where they shall choose, that may be thought any way indifferent, I shall be ready to perform that duty I owe you; and the propositions to be agreed upon between his Majesty and the Parliament, may be sent to such an indifferent place, that both armies may be drawn near the one to the other, that if peace be not concluded, it may be ended by the sword: no officers of the army to be of the committee, nor no intercourse to be between them.

'SIR,

Great Brickhill,
July 9, 1643.

'I am your assured friend,

'ESSEX.'

[*K*] *To either of them any more.*] In order to explain this matter thoroughly, which is in itself equally curious and important, we must observe, that factions ran very high both at Oxford and Westminster; yet those who wished well to the King and kingdom had the same views in both places, that is, were very desirous of seeing peace restored, and the constitution preserved, by an agreement upon moderate terms. In order to this, the King was advised to publish the utmost concessions he was inclined to make, and to give the strongest assurances in his power with respect to their being constantly adhered to, and then to have marched with his army, which was in a very good condition, directly up to London; which, if he had done, says Whitlocke (32), it is believed he might have done his business: but the King was prevailed upon by the Lord Culpepper to undertake the siege of Gloucester, which, by an obstinate resistance, ruined his army to such a degree as he could never retrieve. Sir Edward Walker, who had the best opportunity of knowing the King's real intentions (33) in such points, affirms, that he was afraid ever to comply with that advice, from an apprehension that there would be no restraining the licence of the soldiers, and that by concluding the war in this manner, he should totally destroy his capital. But without determining any thing as to the King's motive, certain it is that he lost his opportunity. As to the Earl of Essex, the zeal he shewed for the good of the nation, and the authority he had by being at the head of the army, gave many of the Lords courage to speak their minds freely, and to shew their distaste to violent measures; but finding they lost ground in Parliament by the exorbitant stretches of power which the House of Commons assumed to themselves, and which the Republicans had with great address transferred to a committee, where they had a constant majority, the Lords proposed to the Earl of Essex their retiring, with their friends in the House of Commons, to him and the army for protection, which they judged must soon have brought those who remained at Westminster to a compliance (34). The Earl thought this might prove a blemish to his honour, upon which the Lords, not thinking themselves safe any longer where they were, withdrew into the King's quarters. Thus this opportunity was lost of doing all that the Earl took up arms to do, while his and the King's antagonists, by considering nothing as just or unjust, but as it contributed to or clashed with their views, brought their projects to bear, and the kingdom into confusion.

(32) Memorials, P. 69.

(33) In his remarks on William Lilly's life of King Charles the First.

(34) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 342.

His Lordſhip continuing his march into Berkſhire, Prince Rupert, with his horſe, incommoded his rear very much; and the King, with his foot, being arrived near Newbury, the Earl found himſelf obliged to fight, which accordingly he did, on the 20th of September, with very great reputation to himſelf, in reſpect both to courage and conduct; though, after all, it was but a drawn battle, or, if any, the King had the title to the victory; for by it he opened a paſſage to London, if he had loſt no time in the proſecution of that deſign, for which, it is ſuppoſed, he fought (*m*). But as he let ſlip this opportunity, ſo Eſſex improved that negligence, and, with great diligence and dexterity, marched to Reading, and from thence nearer London. His army being quartered at Windſor, and in the neighbourhood, the Earl, with ſome of the great officers, went to London, where the Speaker came to compliment him at Eſſex-Houſe, as did the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, in their ſcarlet gowns; and his behaviour at Newbury fight was magnified to as high a degree as their eloquence could reach (*n*). The Earl afterwards returned to the army; but, upon receiving orders to join Sir William Waller, he ſent for anſwer, *That he held it not for their ſervice*; after which jealouſies daily increaſed, and, at laſt, a committee was appointed for recruiting and reforming the army, which gave him a great deal of diſtaſte (*o*) and uneaſineſs: yet his opinion, That he was bound in honour to do nothing to the prejudice of thoſe who intruſted him, hindered him from giving any countenance to the applications he received from the Lords and Commons aſſembled at Oxford; while thoſe in Parliament, who diſliked his conduct, took the neceſſary meaſures for curtailing his army, and making the forces he commanded inferior to thoſe at the head of which they had placed their own creatures (*p*). In the ſpring of the year 1644, the Earl of Eſſex, in obedience to the preſſing ſolicitations of his maſters, marched into Oxfordſhire, and, advancing to Abingdon, General Wilmot quitted the town upon his approach, and retired towards Oxford, which gave him an opportunity of advancing within a mile of that place on one ſide, at the ſame time that Sir William Waller, with his forces, came almoſt as near it on the other (*q*). The King was thought to be effectually blocked up in that city, and this ſituation of his equally alarmed his own friends and the enemies of the Earl of Eſſex. One of the King's Privy-Council apprehended his ſituation to be ſo deſperate, that he adviſed him to render himſelf into the hands of Eſſex; to which the King anſwered, *It was poſſible he might fall into* Eſſex's *hands, but it ſhould be when he was dead* (*r*). On the other hand, the inveterate party in the Parliament apprehended nothing ſo much as that this might really happen; and therefore they wrote a ſhort and peremptory letter, directing him, in caſe of any application of that kind, to do nothing without their orders (*s*). The King, on the 29th of May, quitted Oxford in the duſk of the evening, marched all night between the two armies, and got ſafe out of their reach (*t*). Upon this the Earl of Eſſex ſent Waller orders to follow him, as having a lighter body of troops. About this he made ſome ſcruples, but the Earl inſiſting upon his orders, Waller, at length, obeyed, but complained to the Parliament, who wrote in very quick terms to the Lord-General, who ſubſcribed his anſwer, *Your innocent, though ſuſpected, ſervant* (*u*). He then marched into Dorſetſhire, where he took Weymouth, and relieved Lyme; while the King, in the mean time, with great addreſs, gave Waller the ſlip, and returned to Oxford on the twenty-firſt of June, where in a ſhort time he aſſembled an army of ten thouſand men, and, gaining ſome advantage over Waller, followed the Earl of Eſſex into the Weſt, where all the forces he then had were (*w*). By the perſuaſion of Lord Roberts, who believed he had a great intereſt in Cornwall, Eſſex was engaged to march thither, where, by degrees, the King drove him to the ſea, and ſhut him up in ſuch a manner, that he could neither tell how to fight, or find any thing for his ſoldiers to eat. In this ſituation the King wrote him a very kind letter, with propoſals for a treaty, which he rejected, as he had done a propoſal of the ſame ſort from the King's officers, aſſigning, as his reaſon, that he had no authority (*x*). In theſe deſperate circumſtances his horſe, under the command of Sir William Balfour, broke through, or rather ſlipped by, the King's army, and, on the firſt of September, the Earl of Eſſex, with a few of the officers he moſt eſteemed, embarked at Foy, and eſcaped to Plymouth, leaving his foot under Major-General Skippon, who ſubmitted to be diſarmed, gave up their artillery and ammunition, and were conducted through the King's quarters into thoſe of the Parliament (*y*). The Earl himſelf quickly embarked on board a man of war, and returned to London, where he was received with all outward marks of reſpect and eſteem (*z*); which gave him, however, but very little ſatisfaction [*L*]. In the

(*m*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 73. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 263.

(*n*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 295. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 74.

(*o*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol II. P. iii. p. 653.

(*p*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles, p. 21, 24.

(*q*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 396.

(*r*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 270. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 397.

(*s*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 89. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 396.

(*t*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 407.

(*u*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 672. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 397.

(*w*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 272, 273.

(*x*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 98. Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. 691, 692, 693.

(*y*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 102. 103. Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 699—711.

(*z*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 409.

[*L*] *But very little ſatisfaction.*] We have very full accounts of the ſtate and ceremony with which the Lord General was received by the Parliament, who were extremely well pleaſed with his ſending them the letters written him by the King's officers, and by his Majeſty himſelf, on the ſubject of peace. Perhaps ſome amongſt them were the more ceremonious, as thinking they had him now in their power; and that, underſtanding as they did the art of raiſing money, and obliging the people to pay for a rod to ſcourge themſelves, he might at length be laid aſide like an old ſtaff, now they found their ſtrength increaſe, though at their firſt ſetting out they were not able to move without leaning upon him. As for the Earl, he was very ſenſible of their former treatment, concerning which a Noble writer gives us a free and full detail, which cannot but prove ſatisfactory to the reader. Having mentioned the Earl's detaching Sir William Waller after the King, while

the month of October, the armies under the Earl of Manchester and Sir William Waller having joined, the Earl of Essex went down again, to put himself at the head of that army which was intended to attack the King in his return from the West to Oxford (*a*). Great preparations were made for that purpose, and great expectations there were at London of the event; but, before this could be accomplished, the Earl of Essex fell sick; upon which a Committee of Lords and Commons were appointed to visit him, and to express the affection of both Houses to him; but, if we may judge from what Whitlocke has written upon this subject, there was something more in the matter, and they were instructed to make him a compliment of another kind (*b*) [*M*]. However that might be,

(*a*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 105.

(*b*) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 720. Memorials, p. 108.

while he marched westward himself, contrary to the route that had been laid down for him, he proceeds thus (35): 'Accordingly he gave that account to the 'Parliament and Committee of the two kingdoms, 'with his desire of their directions. They were so 'mad to see themselves defeated of their plot, that 'they would not, for many days, return him any an-'swer at all. His disobedience was blown up and trum-'peted about by them and their agents; some of 'whom did not stick to say, It were better my Lord 'of Essex and his whole army were lost and ruined, 'than the Parliament not obeyed, and that by their 'consents, he nor his army should be looked after or 'cared for more; a maxim they have forgotten now, 'in the case of Sir Thomas Fairfax and his army's not 'disobedience, but open rebellion; but they were as 'good as their words then, and did most maliciously, 'wilfully, and treacherously (as to the Parliament's 'cause, which they seemed to be zealous in) suffer 'General and army to be lost, and the whole west left 'farther out of the Parliament's reach than at any time 'before. Sir Arthur Haslerigg posted up to London, 'breathing out nothing but ruin and destruction to the 'Earl of Essex, spoke it out in the hearing of several 'persons, that he would ruin him, or be ruined him-'self. His malice and violence was so great at the 'Committee of the two kingdoms, where he and his 'party were prevalent, that a report was thence 'brought down to the House of Commons, by which 'Sir William Waller was taken off from following the 'King; and by that means the King was left at li-'berty to bend his whole force for the West, after my 'Lord of Essex, which he presently did. At last they 'left my Lord of Essex at liberty to proceed in that 'Western expedition, but with a resolution to let him 'perish. He takes in Weymouth, and some other 'towns, goes on as far as Cornwall, whither the King's 'forces follow him at the heels, cut off all provision 'from him, press upon him exceedingly, and put 'him to very great straights. He engaged in a coun-'try enclosed with deep ditches and strong fences, 'that he could neither break through nor march 'away; but sends letter upon letter, messenger upon 'messenger, to the Parliament, representing his con-'dition, and how easy it was, with a small force sent 'upon the back of the King's army, if but only a 'good party of horse, to stop their provisions, and turn 'the tables, straighten them, and free him, than 'which certainly nothing had been more easy, and 'would have saved the kingdom a mass of treasure, 'and thousands of good men's lives, which the con-'tinuance of the war, after that time, did cost. But 'our masters did not desire then to see the war at an 'end: they had not the sword in those hands they 'would have it, for to break the King's forces, well 'knowing they must then have had a peace, and such 'a peace as had carried with it an establishment of the 'King's government, a keeping up the Nobility and 'Gentry: all things must have returned into their 'proper channel; and the security of the Parliament 'and kingdom being provided for, the law of the land 'must have taken place, their arbitrary empire been 'at an end, and their design wholly defeated. There-'fore my Lord of Essex must not be relieved, but sa-'crificed to their ambition; the King's army must be 'yet preserved, to give them a colour to new model 'theirs, and put the power into the base hands of 'their creatures, which should keep the kingdom in a 'perpetual bondage; and though they ended the war 'with the King, yet never made peace, but continued 'to grind the faces, and break the backs of the 'people, with taxes and free quarters, to maintain an 'army when no enemy was left: in a word, they go-'vern by the sword; the height of all misery and sla-'very any land can undergo.'

(35) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles, p. 23—26.

[*M*] *A compliment of another kind.*] Whoever considers the passage cited in the former note, will very easily discern what temper the dominant party were in with respect to the Earl of Essex. He had still indeed the title of General, and they were not desirous he should have any more. This was the return they made him whose reputation had first raised them an army: that was a work which he only could do, but they were now entering upon works which they very well knew he neither could nor would do. This message to him therefore had an outward form of civility (36), but withal an inward mixture of reproach: the former served to amuse the people who had a high reverence for the General, the latter was to prevent his obstructing their designs. Whitlocke gives this cautious, and yet very intelligible account, of that Janus-faced compliment; for it is observable that these three Earls of Essex were made unhappy by their virtues, flattered out of their reason, and exalted to the highest honours by those that meant to make their fall the greater. But let us hear Whitlocke (37): 'The Houses being 'informed that the Lord General was not well, and 'stayed behind the army, they sent a Committee of 'the Lords and Commons to visit him, and to express 'the affections of both Houses to him. This was not, 'as was given out, a piece of courtship, but I think 'real, and there was cause enough that it should be 'so, the General having so highly deserved from 'them. Yet there were some had designs against him, 'and were desirous to remove him from his command, 'because they were jealous that he was too much in-'clined to peace, and favouring of the King and his 'party. I think I knew as much of his mind as others 'did, and always observed him to wish for peace, yet 'not upon any dishonourable or unjust terms. He was 'a lover of Monarchy and Nobility, which he sus-'pected some designed to destroy, together with Gen-'try, Ministry, and Magistracy, which humour began 'then to boil up; but he resolved to support them, 'and wanted not advice to that end. But the jealou-'sies upon him who was a most faithful and gallant 'man, and servant to the publick, gave him great 'trouble in his thoughts; and they did work so high 'with his enemies, that some gave out he was by pri-'vate intimation to forbear engaging in this service, 'and for certain he was not in it.'

(36) Rush-worth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 720.

(37) Memorials, p. 108.

C.

*** [To this Article only a few Additions will be found to be necessary. The refinement of the noble historian, Lord Clarendon, as related in note [*G*], is carried so far, that it can scarcely avoid exciting a smile on the face of an intelligent reader. According to his Lordship, the taking of the white staff from the Earl of Essex was the true source of the civil war. But Lord Clarendon's reasoning on the subject will not stand the test of a severe examination. It is true, that in the order of Divine Providence, there is a wonderful concatenation of events, and that the greatest revolutions may be essentially connected with circumstances apparently very trivial. But this argument will not apply, with any peculiar propriety, to the present case. It can never be rationally believed, that the civil war would not have taken place if the Earl of Essex had retained his office of Lord Chamberlain. That war was founded on causes too mighty, and on dispositions too much agitated and enflamed, to have been prevented by the Earl's maintaining some connection with the Court. If he had refused the com-



mand

be, certain it is, that, when the Parliament army ſurrounded the King's, who was much inferior in ſtrength, in the town of Newbury, and attacked him on the 27th of the month laſt mentioned, the Earl of Eſſex was not in that action, which the Parliament called a victory; but the King made a good retreat, put his artillery into Dunnington-Caſtle, and, about a week after, having recruited his forces, marched thither, and brought off his train. After this engagement the Earl of Eſſex gave orders for ſlighting Newbury, with which the Parliament was much offended (*c*). On his return to London he found things in great confuſion, and, which was not a little extraordinary, his two rivals, the Earl of Mancheſter and Sir William Waller, as much diſſatisfied as himſelf, and, in point of truſt and confidence, exactly in the ſame ſituation that he was (*d*). The Earl, however, was very ſenſible of the hand that principally hurt him, and had formed a reſolution of being too quick for him. In order to this he held a Council at Eſſex-houſe, at which were preſent the Chancellor of Scotland, and the reſt of the Scots Commiſſioners, Mr. Denzil Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, and other friends of the Earl, and to which Serjeant Maynard and Mr. Whitlocke were invited (*e*). The point there debated was, the attacking Lieutenant-General Cromwell in Parliament, as an incendiary; which was very fully and clearly opened by the Lord Chancellor Loudon; and the members of the Houſe of Commons, who were preſent, were very hearty in the deſign, and thought it

(*c*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 281.

(*d*) Holles Memoirs, p. 18, 19, 20.

(*e*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 116.

mand of the Parliament army, ſome other perſon would have been found for that purpoſe; and, conſidering the temper of the times, men would not have been wanting to enliſt themſelves in a conteſt in which they imagined their deareſt rights to be concerned.

The Earl of Eſſex's ſpeech and proteſtation at the head of his army, on the twenty-fourth of September, 1642, ſhall here be inſerted, as being little known, and reflecting honour on his character.

'*Gentlemen and Fellow Soldiers,*

'Ye are at this time aſſembled for the defence of 'his Majeſty, and the maintenance of the true Proteſ-'tant Religion, under my command: I ſhall therefore 'deſire you to take notice what I, that am your Gene-'ral, ſhall, by my honour, promiſe to perform to-'wards you, and what I ſhall be forced to expect that 'you ſhall perform towards me.

'I do promiſe, in the ſight of Almighty God, that 'I ſhall undertake nothing but what ſhall tend to the 'advancement of the true Proteſtant Religion, the 'ſecuring of his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, the mainte-'nance of the juſt privilege of Parliament, and the 'liberty and property of the ſubject; neither will I 'engage any of you into any danger, but (though for 'many reaſons I might forbear) I will in my own 'perſon run an equal hazard with you; and either 'bring you off with honour, or (if God have ſo de-'creed) fall with you, and willingly become a ſacri-'fice for the preſervation of my country.

'Likewiſe I do promiſe, that my ear ſhall be open 'to hear the complaint of the pooreſt of my ſoldiers, 'though againſt the chiefeſt of my officers; neither 'ſhall his greatneſs, if juſtly taxed, gain any privilege; 'but I ſhall be ready to execute juſtice againſt all, from 'the greateſt to the leaſt.

'Your pay ſhall be conſtantly delivered to your 'commanders; and if default be made by any officer, 'give me timely notice, and you ſhall find ſpeedy 'redreſs.

'This being performed on my part, I ſhall now de-'clare what is your duty toward me, which I muſt 'likewiſe expect to be carefully performed by you.

'I ſhall deſire all and every officer to endeavour, 'by love and affable carriage, to command his ſol-'diers; ſince what is done for fear, is done unwil-'lingly; and what is unwillingly attempted, can never 'proſper.

'Likewiſe it is my requeſt, that you be careful in 'the exerciſing of your men, and bring them to uſe 'their arms readily and expertly, and not to buſy 'them in practiſing the ceremonious forms of military 'diſcipline; only let them be well-inſtructed in the 'neceſſary rudiments of war, that they may know to 'fall on with diſcretion, and retreat with care; how 'to maintain their order, and make good their 'ground.

'Alſo I do expect that all thoſe who have volun-'tarily engaged themſelves in this ſervice, ſhould an-'ſwer my expectation in the performance of theſe en-'ſuing articles:

'1. That you willingly and chearfully obey ſuch as, 'by your own election, you have made commanders 'over you.

'2. That you take ſpecial care to keep your arms 'at all times fit for ſervice, that upon all occaſions you 'may be ready, when the ſignal ſhall be given, by 'the ſound of drum or trumpet, to repair to your 'colours; and ſo to march upon any ſervice, where 'and when occaſion ſhall require.

'3. That you bear yourſelves like ſoldiers, with-'out doing any ſpoil to the inhabitants of the country: 'ſo doing you ſhall gain love and friendſhip, where 'otherwiſe, you will be hated and complained of; and 'I, that ſhould protect you, ſhall be forced to puniſh 'you according to the ſeverity of law.

'4. That you accept and reſt ſatisfied with ſuch 'quarters as ſhall fall to your lot, or be appointed you 'by your Quarter-maſter.

'5. That you ſhall, if appointed for centuries or 'perdues, faithfully diſcharge that duty; for, upon 'fail hereof, you are ſure to undergo a very ſevere 'cenſure.

'6. You ſhall forbear to profane the Sabbath, either 'by being drunk, or by unlawful games; for whoſo-'ever ſhall be found faulty muſt not expect to paſs un-'puniſhed.

'7. Whoſoever ſhall be known to neglect the feed-'ing of his horſe with neceſſary provender, to the 'end that his horſe be diſabled or unfit for ſervice; 'the party, for the ſaid default, ſhall ſuffer a month's 'impriſonment, and afterwards be caſhiered as un-'worthy the name of a ſoldier.

'8. That no trooper, or other of our ſoldiers, 'ſhall ſuffer his paddee to feed his horſe in the corn, 'or to ſteal men's hay; but ſhall pay every man for 'hay 6*d.* day and night, and for oats 2*s.* the buſhel.

'And, laſtly,

'9. That you avoid cruelty; for it is my deſire 'rather to ſave the lives of thouſands than to kill one, 'ſo that it may be done without prejudice.

'Theſe things faithfully performed, and the juſtice 'of our cauſe truly conſidered, let us advance with a 'religious courage, and willingly adventure our lives 'in the defence of the King and Parliament (38).'

(38) Parliamentary Hiſtory, Vol. XI. p. 436—439.

It was probably an obedience to theſe orders that enabled the Parliamentary army to acquire a popularity which the Royal army did not always attain.

As to the ſuſpicion of the Earl of Eſſex's having been poiſoned, it can only be regarded as one of the many groundleſs ſurmiſes which were long entertained with regard to the deceaſe of eminent perſons, eſpecially if their deaths were ſudden. Different accounts have been given of the Earl's death. Some have aſcribed it to an apoplexy; but Ludlow, who was probably well informed, ſays that it was occaſioned by his having over-heated himſelf in the chace of a ſtag in Windſor Foreſt (39).]

K.

(39) Ibid. Vol. XV. p. 97, 98. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 185.

might

might be executed with all the ſucceſs that could be deſired (*f*). But the two Lawyers, though they pretended to be no friends to Cromwell, threw cold water upon the project, and repreſented it in ſuch a light as intimidated the Scots Commiſſioners, and ſo the matter ended, at leaſt there; but Whitlocke owns, that the conſultation came to the knowledge of Cromwell, who treated Maynard and himſelf the better for it, and, no doubt, hated the Earl of Eſſex for it ſo much the more (*g*). The Self-denying Ordinance, by which all the Members in both Houſes were to be deprived of their commands, was, by this time, brought into Parliament; and though it made a ſlow paſſage through the Houſe of Lords, yet it was at laſt carried, Sir Thomas Fairfax fixed upon to be the new General, and the clauſe for the ſecurity of the King's perſon left out of his commiſſion; which was a plain indication of what was to follow, and of the true deſign of new modelling the army (*h*). On the 2d of April, 1645, the Earl of Eſſex ſurrendered his commiſſion, but not without ſome viſible marks of diſcontent (*i*). It was then thought proper to reduce a part of the troops that had ſerved under him, and that too without paying them; to which ſome of the horſe quartered in Hertfordſhire were not willing to ſubmit, and the friends of the new model propoſed, as the ſhorteſt method, to cut them to pieces. Mr. St. John alſo wrote a letter to the Committee of Hertfordſhire, to excite the people to fall upon them; but theſe extremities were prevented by the Earl of Eſſex's interpoſing, and prevailing upon them to acquieſce (*k*). In the beginning of December, the ſame year, the Parliament voted, that the Earl of Eſſex ſhould be made a Duke (*l*), as they had formerly voted him ten thouſand pounds a year; but he had no benefit by theſe votes, nor was there any great care taken for the payment of his arrears. It is generally allowed, that, after he laid down his command, he began to have different apprehenſions of things, and to have been very deſirous of preventing thoſe miſeries that he plainly ſaw were coming upon theſe nations. His intereſt and credit were to the laſt very great, and ſome have thought, if he had lived longer, that he would have endeavoured to have exerted them for the public ſervice (*m*). But, being ſeized with a ſudden and violent illneſs, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon, he died greatly lamented, at Eſſex-houſe in the Strand, September 14th, 1646 (*n*). The Parliament directed a public funeral for him, which was performed, with great ſolemnity, on the 22d of October following, in the Abbey-Church of St. Peter, Weſtminſter (*o*), when Mr. Richard Vines preached his funeral ſermon to a very great audience, compoſed of perſons of very great diſtinction; and the number would certainly have been much larger, if the Parliament had not made an order, that neither his brother the Marquis of Hertford, nor any who had borne arms for the King, ſhould be preſent at that ceremony (*p*). Such was the end of this Great Man, in whom the title of Eſſex became extinct, and whoſe virtues deſerved that his memory ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity with greater care and attention than had been hitherto paid to it, and which we have endeavoured to accompliſh.

(*f*) Holle Memoirs, p. 30, 31.

(*g*) Ibid.

(*h*) Holles Memoirs, p. 34. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 139.

(*i*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iv. p. 15.

(*k*) Holles Memoirs, p. 32.

(*l*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 182.

(*m*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 133.

(*n*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p 498.

(*o*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. ii. P. iv. p. 329.

(*p*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 225.

D'EWES (Sir SYMONDS), Knight and Baronet, an accurate Hiſtorian, a judicious Critick, an eminent Antiquary, an inquiſitive ſearcher into many different branches of ſcience, and a communicative friend, as well as generous patron of learned men (*a*). He was deſcended from a very antient family in the Low-Countries, his anceſtors retiring hither very early (*b*), and acquiring a very conſiderable ſettlement in the county of Suffolk; by which he was born to a large paternal eſtate, and was well-allied in that county, as may be proved from indubitable authorities [*A*]. He was the ſon of Paul D'Ewes, Eſq. by his wife Cecily, daughter and ſole heireſs of Richard Symonds, of Coxden in the county of Dorſet (*c*). He drew his earlieſt breath, as himſelf informs us, at the ſeat of his grandfather before-mentioned, December 18th, 1602 (*d*): and, having acquired the firſt tincture of letters in his father's houſe, the pregnancy of his parts became ſo apparent, that, in the ſixteenth year of his age, he was ſent to the Univerſity of Cambridge, and entered a Fellow-Commoner there, of St. John's College, under the tuition of the famous Dr. Richard Holdſworth, July the 9th, 1618 (*e*). It does not appear either how long he remained there, or whether he took any degree: but this is very certain, that, in return for the great acquiſitions he made in that celebrated ſeat of the Muſes, he preſerved a filial reverence for the place, and expreſſed ſo warm a concern for its reputation, as ſeems to have expoſed him to the reſentment of ſome peeviſh writers, who cannot

(*a*) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 698. Fuller's Worthies, Suffolk, P. iii. p. 75.

(*b*) Newcourt's Repertorium. Vol. I. p. 478.

(*c*) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 653.

(*d*) Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, written by himſelf, MS. in the Harleian Library, fol. 1. *a*.

(*e*) From the information of the late Rev. and learned Mr. Baker. Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors in Greſham College, p. 57.

[*A*] *As may be proved from indubitable authorities.*] In the pariſh church of St. Michael Baſſiſhaw, there was, in one of the windows, a beautiful repreſentation of a man in compleat armour, and his wife's portraiture on the other ſide, which, by the inſcription, appeared to have been in memory of Adrian D'Ewes, a lineal deſcendant from the very antient and noble family of Des Ewes, Lords of the diſtrict of Keſſell in the duchy of Gueldres, who retired hither upon the breaking out of wars in that country (1). He died of the ſweating ſickneſs in the month of July 1551, having lived under the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. He married Alice Ravenſcroft, by whom he left iſſue, as appears from his will (2), four ſons, Gerard, James, Peter, and Andrew. His eldeſt ſon, Gerard D'Ewes, lies buried in the iſle of Upminſter church in Eſſex, having been Lord of the manor of Gains, *alias* Upminſter. He died April 12, 1591, leaving by his wife, Grace Hinde, a ſon, Paul D'Ewes, Eſq; and a daughter Alice, who married William Lathom, Eſq; who repurchaſed this manor of Gains, *alias* Upminſter, which he had ſold to his father-in-law (3).

(1) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 998. Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 478.

(2) In Regiſtro Curiæ Dom. Archidiaconi Lond. Lib. IV. fol. 34. *a.* & *b.*

(3) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 652.

bear

bear that any notions ſhould be queſtioned, and much leſs contradicted, which they have once embraced, or in favour of which they have thought fit to declare (*f*). His inclinations to collect the beſt materials, for the forming a correct and complete Hiſtory of Great Britain, ſhewed themſelves very early, ſince he aſſures us himſelf, that he began to put his deſign in execution when he was not above eighteen years of age (g). He was no leſs ſtudious in preſerving the hiſtory of his own times, ſetting down carefully the beſt accounts that he was able to obtain of every memorable tranſaction at the time it happened (*h*); an inſtance or two of which, and thoſe very curious in their kind, the reader will find in the notes [*B*]. This laudable diſpoſition, in ſo young a man, recommended him to the eſteem and acquaintance of perſons of the firſt rank in the Republick of Letters, and amongſt theſe to the celebrated Sir Robert Cotton, who introduced him likewiſe to the famous Mr. Selden (*i*); which circumſtances we learn from himſelf, together with the opinion he entertained of theſe great men, which the reader will not probably think unworthy of his notice [*C*]. In the year 1626 he married Anne, daughter to Sir William Cloptoп of Eſſex, who, though very young, was an exquiſite beauty, and, though his paſſion ſeems to have increaſed for her, after ſhe became his wife, to a degree of extra-

(*f*) See Hearne's *Sprotti Chronica*, p. 240. Nicolſon's Hiſtorical Library, P. i. p. 154.

(g) See this date fixed in note [*D*].

(*h*) But he ſeems to have corrected and enlarged thoſe accounts afterwards.

(*i*) Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, fol. 75. *b*. Fuller's Worthies, Suſſex, p. 711.

[*B*] *The reader will find in the notes.*] In order to juſtify what has been aſſerted in the text, it will be ſufficient to produce two paſſages from our author's work; one of which ſhall be his deſcription of the great favourite Buckingham, when he was riſing in his fortunes; and the other, his ſuccinct detail of Prince Charles's voyage to Spain. As to the firſt, having deſcribed the tilting in the preſence of the French Embaſſador, brother to the great favourite of Lewis XIII, the Conſtable Luynes, on Monday January 8, 1620-21, in the Tilt-Yard over-againſt Whitehall, he proceeds thus (4): 'After this, moſt of the tilters, except the 'Prince, went up to the French Lords in a large 'upper room of the houſe, ſtanding at the lower end 'of the Tilt-Yard, and I crowding in after them, 'and ſeeing the Marquis of Buckingham diſcourſing 'with two or three French Monſieurs, I joined to 'them, and moſt earneſtly viewed him for about half 'an hour's ſpace at the leaſt, which I had opportu-'nity the more eaſily to accompliſh, becauſe he ſtood 'all that time he talked bareheaded. I ſaw every 'thing in him full of delicacy and handſome features, 'yea his hand and face ſeemed the more accompliſhed, 'becauſe the French Monſieurs that had inveſted him 'were very ſwarthy hard-favoured men. That he was 'afterwards an inſtrument of much miſchief both at 'home and abroad, is ſo evident upon record as no 'man can deny, yet this I do ſuppoſe proceeded ra-'ther from ſome jeſuited incendiaries about him, than 'from his own nature, which his very countenance pro-'miſed to be affable and gentle.' The ſecond paſſage is this (5):

(4) Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, fo. 53. *b*.

'February 1622-23, there happened on Monday 'the 17th day of this month, ſo ſtrange an accident 'as future ages will ſcarcely believe it; for Charles 'Prince of Wales began his journey from London into 'Spain on Monday the 17th day of February, with 'the beloved Marquis of Buckingham, Sir Francis 'Cottington, and Mr. Endymion Porter, only in his 'company, who, beſides the King himſelf, were the 'only men acquainted with the Prince's reſolution. 'Their going was ſo ſecretly carried, as none I be-'lieve knew of it in England till they were landed in 'France; through which kingdom they paſſed by 'poſt-horſe into Spain. The journey was thought ſo 'dangerous, being above eleven hundred Engliſh 'miles by land, beſides the croſſing the ſeas between 'Dover and Calais, as all men were generally enſadded 'at the adventure, often wiſhing it had been better 'adviſed upon, although all knew the Spaniards durſt 'do the Prince no harm, ſo long as his royal ſiſter 'and her illuſtrious offſpring ſurvived. Soon after 'followed the Lord Hayes, Earl of Carliſle, and 'paſſed into France, to excuſe to that King the 'Prince's ſudden and ſecret paſſing through his king-'dom without giving him a viſit. All men now took 'it for granted, that the Prince's marriage with the 'Infanta Maria, the King of Spain's ſiſter, was con-'cluded on, and that he went over only to conſummate 'it; no man imagining that he would take up ſuch a 'reſolution upon uncertainties, eſpecially occaſioning 'ſo vaſt an unneceſſary expence, at a time when the 'King's wants preſſed him much. But God, whoſe 'decree binds Princes as well as peaſants, had other-'wiſe diſpoſed; ſo as our royal ſuitor arriving at Ma-'drid in Spain on Friday the $\frac{7}{7}$th of March, about 'three weeks after his departure from London, and 'taking ſhip for his return into England on the $\frac{18}{28}$th 'of September then next enſuing, ſtayed in Spain 'about ſeven months, in all which time he ſeldom ſaw 'or ſpake with the Spaniſh Princeſs, nor could ever 'receive a fair and ſincere denial from her brother, 'although her marriage had been abſolutely diſpoſed 'of by her father's laſt Will and Teſtament, he be-'queathing her to Ferdinand, ſon and heir of Fer-'dinand II, the Emperor of Germany, who after-'wards did accordingly eſpouſe her.'

(5) Ibid. fo. 67. *a*.

[*C*] *Unworthy of his notice.*] Before we give the reader this paſſage, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that our author's journal was entirely made for his own private uſe and advantage, and ſeems to have been written purely for the ſecuring ſuch of his own thoughts as he was deſirous to review, and for preſerving ſuch informations as he received upon his enquiries (6); and as he had not any intention, or perhaps the leaſt foreſight, that theſe notices of his might be made publick, ſo nothing contained in them ought to be conſidered as any way derogatory from the reputation of thoſe of whom he ſpeaks. We will now proceed to the remarks made by our author. 'On Tueſday Septem-'ber 28, 1624, going, as I frequently uſed, to viſit 'Sir Robert Cotton, England's prime Antiquary, I 'there met Mr. John Selden of the Inner Temple, a 'man of deep knowledge, and almoſt incomparable 'learning, as his many publiſhed works do ſufficiently 'witneſs, with whom Sir Robert, our joint-friend, 'brought me acquainted, and we held ever after a good 'outward correſpondence; but both of them being 'more learned than pious, I never ſought after, or ever 'attained, unto any great entireneſs with them, yet 'I had much more familiarity with Sir Robert Cotton 'than with Mr. Selden, being a man exceedingly puft 'up with the apprehenſion of his own abilities.'

(6) This appears plainly from ſeveral of the author's reflections upon the facts ſet down in his life.

We ought likewiſe to conſider, that in thoſe induſtrious times, it was the cuſtom, amongſt ſuch eminent perſons as had an opportunity of attaining extenſive intelligence, to commit almoſt every thing to writing. Thus the learned and judicious Earl of Clarendon wrote his own life (7) at large, out of which he drew a great part of his materials for his excellent Hiſtory. Mr. Whitlocke, in like manner, digeſted what occurred to him moſt worthy of notice into that large work of his, which has been ſince publiſhed; and as different men have different ſentiments, ſo it may not be amiſs to quote here a paſſage of his relating to Mr. Selden (8).

(7) See the advertiſement prefixed to his Hiſt. of the Rebellion, in one Vol. in fol. Oxon. 1732.

(8) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 71.

'Divers members of both Houſes, whereof I was 'one, were members of the Aſſembly of Divines, and 'had the ſame liberty with the Divines, to ſit and de-'bate, and give their votes in any matter which was 'in conſideration amongſt them. In which debates 'Mr. Selden ſpake admirably, and confuted divers of 'them in their own learning. And ſometimes when 'they had cited a text of Scripture to prove their aſſer-'tion, he would tell them, Perhaps in your little pocket 'Bibles with gilt leaves (which they would often pull 'out and read) the tranſlation may be thus, but the 'Greek, or the Hebrew, ſignifies thus and thus; and 'ſo would totally ſilence them.'

vagance (*k*), yet it did not hinder him from profecuting his ſtudies with equal vigour and diligence; inſomuch that, when he was little more than thirty years of age, he had, with infinite care and labour, finiſhed that large and accurate work (*l*); which contributes not a little to explain the moſt important tranſactions of one of the moſt glorious reigns in our Hiſtory, but will likewiſe ſerve to tranſmit his own name and memory with luſtre to poſterity [*D*]. In 1639 we find him High-Sheriff of the county of Suffolk (*m*), having been ſome time before knighted. The ſame year, having occaſion to write to Archbiſhop Uſher, he mentioned that Hiſtory of Great Britain, in making collections for which he had already ſpent upwards of twenty, and, in the writing it, thirteen years; and was ſo unfortunate as to let fall a hint, that this hiſtory might, poſſibly, furniſh emendations in almoſt every page of Camden's *Britannia* (*n*); which letter of his coming to light, among other epiſtles to that learned Prelate, has drawn upon him the heavieſt cenſures, as if he had been prompted to this expreſſion from a mixture of vanity and envy, without any competent capacity (*o*); in which, perhaps, there is as much wrong done to him, as he is ſuppoſed to have done to Camden [*E*]. In the Long Parliament, which was ſummoned

(*k*) Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, fol. 91 *b*. 94 *b*. 97 *a*. 106 *a b*. 108 *a*.

(*l*) He tells us ſo himſelf in his Preface.

(*m*) Fuller's Worthies, Suffolk, p. 74.

(*n*) Uſher's Letters, p. 496.

(*o*) Vita Guliel. Camdeni a Thom. Smitho, 4to, 1691. p. xlv.

[*D*] *With luſtre to poſterity.*] The title of this book runs thus: *The* Journals *of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth, *both of the* Houſe *of* Lords *and* Houſe *of* Commons, *collected by Sir* Symonds D'Ewes, *of* Stow-Hall *in the County of* Suffolk, Knight *and* Baronet. *Reviſed and publiſhed by* Paul Bowes, *of the Middle-Temple*, London, *Eſq*; Lond. 1682, fol.

It muſt certainly be allowed, that as this was a very great and uſeful, ſo it was alſo a very painful and laborious undertaking, ſuch a one as few men would have ventured upon, and ſtill fewer would have accompliſhed with that ſkill and accuracy which appear in this performance, the benefits derived from which might well have reſtrained ſome ſplenetick perſons from ſpeaking ſo ſlightly as they do of the author's abilities (9). That account which he has given us of his motives to this undertaking, and the manner in which it is executed is very large and ſatisfactory, and a few paragraphs from thence will ſhew us what ſort of a work this is, and what ſort of a man he was who compiled it. Theſe are his words:

(9) Thom. Hearne in Præfat. Lib. Nig. Scaccarii, p. x.

'Becauſe I know the original Journal Books of 'either Houſe to be more judiciouſly obſerved, and 'more to be eſteemed, than the collections of any pri'vate men, therefore I have diſtinguiſhed, by ſome 'annotation or animadverſion, what is taken out of 'them, or what out of any other material whatſoever. 'Nor are thoſe animadverſions of mine own at any 'time added, without ſome neceſſary motive, or upon 'ſome good ground. Very copious indeed they are 'in the two firſt Journals of the Upper Houſe, and 'Houſe of Commons, in *ann. 1 Regin. Eliz.* becauſe 'all matters of form were to be once for all diſcuſſed. 'In all the other Journals they are more ſuccinct and 'infrequent.

'I confeſs it coſt me many days, beſides other ex'pences, to bring theſe enſuing volumes to that per'fection in which I now enjoy them. In which, be'ſides the abundance of the knowledge in this kind 'eſpecially gained by it, which Sir Edward Coke, 'Knt. a learned writer of this age, calls *Lex Parlia'mentaria*, I have, as I much deſired, done ſome 'honour to the memory of that glorious Queen, Eng'land's royal Elizabeth, in that I have collected in one 'body the ſum of the agitations of all her Parliaments, 'or at leaſt ſo much of them as could poſſibly be 'gotten, being a work not only ſingular, in reſpect 'that I am the ſole enjoyer of it, but alſo becauſe I 'reſt confident, that never any other man attempted 'it, much leſs brought it to perfection. Which I the 'rather believe, becauſe, when I was one day diſ'courſing with Sir Robert Cotton, the Prime Anti'quary of this our age, not long before his deceaſe, 'touching the two aforeſaid volumes he had of the 'Journals of this Queen's reign, that I wondered he 'would treaſure up in his library ſuch fragmentary and 'imperfect ſtuff, he made me no other anſwer but 'that he was compelled to ſtore up them, becauſe he 'knew not how to come by any better; and cer'tainly, if this work, which I have now by God's 'providence finiſhed, had been performed by any 'other, it could not have been hid from him, who 'was a very ſedulous gatherer, as of other rarities, ſo 'eſpecially of parliamentary paſſages, for about the 'ſpace of forty years before his death.

'Touching the rarities and treaſures of knowledge 'contained in theſe enſuing volumes, to omit many 'things, thus much it ſhall not be amiſs to premiſe, 'that there may not only hence be gathered whatſo'ever almoſt concerns the privileges, cuſtoms, and 'uſages of either Houſe, but hiſtorical matter alſo 'touching the Church and State; and in the whole 'frame may be frequently ſeen the admirable wiſdom 'of her Majeſty, and this her great Council, in the 'happy quenching of ſuch emergent differences as 'aroſe, and in their timely proviſion againſt the am'bitious Spaniard, the reſtleſs and irreconcileable ene'my of her Majeſty's religion, perſon, and realms.

'In all Parliaments, and ſeſſions of Parliaments, the 'Journals of the Houſe of Commons, do, for the moſt 'part, much excel thoſe of the Upper Houſe, in va'riety and abundance of obſervable matter, and in 'their copious and orderly relating each day's 'paſſage.

'I ſhall not need further to enlarge myſelf, but 'here to ſhut up this preſent diſcourſe, this inſtant 'Friday the 3d day of February, *Anno Dom.* 1631, 'that though through God's Providence I have finiſhed 'theſe volumes, which are intended chiefly for my 'own private uſe and my poſterity's; yet I have 'already entered upon other and greater labours, con'ceiving myſelf not to be born for myſelf alone, ac'cording to that old ſaying, *Melius mori, quam ſibi 'vivere* (10).'

(10) This ſentence occurs more than once in his other writings.

The greateſt men may miſtake in their conjectures, and this appears to have been the caſe of our author, in reſpect to his being the only perſon that ever thought of a work of this nature; for we find that it was not only thought of by another perſon, but in part executed; and it was the publication of this that brought the more ample collection of Sir Symonds D'Ewes to ſee the light. A certain Prelate, who, upon other occaſions, ſhews himſelf no great admirer of our author, has however done him all the juſtice imaginable with reſpect to this (11). His words are theſe: 'Heyward Townſhend, an eminent Member of the 'Houſe of Commons, preſerved the debates in Parlia'ment of her laſt fourteen years, which long after 'the author's death were publiſhed under the title of '*Hiſtorical Collections*, &c. But this, as vaſt an 'undertaking as it ſeems to be, is only a part of that 'more comprehenſive one of Sir Symmonds D'Ewes, 'whoſe Journal of both Houſes, during her whole 'reign, was ſoon after given us in print.' This was a noble ſpecimen of his ſteadineſs and diligence in perfecting what he had once undertaken, and may ſerve to convince us, that he proſecuted with ſpirit his reſolution of comparing the Hiſtory of Great Britain with the records which, as he himſelf aſſures us, he formed in the month of April 1620.

(11) Nicolſon's Hiſtorical Library, p. 86.

[*E*] *As he is ſuppoſed to have done to Camden.*] We find the charge againſt this gentleman very mildly and modeſtly ſtated by Biſhop Gibſon in his life of Camden, prefixed to the Engliſh tranſlation of his *Britannia*. Theſe are his words (12): 'In the year '1607 he put the laſt hand to his *Britannia*, which 'gained him the titles of the Varro, Strabo, and Pau'ſanias

(12) Camden's Britannia, fol. the ſecond edit. London, without any year.

moned to meet November the 3d, 1640, he was elected to serve as a burgeſs for the town of Sudbury in Suffolk (*p*), and, on the 2d of January following, he made occaſionally a ſpeech in Parliament, in ſupport of the antiquity of that Univerſity in which he was bred (*q*), which has expoſed him to very ſevere uſage from Anthony Wood (*r*), Thomas Hearne (*s*), and ſome other writers (*t*); but with how much reaſon or foundation muſt be left to the judgment of the reader [*F*]. July 15th, 1641, he was, by the favour of

(*p*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. P. iii. p. 8.

(*q*) Fuller's Worthies, Suffolk, p. 75.

(*r*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon Lib. i. p. 30. Though, as it ſtands in the Latin, the language is much more civil and reſpectful than in the other cenſures of this Gentleman's performance.

(*s*) Thomæ Sprotti Chronica, p. 240.

(*t*) Nicolſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 154.

'ſanias of Britain, in the writings and letters of other 'learned men. Nor did it ever after meet with any 'enemies that I know of, only Sir Simon D'Ewes en-'couraged us to hope for animadverſions upon the 'work, after he had obſerved to a very great man, 'that there was not a page in it without a fault. But 'it was only threatening, and neither the world was 'the better, nor Mr. Camden's reputation e'er the 'worſe for it.' This is a very ſoft tranſlation of a very harſh paragraph in Dr. Smith's Life of the ſame author, in which he aſſures us (13), 'that this work 'was univerſally approved by all proper judges, one 'only, Sir Simon D'Ewes, excepted, who moved,' ſays he, 'by I know not what ſpirit of envy, gave out that 'there was ſcarcely a page,' *&c.* In this track we find Biſhop Nicholſon in his account of the *Britannia*, where he ſays (14), 'Some early attempts were made 'by an envious perſon, one Brook or Brookmouth, to 'blaſt the deſervedly great reputation of this book, 'but they periſhed and came to nothing, as did like-'wiſe the terrible threats given out by Sir Symmonds 'D'Ewes, that he would diſcover errors in every page.' Let us now conſider the grounds upon which theſe great men have gone in prejudice to the memory of a perſon, who, for any thing that appears, had nothing of that bad ſpirit which is here imputed to him. He was ambitious of holding a correſpondence with Archbiſhop Uſher, to whom, in a long Latin letter, he gives an account of himſelf (15), of the pains he had taken in collecting a great library of the choiceſt pieces that regarded the Engliſh Hiſtory; and adds farther, that he had ſpent 13 years in his labours to compile an accurate Engliſh Hiſtory; to which he ſays he was principally moved by obſerving the many miſtakes of the common writers; *and indeed*, ſays he, *what can be expected from them, conſidering that even in the ſo much admired* Britannia *of* Camden *himſelf, there is not a page, at leaſt hardly a page, without errors.* The reader will conſider that this was a private letter, written to a Prelate, whoſe ſtation in the learned world was not at all inferior to that which he held in the Church. One would have imagined, from what theſe writers have ſaid, that this Gentleman had publiſhed his ſentiments of the *Britannia* to all the world, with a view to leſſen Camden's work, and exalt the merit of his own: whereas the fact, as the reader ſees, is quite otherwiſe. Beſides, amongſt the letters printed by Dr. Smith, there is one from Sir John Savile to Camden (16), in which there is ſuch a number of corrections as may ſerve to render what our author has advanced not altogether incredible. There is without doubt a great reſpect due to the memory of learned men; but then this ought to be joined with a juſt regard for learning and truth; which qualification being admitted, Sir Symonds D'Ewes will not appear either ſo vain or ſo envious a perſon as they would make him.

(13) Vita Camdeni, p. xlv.

(14) Eng. Hiſtorical Library, p. 4.

(15) Archbiſhop Uſher's Letters, p. 496.

(16) Camdeni Epiſtolæ, p. 36.

[*F*] *Muſt be left to the judgment of the reader.*] It is to be obſerved, that this ſpeech of Sir Symonds D'Ewes was occaſional, and involuntary. A bill for four ſubſidies, towards the relief of the King's army in the northern counties, had been twice read in the Houſe of Commons, and the Committee who drew the bill, having placed Cambridge before Oxford, an occaſion was ſought to tranſpoſe thoſe names, when the bill came to be debated in a grand Committee of the whole Houſe, which was on Saturday January 2, 1640, and then our author ſtood up to prevent the putting of a queſtion, and ſpoke as follows (17):

(17) See the title in note [*G.*]

'I ſtand up to perſuade, if it may be, the declining 'of the preſent queſtion, and the further diſpute of 'this buſineſs. Yeſterday we had a long debate 'about the putting out of a word, and now we are 'fallen upon the diſpute of putting one word before 'another. I account it no honour to *Cambridge* that 'it got the precedence by voices at the former Com-'mittee, nor will it be any glory to *Oxford* to gain it 'by voices here, where we all know the multitude of 'borough towns of the weſtern parts of England do 'ſend ſo many worthy members hither, that if we 'meaſure things by number and not by weight, Cam-'bridge is ſure to loſe it. I would therefore propound 'a more noble way and means for the deciſion of the 'preſent controverſy than by queſtion, in which, if 'the univerſity of Oxford, which for mine own part I 'do highly reſpect and honour, ſhall obtain the prize, 'it will be far more glory to it than to carry it by 'multitude of voices, which indeed can be none at all. 'Let us thererore diſpute it by reaſon, and not make 'an idol of either place; and if I ſhall be ſo convinced, 'I ſhall readily change my vote, wiſhing we may find 'the ſame ingenuity in the Oxford men.

'There are two principal reſpects, beſides others, 'in which theſe famous Univerſities may claim pre-'cedence each of other.

'Firſt, in reſpect of their being, as they were, places 'of note in the elder ages.

'Secondly, as they were antient nurſeries and ſeed-'plots of learning.

'If I do not therefore prove, that Cambridge was 'a renowned city at leaſt five hundred years before 'there was a houſe of Oxford ſtanding, and whilſt 'brute beaſts fed, or corn was ſown, on that place 'where the ſame city is now ſeated; and that Cam-'bridge was a nurſery of learning before Oxford was 'known to have a grammar-ſchool in it, I will yield 'up the bucklers. If I ſhould loſe time to reckon up 'the vain allegations produced for the antiquity of '*Oxford* by *Twine*, and of *Cambridge* by *Caius*, I 'ſhould but repeat *Deliria ſenum*; for I account the 'moſt of that they have publiſhed in print to be no 'better. But I find my authority without exception, 'that, in the antient catalogue of the cities of *Britain*, '*Cambridge* is the *ninth* in number, where *London* 'itſelf is but the *eleventh*; and who would have thought 'that ever *Oxford* ſhould have contended for prece-'dence with *Cambridge*, which *London* gave it above 'twelve hundred years ſince? This I find in *Gildas* '*Albanius* his Britiſh ſtory, who died about the year '520, being the antienteſt domeſtick monument we 'have, page 60. And in a Saxon anonymous ſtory, 'written in Latin, touching the Britons and Saxons, 'page 39, who ſaith of himſelf, that he lived in the 'days of *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, in the tenth 'year of his reign, and that he knew him well, which 'falls out to be near upon the year 620. And, laſtly, 'I find the catalogue of the ſaid *Britiſh* cities, with 'ſome little variation, to be ſet down in *Nennius* his 'Latin ſtory of *Britain*, page 38, and he wrote the 'ſame, as he ſays of himſelf, in the year 880. They 'all call it *Cair-grant*, the word *Cair*, in the old '*Celtique* tongue, ſignifying a city.

'Theſe three ſtories are exotick and rare monu-'ments remaining, yet only in antient manuſcripts 'amongſt us, not known to many, but the authority 'of them is irreſragable and without exception. The 'beſt and moſt antient copies that I have ſeen of '*Gildas Albanius* and *Nennius*, remain in the univer-'ſity library of *Cambridge*, being thoſe I have vouched, 'and the *Saxon* anonymous in a library here near us. 'This *Cair-grant*, is not only expounded by *Alfred* of '*Beverly* to ſignify *Cambridge*, but alſo by *William de* '*Ramſay* Abbot of *Croyland*, in his manuſcript ſtory 'of the life of *Guthlacus*, ignorantly in thoſe elder 'days reputed a ſaint. The ſaid William goes further, 'and ſays, it was ſo called *à Granta flumine.* This 'place remained ſtill a city of fame and repute a long 'time under the reign of the Engliſh Saxons, and is 'called in divers of the old manuſcript Saxon An-'nals Ȝnantæceaſtep. And notwithſtanding the great 'devaſtations it ſuffered, with other places, by reaſon 'of the Daniſh incurſions, yet in the firſt tome or 'volume of the book of *Domeſdei* (for now I come to 'cite record) it appears to have been a place of con-'ſiderable

of his Sovereign, created a Baronet (*u*). But, upon the breaking out of the Civil War, he adhered to the Parliament; and we find his name in the liſt of thoſe members who took the Solemn League and Cóvenant, purſuant to an order of the Houſe of Commons, February 3d, 1643 (*w*). This did not hinder his having a ſincere veneration for the conſtitution of his country, and a loyal affection to the perſon of his Prince; ſo that when things came to extremities, and it was found neceſſary to purge the Parliament, by turning out of it all who were of ſuch old-faſhioned principles; and, for this purpoſe, a guard of ſoldiers was ſent thither, December 6th, 1648 (*x*), Sir Symonds D'Ewes was amongſt the number (*y*). Thoſe that were left in the Houſe, indeed, ſent to the commanding officer to reclaim him, and the reſt of the Members in his condition; but to no purpoſe, for he was never allowed to enter thoſe doors again ſo long as he lived. When it was thus put out of his power to render any farther ſervice to the publick, he gave himſelf up entirely to the proſecution of thoſe ſtudies which had been always the principal delight he enjoyed, in the innocent occupations of a private life. He digeſted into order the vaſt collections he had made, in reference to the antiquities of this kingdom in general, and ſeveral adjacent counties in particular; ſome volumes of which are yet preſerved, and remain inconteſtible evidences of his wonderful diligence, and excellent diſpoſition (*z*). He collated and tranſcribed ſeveral ancient records and monuments of paſt times, ſuch as the BLACK BOOK of the EXCHEQUER (*a*), which he had ſome thoughts of publiſhing. He made a noble collection of Roman coins, of which, as he was a very good judge himſelf, in reſpect to their value, ſo he ſpared no expence that appeared neceſſary for accompliſhing the ends (*b*) he propoſed in making that collection. He was a great patron of learned men, and very free in his communications, as appears from the acknowledgments made by the induſtrious Mr. Weever, who received great helps (*c*) from him in carrying on his large and uſeful work. That he was not, as ſome have repreſented him, a vain man, may appear from hence, that ſcarcely any thing of his writing appeared in his lifetime [*G*]. He was rather deſirous of being uſeful to the literary world in another way, that is, in the way of a collector of ſcarce, curious, and valuable pieces, more eſpecially ſuch as regarded the hiſtory, antiquities, and records of this nation; to which ſtudies, when he had once addicted himſelf, he was, in a great meaſure, weaned from the general and indeterminate purſuit of knowledge, with the deſire of which he had been before poſſeſſed (*d*). It was the deep ſenſe he had of the great advantages that might ariſe to his country, from the application of a man of learning and fortune to things of this nature, his juſt conception of the deficiencies in moſt of the hiſtories publiſhed in and before his time, and the great examples he had before his eyes of the learned Camden, the beneficent Sir Robert Cotton, and the judicious Mr. Selden, that inſpired him with a ſtrong inclination of compoſing, or, at leaſt, amaſſing the materials for thoſe great works, that, we have his own authority to prove, were the principal objects of his care for many years,

(*u*) See Sir W. Dugdale's Catalogue.

(*w*) See that liſt publiſhed by order of the Parliament in that year, 4to.

(*x*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iv. p. 1353.

(*y*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 192, 193.

(*z*) Theſe, or at leaſt a part of them, are in the library belonging to the College of Arms.

(*a*) A tranſcript of this, with his learned notes, is in the Harleian collection.

(*b*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 75.

(*c*) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 698.

(*d*) Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, fo. 47. *a*.

'ſiderable moment, having in it *decem Cuſtodias*, and 'a caſtle of great ſtrength and extent, and ſo I have 'done with Cambridge as a renowned place.

'And now I come to ſpeak to it as it hath been a 'nurſery of learning; nor will I begin higher with it 'than the time of the learned Saxon Monarch King '*Alfred*, becauſe I ſuppoſe that no man will queſtion 'or gainſay, but that there are ſufficient teſtimonies of 'certain perſons that did together in Cambridge ſtudy 'the arts and ſciences much about the time. And it 'grew to be a place ſo famous for learning about the 'time of William the Firſt, the Norman; that he ſent 'his younger ſon *Henry* thither to be there inſtructed, 'who himſelf being afterwards King of England by 'the name of Henry the Firſt, was alſo ſurnamed '*Beauclerk*, in reſpect of his great and invulgar know-'ledge. If I ſhould undertake to alledge and vouch 'the records and other monuments of good authority, 'which aſſert and prove the increaſe and flouriſhing 'eſtate of this univerſity in the ſucceeding ages, I 'ſhould ſpend more time than our great and weighty 'occaſions at this preſent will permit: it ſhall there-'fore ſuffice to have added, that the moſt ancient and 'firſt endowed college of England was *Valence* college 'in *Cambridge*, which, after the foundation thereof, 'as appears by one of our Parliament Rolls remaining 'upon record in the Tower of London, received the 'new name or appellation of *Pembroke Hall*. It is in '*Retu. Parliam. de ann.* 38 *H.* VI. *Numb.* 31. It 'appearing therefore ſo evidently, by all that I have 'ſaid, that *Cambridge* is in all reſpects the elder ſiſter, 'which I ſpeak not to derogate from *Oxford*; my 'humble advice is, that we lay aſide the preſent queſ-'tion, as well to avoid diviſion amongſt ourſelves, as 'to entomb all further emulation between the two ſiſ-'ters, and that we ſuffer the preſent bill to paſs as it 'is now penned; and the rather, becauſe I think *Ox-'ford* had the precedence in the laſt bill of this nature 'that paſſed this houſe.'

[*G*] *Appeared in his life-time.*] The only piece of his which is known to deſerve that title, is that the reader has ſeen in the foregoing note, which was printed under the following title:

"*A* Speech *delivered in* Parliament *by Sir* Symonds "D'Ewes, *touching the Antiquity of* Cambridge. Lond. "1642, 4*to*."

In thoſe days, when there were ſome people living who were thought to know as much of our ancient Hiſtory and records as moſt folks, and but for whom certainly we had known but little of them, this ſpeech was held ſo far from being idle or ridiculous, that it gave this gentleman a great reputation. We may be very well ſatisfied of this, ſince the following tract, which is commonly aſcribed to John Selden, Eſq. was ſuſpected, by ſuch as pretended to have great inſight into matters of that kind, to have fallen from the pen of our learned author, and the point is left undecided by a great Critick in ſuch learning (18.)

"A Brief Diſcourſe concerning the Power of Peers "and Commons in Parliament, in point of Judicature. "Lond. 1640. 4to."

If this was really of his writing, it is a very ſtrong proof that he was not covetous of applauſe, ſince he neither owned it publicly, nor gave any private intimation to his friends that might ſecure his title. On the other hand, if the ſuppoſing it to be his ariſes purely from conjecture, it muſt give us a very high opinion of his credit in thoſe days, ſince the very raiſing a doubt whether this belonged to him or to Selden, does the higheſt honour to his character as an Antiquary.

(18) Biſhop Nicolſon, in his Hiſtorical Library, P. i. p. 195.

and which, it is highly probable, he carried to ſome degree of perfection (e) [H]. This diſpoſition of his procured him very great reſpect and eſteem from the ableſt and wiſeſt perſons of his times, ſuch as the learned Spelman, the famous Selden, and many others (f). But later writers, either for want of better knowing this gentleman's real character, or for ſome other reaſons, have not treated his memory with that decency (g) that might have been expected; and, therefore, the reader will not be diſpleaſed to find, in the notes, a very ſhort and modeſt vindication of our author and his writings from their cenſures [I]. He

(e) Archbiſhop Uſher's Letters, p. 496. See likewiſe his Preface to his Journals of the Parliaments of Q. Elizabeth.

(f) See his letter to Abp. Uſher before recited, the Abp's. Anſwer, and other letters to Sir Symonds in that collection.

(g) See this matter explained in note [I].

[H] *To ſome degree of perfection.*] The reader will perceive, by what has been already quoted from his Preface to the Journals of Parliament in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that as he was far from inclining to hide them from the publick, ſo, on the other hand, he had no intention to acquire fame to himſelf in his life-time by the publication of them. His diſpoſition was the very ſame with regard to his other great undertakings. He was conſcious to himſelf of the uncertainty whether he might finiſh all or any of them, but this did not hinder him from beginning of them, as appears from his own words, which will beſt expreſs his meaning (19).

(19) At the cloſe of his Preface to his Journals of the Parliaments in the Reign of Q. Elizabeth.

'The chief of the works beforementioned, and by 'me intended for the publick good, are theſe en'ſuing:

'A General Hiſtory of Great Britain, from the firſt 'Inhabitants to the preſent Times, to be drawn eſpe'cially out of Record, and other abſtruſe and exotick 'Monuments, for the reformation of all the Chro'nicles or Hiſtories of this kind yet extant, which will 'require ſeveral volumes.

'The Survey of Norfolk, Suffolk, Eſſex, and Cam'bridgeſhire, out of Records or Original Deeds.

'The Antiquity of the Municipal or Common Laws 'of the Realm before the Norman Conqueſt, out of 'Record alſo for the greateſt part, or other invulgar 'materials. For which I have a deſire alſo, if my 'time will ſuffice for collection, to add a ſecond part 'out of the Itinerant and Plea Books, chiefly remain'ing in the Treaſury at Weſtminſter,

'Theſe I have propoſed to myſelf to labour in, be'ſides divers other ſmaller works, as well Theological 'as moral, like him that ſhoots at the ſun, not in 'hopes to reach it, but to ſhoot as high as poſſibly his 'ſtrength, art, or ſkill will permit. So, though I 'know it impoſſible to finiſh all theſe during my ſhort 'and incertain life, having already entered into the 'thirtieth year of my age, and having many unavoid'able employments and cares of an eſtate and family, 'yet if I can but finiſh a little in each kind, it may 'hereafter ſtir up ſome able judgments to add an end 'to the whole, in the ſame way and ſearch I ſhall have 'waded in before them. In the mean time I ſhall al'ways pray, as I do ſincerely deſire, that by all my 'endeavours GOD may be glorified, the *truth* divine 'or human vindicated, and the *publick* benefited.

'*Sic mihi contingat vivere, ſicque mori.*

'SIMONDS D'EWES.'

[I] *And his writings from their cenſures.*] It cannot but be eſteemed an action right in itſelf, grateful with reſpect to the dead, and uſeful to the Republick of Letters, when care is taken to revive the memory of worthy men, and to reſcue them from miſrepreſentation, which is worſe than oblivion. Sir Simonds D'Ewes, having been bred under Dr. Richard Holdſworth of St. John's in Cambridge, who was a man of moderate principles, though ſteadily attached to the Conſtitution in Church and State; came into the world with ſentiments that did not much recommend him to Archbiſhop Laud, and other warm Divines. But for all this he was ſincerely religious; and though his affection to liberty induced him to ſtay with the Parliament, where we find, by ſeveral fine ſpeeches (20), that he was a great maſter in thoſe parts of learning moſt uſeful to a Senator, yet he was far from inclining either to Anarchy or a Commonwealth. He very well knew, that the former muſt make way for tyranny of ſome ſort or other, and that the latter was altogether incompatible with the laws of England, and with the temper and intereſts of the nation. It is to be hoped therefore, that the Reverend Mr. Fuller was not afraid of giving offence, when he drew up his notes concerning this worthy perſon, which are not only deſtitute of any remarkable facts, and without method, but without dates alſo, one only excepted, and that falſe (21). He might, without doubt, have been better informed, if he had taken any degree of pains; and therefore his omiſſions in this reſpect are the leſs excuſable. Doctor Smith, a very learned and good man, to whoſe care we owe the beſt memoirs of ſome of the greateſt men that have flouriſhed in this kingdom, was unluckily prejudiced againſt the memory of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, on account of his preſuming to think Camden not infallible (22); and what he has written upon this ſubject being tranſcribed by Mr. Bayle, foreigners can have no other idea of this Gentleman than as he has painted him, a man envious of the merit of others, and having very little of his own (23). Yet it is very certain D'Ewes had the greateſt honour for Camden, whom he mentions very reſpectfully, though he tells us in his Preface to his Journals of the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth, that they will enable his reader to correct many things in the Annals written by this great man of that reign: but he gives due praiſes to his performance; and it was his eſteem for his memory, though he did not carry that ſo far as to be in love with his miſtakes, that betrayed him into the expreſſion for which he has been cenſured. Biſhop Nicolſon, in his dry way, ſneers at Sir Symonds D'Ewes more than once (24), and hints, that though he promiſed much he had performed little; which is the more extraordinary, when in his Preface he very plainly points out where the vaſt collections made by this painful Antiquary are to be found (25). We need however wonder the leſs at this, when at the ſame time he ſpeaks ſo harſhly of John Leland, *the bulkieſt promiſes of ſuch noted writers commonly prove the moſt abotive*, and the reaſon he gives for it is, *deſpair of anſwering the world's raiſed expectations very much contributing to their miſcarriage* (26). This remark provoked the laborious Mr. Hearne to remark upon him in his turn: *yet the moſt abortive pieces of Leland*, ſays he, *are far better, and much more correct, than the moſt compleat performances of ſome writers* (27). Notwithſtanding which obſervation, the very ſame Thomas Hearne has dealt moſt unkindly by our author. After he had undertaken to publiſh the Black Book of the Exchequer, he was generouſly ſupplied, by the late Edward Earl of Oxford, with the copy of that valuable piece made by our famous Antiquary, bearing this title, *Liber niger parvus MS. Scaccarii ex parte rememoratoris Regis, integre tranſcriptus & cum Autographo accurate comparatus à meipſo Simonds D'Ewes.* It was by the help of this communication Mr. Hearne was enabled to add a great many curious and inſtructive notes from the margin of our author's book. Yet in his Preface he has expreſſed his gratitude in the following character (28). 'The 'reader will not wonder at his leaving this work un'publiſhed, contrary, as I believe, to his original in'tention, when he ſhall underſtand that D'Ewes, though 'a man diligent and learned, was nevertheleſs vain 'and empty towards his ſacred Majeſty; like Selden, 'an enemy and adverſary; and one, who many things '(amongſt the reſt an Engliſh Hiſtory, for the writing 'of which, in my judgment, he was very little fit) 'having promiſed, compleated only a very few.' This is but one paſſage out of many in which he depreciates this Gentleman's character, which ſurely is a little hard, conſidering he would have had no opportunity of doing ſo, had he not availed himſelf of his labours. It has been already ſhewn, that this reproach, with reſpect to his political principles, was not very well founded: and perhaps Mr. Hearne would have dealt with him more fairly, if he had known that in the latter part of his life he was wont to obſerve, not by way of compliment to the Long Parliament, *That they alone had paſſed more laws than all the Parliaments put together*

(20) See theſe ſpeeches at large in the firſt volume of Ruſhworth's Collections.

(21) Fuller's Worthies, Suffolk, p. 75.

(22) See what is ſaid before in note [E].

(23) See the article of CAMDEN (WM.) in Bayle's Dictionary.

(24) Hiſtorical Library, P. i. p. 4, 19, 23.

(25) See both that to the Engliſh and alſo that to the Iriſh Hiſtorical Library.

(26) Hiſtorical Library, P. i. p. 153.

(27) Thomæ Sprotti Chronica, p. 233.

(28) In Præfat. Lib. Nig. Scac. p. x.

He deceaſed April 18th, 1650, in the forty-eighth year of his age (*b*), and was ſucceeded in his eſtates and titles by his ſon Willoughby D'Ewes, to whom Sir Symonds D'Ewes's Journals

(*b*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. Lib. xiv. p. 23.

*that had ſat before them* (29). But whatever his principles might be with reſpect to Church and State, and whether theſe were allied to, or remote from, thoſe of the induſtrious Mr. Hearne, juſtice was certainly due to his writings, with which he ought to have been better acquainted before he pronounced ſo poſitively, that though he promiſed much he performed but little. Whoever conſiders that his promiſes and performances were equal ſecrets to the publick, till his private letters were printed, and his vaſt collections fallen into other hands, will be very probably of another opinion, and think that the character afforded him by a Reverend Hiſtorian, who was never ſuſpected of being a friend to the memories of men, who in their life-times ſhewed themſelves enemies to our Conſtitution in Church or State, is much more agreeable to truth, and to the real merits of the perſon concerned (30): 'We ſhall 'next, ſays he, mention Sir Simonds D'Ewes, a 'Gentleman educated at the Univerſity of Cambridge, 'celebrated for a moſt curious Antiquary, highly 'eſteemed by the great Selden, and particularly re'markable for his Journals of all the Parliaments in 'Queen Elizabeth's reign, and for his admirable ma'nuſcript library he left behind him, now in the hands 'of one of the greateſt geniuſes (31) in the age.' C.

(29) Fuller's Worthies, Suffolk, p. 75.

(30) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 686.

(31) The late Earl of Oxford.

*** [There is ſomething in this article of that amiable partiality, in favour of the characters he deſcribes, by which Dr. Campbell is frequently diſtinguiſhed. Sir Symonds D'Ewes was undoubtedly worthy of notice as a diligent Collector, and a zealous Antiquary. He has added ſome valuable materials to the general body of Engliſh Hiſtory; and his "Jour"nals of all the Parliaments during the Reign of "Queen Elizabeth," have thrown conſiderable light upon the tranſactions of that reign. But, beſides giving him thoſe praiſes to which he was entitled, our predeceſſor has gone farther in his vindication than appears to have been abſolutely neceſſary; and has taken too much pains, in particular, to exculpate Sir Symonds D'Ewes with regard to the cenſure which he paſſed upon Camden. It might have been ſufficient briefly to have obſerved, that the cenſure was delivered only in a private letter, without any view to its ever being publiſhed; and that, although it was haſtily and injudiciouſly written, it might not proceed from any malignity of mind. Indeed, that Sir Symonds had, in general, a ſincere reſpect for the memory of Camden, is evident from one of his wills, an extract from which is given in the fifteenth number of the "Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica." In that will, which was made in 1626, he bequeaths a ſum of money for the erection of a monument to himſelf in Weſtminſter Abbey, juſt by Mr. Camden's tomb, on the right hand, and to be in every thing as nearly as poſſible according to the form and faſhion of that tomb (32).

(32) Bibl. Top. Brit. N° 15, Preface, p. xiii.

Another of the circumſtances which Dr. Campbell endeavours to extenuate, is Sir Simonds D'Ewes's ſpeech concerning the Antiquity of the Univerſity of Cambridge. We cannot, however, help regarding it as a pedantic declamation, delivered at a time when more important objects demanded the attention of Parliament. The cenſures paſt upon it we conſider as juſt, independently of any diſpute whether Oxford or Cambridge be the more ancient ſeat of literary education.

The moſt important of all Sir Symonds D'Ewes's ſpeeches is not mentioned in note G. It was ſpoken in a debate which took place on the ſeventh of July, 1641, on occaſion of the King's Manifeſto in favour of the Elector Palatine. The authors of the Parliamentary Hiſtory remark, that it deſerves particular notice, as containing a noble abſtract of the affairs of Europe for the laſt twenty years. It does, indeed, reflect great credit upon Sir Symonds's hiſtorical and political knowledge (33).

(33) Parliamentary Hiſt. Vol. ix. p. 467—475.

Among the Harleian manuſcripts, now in the Britiſh Muſeum, is a manuſcript Journal of the Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, written by himſelf. Conſiderable uſe was made of it by our predeceſſor, and ſeveral extracts from it have been printed by Thomas Hearne. But a ſtill larger number of them are publiſhed in the Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, before referred to. Moſt of them relate to the tranſactions and characters of Sir Symonds's own time, and either have been, or will be noticed in their proper places. It may be ſufficient here to advert to a few particulars which more immediately reſpect Sir Symonds D'Ewes himſelf, and ſerves to diſplay the diſpoſition of his mind.

He has given, in his Journal, a minute account of his courtſhip and marriage. The only love-letter he had occaſion to ſend, and which was accompanied with a preſent of a diamond carcanet, was as follows:

"Faireſt,

"Bleſt is the heart and hand that ſincerely ſends "theſe meaner lines, if another heart and eye gra"tiouſlie daigne to pittie the wound of the firſt, and "the numnes of the latter: and thus may this other "poore incloſed carcanett, if not adorn the purer "neck, yet be hidden in the private cabinet of her, "whoſe humble ſweetneſs and ſweet humility de"ſerve the juſteſt honour, the greateſt thankfulneſs. "Nature made ſtones, but opinion jewels; this, "without your milder acceptance and opinion, will "prove neither ſtone nor jewel. Do but enhappie him "that ſent it in the ordinary uſe of it, who though "unworthie in himſelf, yet reſolves to continue your "humbleſt ſervant,

"Simonds D'Ewes (34)."

(34) Bibl. Top. Brit. ubi ſupra, p. 34—38.

That Sir Symonds D'Ewes's judgment and taſte with regard to wit were as contemptible as can well be imagined, will be evident from the following paſſage, taken from his account of Carr Earl of Somerſet, and his wife. "This diſcontent gave many ſatyrical wits "occaſion to vent themſelves into ſtingie libels, in "which they ſpared neither the perſons, families, nor "moſt ſecret avowtries of that unfortunate paire. There "came alſoe two anagrams to my handes, *not unwor"thie to be owned by the rareſt witts of this age*, though "the firſt be reſolved into ſomewhat too broad an "expreſſion for ſoe nobly an extracted ladie:

"Frances Howard, "Thomas Overburie,
"Car finds a whore, ôô a buſie murther (35)."

(35) p. 134.

In his eſtimation of the merit of hiſtorical compoſition, Sir Symonds diſplayed a far ſuperior diſcernment. He was a paſſionate admirer of Thuanus's Hiſtory, anxiouſly applied to the younger Thuanus, to obtain copies of ſuch parts of it as had not hitherto been publiſhed, and was ſucceſsful in procuring a picture of that great Author, and another of the famous Admiral Coligni (36).

(36) Ibid. p. 52—54. 72—77.

Sir Symonds D'Ewes was ſtrongly tinctured with the Calviniſtical bigotry of the times. In his account of King James's Death and Funeral, he highly commends that monarch for his oppoſition to James Arminius, Conradus Vorſtius, and *other blaſphemous Anabaptiſts*. Speaking of the Duke of Buckingham, he ſays, "What his religion was, I am not able to averre; "yet it was obſerved in Parliament, that he pro"cured himſelfe to be elected Chancellour of the "Univerſitie of Cambridge by the Arminian partie, "or the *Enemies of God's Grace and Providence*, "which till of late years have called themſelves Ana"baptiſts, being the followers of Michael Servetus, "Lælius Socinus, and Sebaſtian Caſtellio, and have "been ſo named and written againſt by the Orthodox "Proteſtant partie for neare foure-ſcore yeares laſt "paſt; and were firſt called Arminians after the death "of James Arminius, Profeſſor of Divinity in Leyden "in Holland, about thirtie yeares paſt, who ſtole "much of that he wrote out of his great maſter Se"baſtian Caſtellio, or out of the worke of Robert "Bellarmine, and other Jeſuits." (37.)

(37) Ibid. p. 324—45.

Sir Symonds D'Ewes's characters of ſome of the principal perſons of the age appear often to be grounded only on common report, and to be mixed with no ſmall degree of prejudice. His account of Lord Bacon is eminently malignant; and indeed ought never to have been written, even in the moſt private manner, unleſs it had been ſubſtantiated by undeniable evidence. On the whole, we have not formed a high opinion

Journals of the Parliaments of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when publiſhed, were dedicated, by his couſin, and Sir Symonds's nephew, Paul Bowes, Eſq. of the Middle-Temple, who was a Gentleman of great worth and learning.

opinion either of Sir Symonds D'Ewes's temper or judgment; and therefore we the leſs regret that he did not execute all his hiſtorical purpoſes.

Several of his Collections, and a number of letters that paſſed between him and his Antiquarian friends, are preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum.] K.

DICKINSON or DICKENSON (EDMUND) a celebrated Phyſician and Chemiſt in the reigns of Charles and James II. His family were originally of Ritington in Lancaſhire, but his father, the Reverend Mr. William Dickinſon, ſettled in Berkſhire, where he was Rector of Appleton. He married Mary, the daughter of Edmund Colepeper, Eſq. of Halingborne in Kent, by whom he had this ſon, who was born September the 26th, 1624, at Appleton in the county of Berks (*a*). He received the firſt rudiments of learning and languages at the famous College of Eton, whence, in 1642, he came to Oxford, and was admitted of Merton-Colege as one of the Eton Poſt maſters (*b*). June the 22d, 1647, he became Bachelor of Arts, and was admitted Probationer-Fellow of his College (*c*). On November 27th, 1649, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, and was entered on the Phyſick line (*d*). July 3d, 1656 (*e*), he was admitted to his Bachelor's degree in that faculty, wherein he quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf as well as in other branches of curious and uſeful knowledge, and, on July 17th, 1656, took the degree of Doctor (*f*). The firſt thing which made him known in the learned world, was an oration ſpoken by him in the Hall of Merton-College, July 10th, 1653, in defence of *Freedom* in *Philoſophizing*, which was highly and juſtly admired (*g*). In 1655 he publiſhed, at Oxford, his "Delphi Phœnicizantes," i. e. "Delphi derived from the "Phœnicians;" of which moſt learned piece it is hard to ſay, whether it gained the author more friends at home, or reputation abroad [*A*]. Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, had ſo juſt a ſenſe of the value of that work, and the worth of him who penned it, that he would gladly have perſuaded him to have applied himſelf to Divinity, and to have taken orders; but our author was fixed in his choice (*h*). The Warden and Fellows of Merton-College, in deference to his extraordinary merit, conferred on him the place of Superior Reader of Linacre's Lectures, which he held for ſome years (*i*). He then applied himſelf to Chemiſtry with much aſſiduity; and about this time it was that he received the firſt viſit from an illuſtrious French adept, who commended our author's ſkill and diligence, and encouraged him to proceed in his ſtudies (*k*). At length leaving the College, that he might practiſe his profeſſion more conveniently, he took a houſe in the High-ſtreet of Oxford, where he dwelt many years (*l*). In 1669 he married his firſt wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Luddington, of an antient family, ſeated at Carlton-Scroop in Lincolnſhire; by which Lady he had his only daughter (*m*). The mother dying in child-bed, was interred in St. Peter's Church

(*a*) MS. Memoirs communicated to the author of this article.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

(*c*) MS. Memoirs and Wood. Wood's Faſti. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 59.

(*d*) MS. Memoirs and Wood, ubi ſup. col. 70.

(*e*) Ibid. col. 111.

(*f*) MS. Memoir.

(*g*) Vide Cren. Faſcicul. Differt. Hiſt. &c. Vol. I. p. 195. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

(*h*) MS. Memoir.

(*i*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

(*k*) MS. Memoir. Wood, ubi ſup. vide etiam Epiſt. Theol. Mundan. Edm Dickinſon, p. 146.

(*l*) MS. Memoir.

(*m*) Ibid.

[*A*] *Friends at home, or reputation abroad.*] The title of this book at large runs thus: "Delphi Phœnicizantes, ſive Tractatus in quo Græcos, quicquid "apud Dei hos celebre erat (ſeu Pythonis aut Apollinis Hiſtoriam, ſeu pæonica certamina & præmia, "ſeu priſcam templi formam atque inſcriptionem, ſeu "Tripodem, Oraculum, ſpectes) è Joſuæ, &c. Hiſtoria Scriptiſque ſacris eſſinxiſſe, rationibus haud inconcinnis oſtenditur. Et quamplurima quæ Philologiæ ſtudioſis apprimè jucunda futura ſunt, aliter "ac vulgo ſolent, enarrantur." The ſcope of this tract was to prove, that the Greeks borrowed the ſtory of the Pythian Apollo, and all that rendered the oracle at Delphi famous, from the Holy Scriptures, and the book of Joſhua in particular. In treating this very obſcure ſubject, he ſhews a wonderful ſkill in the Hebrew, Arabic, and Greek tongues, a perfect knowledge of antiquity, and a moſt penetrating judgment. The quickneſs of his thoughts, the probability of his conjectures, and his profound erudition, deſerve the higheſt applauſe. The judicious Carpſov mentions him with much reſpect as a very uſeful commentator on Joſhua: to ſay the truth, there are abundance of ſtrokes in this piece which throw light on the darkeſt paſſages in ſacred and prophane hiſtory, which is the reaſon this diſſertation gave ſuch high ſatisfaction to the learned world (1). To this treatiſe were added, I. "Diatribe de Noæ in Italiam Adventu; ejuſque nominibus ethnicis." i. e. "A Diſſertation on the "coming of Noah into Italy, and of the names under "which he was known to the Heathens." In which are alſo a multitude of curious obſervations, as well philological and mythological, as hiſtorical. Struvius (2), the learned German, who has written ſo uſefully on literary hiſtory, takes notice of it, and ſome modern writers have borrowed from it without naming it at all. II. "De Origine Druidum." i. e. "Of the "Riſe of the Druids." This treatiſe, in relation to the eldeſt of our Britiſh philoſophers, is very conciſe, but diſcovers the author's great knowledge in our antiquities, and is particularly mentioned by Stollius (3), and the author honoured with the title of a moſt learned Antiquary by Reimarus (4). III. "Oratiuncula pro "Philoſophia liberanda." This is the oration mentioned in the text, as the firſt of our author's performances. Mr. Wood (5) tells us, that this was ſpoken, when, according to the ſtatutes of his houſe (Merton-College) he varied from the mind of Ariſtotle, and ſo it is marked in the end of the oration. IV. "Zach. "Bogani, Edmundo Dickenſon." This letter does our author as much honour as any of his own works. It is filled with citations from the moſt antient authors in ſupport of his opinions, and the higheſt commendations of his learning, induſtry, and judgment. "The Del-"phi Phœnicizantes" came out originally at Oxford in 1655, in 12mo. with a Dedication to Dr. John Goddard of the College of Phyſicians, London, and Warden of Merton College at Oxford. It was printed at Frankfort in 1669, 8vo. (6), of which edition Wood never heard; and at Rotterdam in 1691; by Crenius in the firſt Tome of his "Faſciculus Diſſertationum "Hiſtorico-critico-philologicarum," in 12mo, and not 8vo, as Wood ſays, which is an indication he had not ſeen it. He adds, *This book is much valued by foreigners, and they ſpeak very honourably of it, and it's author* (7) This muſt be underſtood of the foreigners Wood had converſed with (which were not a few) at Oxford. We have ſhewn the ſame thing from their writings; indeed what wonder, conſidering our author was ſcarcely thirty when he wrote this moſt learned tract?

(1) Carpſov. Introd. libr. can. Vol. I. p. 166.—Vol. II. p. 485. Fabricii Bibliog. Antiq. p. 29, 42c. Reimman. Idea Syſtem Antiq. Literar. p. 430. Spizel. de re literaria Sinenſium, p. 49.

(2) Bibliothica Hiſt. p. 665.

(3) Intro. in Hiſt. Liter. p. 434.

(4) Ubi ſupra.

(5) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946. Cren. Faſciculus Diſſ. Vol. I. p. 203.

(6) Com. a Beughem Biblioth. Chron. p. 79. Crenius in Præf. Faſciculi Diſſert. Tom. I. Rot. 1691.

(7) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

at Oxford, where a monument is erected to her memory (*n*). He wedded some time after Helena, the daughter of **** Mole, Esq. of Aylesbury, in the county of Bucks, who dying in a short time, he continued ever after a widower (*o*). On the death of the famous Dr. Thomas Willis, which happened in 1684 (*p*), our author was prevailed on to remove to London, and there he took Dr. Willis's house, in St. Martin's lane, where he practised with great success many years (*q*). Having been so happy as to restore to health, after all hopes of recovery were lost, Henry [Bennet] Earl of Arlington, Lord Chamberlain to Charles II. that nobleman, in gratitude, introduced him to the King, who, in 1684, appointed him one of his physicians in ordinary, and physician to his household (*r*). As that prince was a great lover of chemistry, and a considerable proficient therein (*s*), Dr. Dickenson grew into great favour, and was honoured with much of his Majesty's conversation in the royal elaboratory, which was under the King's bedchamber, and to which he had a private stair-case from thence (*t*). His favour lasted as long as the life of his Royal Master; and his brother and successor King James the Second continued him in both places (*u*). In 1686, our author published in Latin his Epistle to Theodore Mundanus, the illustrious French adept before-mentioned, as also his answer, translated from the French into Latin. This is one of the most curious, as it is absolutely the most rational, piece that ever appeared on hermetick philosophy, and is still highly esteemed [*B*]. Some small time after the abdication of his unfortunate Master, Dr. Dickenson retired from practice, being in years, and very much afflicted with the stone. He continued nevertheless to apply himself to his studies; and, as he was a gentleman of great candour, and very communicative, so, at his house in St. Martin's-lane, there were frequent assemblies of the learned, who were willing to improve these valuable qualities in Dr. Dickenson to their own advantage (*w*). He had long meditated a system of philosophy, not founded on his own conjectures, or the experiments of other men, but chiefly from the lights afforded by the Mosaick history, compared with the theories of the Antients. Part of this laborious work, when he had brought it into order, was unfortunately burnt. The Doctor, however, was not discouraged: he set about the same task again, and, at length, finished and committed it to the press. It appeared in 1702, under the title of "Physica Vetus et Vera" (*x*). The same genius, the same learning, the same exquisite judgment, and, above all, the same modest zeal for truth, and the same pious concern for revealed religion, were visible in this, that had rendered his first treatise so much admired. All who had a taste for Oriental learning, and the Corpuscularian system, which, in those days, were not a few, highly applauded Dr. Dickenson's book, and with such it still is, and ever will be, in great credit [*C*]. The rest of his days

(*n*) MS. Mem.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 158.

(*q*) MS. Memoir.

(*r*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

(*s*) See the Duke of Buckingham's character of K. Charles II. Memoirs of eminent persons deceased in 1712, p. 305.

(*t*) MS Memoir.

(*u*) Ibid. Vide etiam Titul. Epistol. ad Mundan. de Quintessentia Philosophorum. Oxon. 1686. 8vo.

(*w*) MS. Mem.

(*x*) Lond. 1702. 4to.

[*B*] *And is still highly esteemed.*] In order to give the reader a just idea of this most curious treatise, it will be necessary to observe, that Theodore Mundanus visited our author Dickenson first at Oxford, a little after the Restoration, perhaps in 1662 (8). He found him then a deep admirer of sublime chemistry, and exhorted him to pursue his studies with such assurances as had probably great effect upon his mind, because we find by his letter he had read Lully, Ripley, Philalethes, &c. and had actually employed much time in endeavouring to reach their sense. In 1679 (9), Theodore Mundanus paid him a visit at London, and renewed his acquaintance. It may, from circumstances in the Doctor's epistle, be gathered, that he was by this time not a little cooled in his inclinations towards chemistry, at least towards alchemy. And therefore to give him spirits to address himself again to such enquiries, Mundanus made two projections in his presence (10). This is so strange a fact, that to leave the English reader without scruple about it, we shall transcribe the words of Theod. Mundanus, writing to Dr. Dickenson (11), who caused them to be printed. 'That therefore I might 'by an irrefragable argument, testify how high and 'how honourable an opinion I had conceived of you, 'as also that I might establish your confidence in the 'principles of our philosophy, and encourage you in 'your enquiries, I made two projections in your pre'sence. Neither know I any thing which ought to 'induce you to scruple the truth of what I affirm to 'you, that though it is now forty years since I was '*Philosophus Adeptus*; i. e. an adept, or one perfect 'in the alchemistical science, yet, yourself excepted, 'there are not three persons, to whom, in that space, 'I have made known myself or my art.' But, to strengthen the thing still farther, hear what Dr. Dickenson himself says to Theodore Mundanus (12). "I "heretofore thought of the transmutation of metals, "just as we think of the strange accounts we hear of "wonderful facts done, or odd customs which prevail, "in regions at a vast distance. So should I have ever "thought, as till then, indeed, I did think, when "two years ago you had the goodness, by an illus"trious demonstration, to take from me all power of "doubting any longer." It is now time to come to the book, which bore this title, "Epistola Edmundi "Dickinson, M. D. et M. R. ad Theod. Mundanum, "Philosophum Adeptum, de Quintessentia Philoso"phorum et de vera Physiologia. Una cum Quæs"tionibus Aliquot de secreta Materia Physica. His "Accedunt Mundani Responsia. OXONIÆ, E The"atro Sheldoni, anno 1686, 8vo." i. e. "Ed. Dick. "to Theod. Mund. an Adept of the Quintessence of "the Philosophers, and the true System of Physicks. "As also certain Queries, as to the Materials in Al"chemy. To which are annexed the Answers of Mun"danus." The letter is dated from London, July 31, 1683, and the answer of Mundanus from Paris, September 22, 1684. It was not on this account that we called him a French Philosopher in the text, but because, when Dr. Dickenson wrote in Latin, he chose to answer in French. From this language his epistle was translated by H. B. (13), whom I suppose to have been their common friend Dr. Becket. The book was reprinted at Rotterdam, 1699, 8vo (14). And there is a large account of it (as it well deserved) in the Literary Journal mentioned in the margin (15). One thing is very remarkable, that this curious piece escaped Professor Boerhaave, who would otherwise have mentioned it in his so much esteemed "Elementa "Chemiæ."

[*C*] *In great Credit.*] The title of this book runs thus: "D. Edmundi Dickinsoni, M. D. Physica Ve"tus et Vera: sive Tractatus de naturali veritate hex"aëmeri Mosaici. Perquem probatur in historia "Creationis universæ methodum atque modum, tum "veræ Philósophiæ principia, strictim atque breviter "a Mose traditur. Lond. 1702, 4to." i. e. "The "antient and true System of Physicks, or a Treatise con-

(8) De Quintess. Philos. p. 146.

(9) Ibid.

(10) MS. Memoir.

(11) De Quintess. Philos. p. 149.

(12) Ibid. p. 4.

(13) Ibid p. 145.

(14) Corn. a Beughem. Bibliogr. Eruditor. curiosa. Amst. 1701. 12mo. p. 85.

(15) Ephem. Erudit. Belg. An. Dom. 1699. Mens. Maj. & seq.

days he ſpent in the improvement of his mind, and in converſing with his friends, who, through the whole courſe of his life, were the moſt eminent perſons in the kingdom, either for parts or preferment, for their intrinſic merit, or elevation in dignity; ſuch as Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who loved and underſtood Chemiſtry, Dr. Seth Ward, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, Archbiſhop Sheldon, and the worthy Archbiſhop Tenniſon, &c. (y). He yielded to fate, through a ſevere fit of the ſtone, on the third of April, 1707, being then in the eighty-third year of his age, and was interred in the Church of St. Martin's in the Fields (z). He left behind him a character every way worthy of eſteem, as well as that (ſo juſtly acquired by his labours in his profeſſion, and his curious writings) of being one of the moſt knowing and ſucceſsful Phyſicians of his time; which, if we recollect that he was contemporary with Willis, Sydenham, Lower, &c. we ſhall the better comprehend its extent (a). Beſides the pieces before mentioned, he is ſuppoſed to have been the author of "Parabola Philoſophica, ſeu Iter Philareti ad Montem Mercu-"rii (b)." i. e. "A Philoſophical Parable, or a Journey to the Mount of Mercury, by "PHILARETES;" no way inferior to any thing he owned. If this tract be truly his, as there ſeems no cauſe to aſſign it any other author (c), then it may ſerve as a full anſwer to one of Anthony Wood's remarks in his uſual petulant ſtile, and, indeed, worthy of no other author (d) [D]. The reader is to know, that this ſplenetick perſon, having contracted a diſlike to our author during his reſidence in the Univerſity, could never mention him, on any occaſion, without ſuffering ſomewhat of his bitterneſs to appear, by which, without perceiving it, he deſtroys what he propoſes to effect, inaſmuch as ſhewing his partiality equally abates the credit of his teſtimony as a witneſs, and takes away all pretence for paſſing any cenſure upon him as a judge. Of this more at large in a note [E]. Our

(y) MS. Memoir. See alſo the dedications prefixed to *Delphi Phœnicizantes*, and *Phyſica vetus & vera*.

(z) MS. Memoir.

(a) See theſe articles in this Dictionary.

(b) De Quinteſſentia Philoſophorum, p. 212.

(c) This is farther explained in note [D].

(d) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

"concerning the natural truth of the Moſaick Crea-"tion, in ſix Days. In which it is proved, that the "Method and Mode of the Creation of the Univerſe, "according to the Principles of True Philoſophy, are "ſtrictly and conciſely laid down by Moſes." It was printed again at Rotterdam, 1703, 4to, and Leoburg, 1705, 12*mo* (16). This ſhews the ſale it had in thoſe parts of Europe, where ſuch ſyſtems are moſt canvaſſed, and of conſequence their value beſt underſtood. As the author was an old-faſhioned writer, and not at all inclined to adopt opinions merely for their being plauſible, we need not wonder that ſome admirers of the moderns were but indifferently pleaſed with his performance. Amongſt theſe Stollius (17) hath explained himſelf in the cleareſt terms, though he confeſſes him to have been a man of great learning. But this cenſure of his ariſes from his diſlike of the Atomick ſyſtem, for there are parties among Philoſophers as well as Politicians. Fabricius (18) mentions him and it with reſpect, and ſo does the celebrated Buddeus in many places with due commendations (19). But what ſufficiently demonſtrates the wiſdom, judgment, and penetration of Dr. Dickenſon, is, that the famous Leibnitz, and the moſt learned Wolfius, have, in many things, followed his track.

(16) Struv. Biblioth. Philoſ. p. 161.

(17) Introd. in Hiſt. Liter. p. 661. 663.

(18) Bibliogr. Antiq. p. 282.

(19) Iſagog. Vol. I. p. 245. Compend. Hiſt. Philoſ. p. 300, 301. 391. 496. 497.

[D] *Worthy of no other author.*] That we may not be ſuſpected of ſlandering the Oxford Antiquary, let his own words be produced. After mentioning our Author's being appointed Superior Reader of Linacre's Lecture in his own college, he goes on (20), "and "about that time ſpent much labour and money in the "art of Chemiſtry, kept an Operator, and gave out "to his acquaintance, that he would publiſh a book "thereof; but as yet there is nothing of that ſort ex-"tant by him." We muſt underſtand this of Mr. Wood's knowledge, which, in his own opinion, was extenſive, though I much doubt it deceived him here. For if the *Parabola Philoſophica* was our author's, as I am thoroughly perſuaded it was, for reaſons that I ſhall preſently mention, then, without queſtion, it was the very treatiſe Dr. Dickenſon mentioned to his friends. But becauſe Anthony à Wood was not of the number, he was peeviſh enough to advance a falſe fact of his own ſhewing (though to be ſure he over-looked it); for our Author's letter to Mundanus (22) is mentioned in the ſame place; and therein is a conciſe ſyſtem of chemical principles. The arguments which induce me to believe he wrote the *Parabola Philoſophica* are theſe: 1. The judgment of Mundanus, who tells him he is ſure it is his. 2. The conformity of the ſtile and method. 3. Dr. Dickenſon publiſhing Mundanus's letter without diſowning the book.

(20) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

(21) De Quinteſſ. Philoſ. p. 212.

[E] *At large in a note.*] The point diſcuſſed in the foregoing note ſufficiently demonſtrates what an inclination the Oxford Antiquary had to ſtrike at Dr. Dickinſon; and, as far as in him lay, to leſſen that great reputation which he had raiſed by his ſucceſsful labours in his profeſſion, and his learned writings. But the Doctor being living, it might not be expedient to proceed to greater lengths, at leaſt openly. However, he has ſufficiently vented his ſpleen, without naming the perſon againſt whom his envious ſhafts are directed; and yet ſo plainly pointing him out, as to leave no ſcruple or doubt upon the peruſer's mind who it is he means (22). The ſtory is too long to be inſerted here, and will fall in with greater propriety hereafter. In the mean time it may not be amiſs to obſerve whence the diſtaſte of Wood aroſe; and, indeed, it is ſo ſtrange a one, from his own account of the matter, which, had he not committed it to writing, the world could never have known, that it is not eaſy to conceive any thing more extravagant (23). Dr. Dickenſon was much Mr. Wood's ſenior in Merton-College; and, as himſelf ſays, very kind to him, when he firſt came thither (24). In proceſs of time, however, Dr. Dickenſon being Fellow of his College, of which what little eſtate Wood's family had was held, the money taken for fines on renewing of leaſes, which was paid to Dr. Dickenſon as Burſar or Treaſurer, were, in Mr. Wood's opinion, very high; and though he does not aſcribe this expreſsly to the Doctor, yet it ſeems to be the true ground of all his miſconſtructions of his conduct. There was a long diſpute in the college between the Fellows and their Warden, Sir Thomas Clayton; in which, though Dr. Dickenſon was of the ſame ſide with Mr. Wood, yet becauſe they did not ſucceed in their oppoſition, and the College was obliged to pay a very large debt contracted by the Warden, Mr. Wood will have it, that Dr. Dickenſon was gained by Sir Thomas Clayton's artifices and flattery; of which, except his own ſuſpicion, he offers no kind of evidence whatever (25). Hence, however, we may judge of his temper and diſpoſition, which ought to render us very cautious in giving an implicit credit to whatever he is pleaſed to ſay of his contemporaries. It muſt, indeed, be owned, that what he ſays of thoſe gentlemen who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their writings, in another work of his, is, for the moſt part, free from any of theſe objections (26); but then it is very well known that work received many caſtigations from Biſhop Fell, by whoſe care it was tranſlated into Latin, and publiſhed: and it is as well known, that Mr. Wood complained loudly of this, and was highly diſpleaſed that any thing he had written ſhould be omitted or ſoftened on any account whatever (27). Theſe remarks were in juſtice due to the character of this learned and excellent perſon, and are by no means intended to leſſen that obligation which the publick certainly owes to the inde-

(22) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 160, 161.

(23) The late Earl of Oxford received from John Anſtis, Eſq. Mr. Wood's DIARY, in his own hand, whence the author drew that life of his printed by Tho. Hearne.

(24) Life of Anthony à Wood, written by himſelf, at the cloſe of Thom. Caii *Vindiciæ Antiquitatis Academiæ* Oxonienſis, p. 472.

(25) Wood's Life, p. 552.

(26) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. Vol. II.

(27) Ath Oxon. Vol. II. col. 799.

Our learned Phyſician left alſo behind him, in manuſcript, a treatiſe in Latin, on the *Grecian Games*, which, without queſtion, was extremely worthy of ſeeing the light, and hath

indefatigable diligence of the Oxford Antiquary. whoſe labours, notwithſtanding his prejudices and peeviſhneſs, are highly uſeful, and ought therefore to be juſtly valued. C.

*** [Among the encomiums which, in this Article, are paſſed upon Dr. Dickinſon, he is celebrated for his judgment. But we cannot allow that in that reſpect he was entitled to any great degree of praiſe. At a time when the Royal Society were purſuing the true road to Philoſophical Knowledge; when Boyle, Hooke, and other illuſtrious Members of that Society were enriching the world with their reſearches into nature, and when Newton had made his principal diſcoveries, what was the employment of Dr. Dickinſon? He meditated, and he accompliſhed, a Syſtem of Philoſophy, not founded on his own conjectures, or the experiments of other men, but chiefly from the lights afforded by the Moſaic Hiſtory, compared with the theories of the Ancients. That is, he ſought philoſophy where it is not to be found. He ſought for it in the Scriptures, which entirely relate to other objects, and in the juſtly exploded hypotheſes of antiquity. When to this we add, that he was zealouſly devoted to Alchemy, with what pretence can he be applauded for his exquiſite judgment? He might poſſeſs genius and learning; but ſurely he cannot juſtly be aſſerted to have been a judicious writer.

But there is a charge of a more ſerious nature, which has been brought againſt Dr. Dickenſon. The prime work publiſhed by him was, the "Delphi "Phœnicizantes," together with the Diſſertations annexed to it. It is allowed to be a work of profound erudition, whatever may be thought of the particular ſcheme which the Author has advanced and defended. If, however, Anthony Wood is to be credited, Dr. Dickinſon was not the writer of the "Delphi "Pnœnicizantes," but falſely aſſumed that honour to himſelf. According to Wood, the real author was Henry Jacob, who is recorded as having been a prodigy of learning. The ſtory, as it is related by the Oxford Antiquary, we ſhall give in his own words: "Before I go any farther, the reader is to under-"ſtand, that this our Author, Jacob, being ejected "in 1648, from Merton College, and ſo conſequently "from his Chamber, wherein he had left a trunk "full of books, as well written as printed, left "Oxon. And taking no care, or appointing any "friend for its ſecurity, his chamber-door, before "an year was expired, was broke open for a new-"comer, who finding the trunk there, did let it re-"main in its place for a time. At length, when no "man enquired after it, as the then poſſeſſor thereof "pretended, he ſecured it for his own uſe, broke it "open, and therein diſcovered a choice treaſure of "books: one of them, being a manuſcript, and fit "for the preſs, he diſguiſed, and altered it with "another ſtyle; and at length, after he had learned "Hebrew, and the Oriental Languages, to blind "the world, and had converſed openly with thoſe "moſt excellent in them, as Pocock and Bogan, of "Corpus Chriſti College, and any Grecian or Jew "that came accidentally to the univerſity, he pub-"liſhed it under this title, "Delphi-Phœnicizantes, "&c. (28)."

(28) Athenæ Oxonienſes, Vol. II. col. 160.

It is remarkable that our ingenious predeceſſor does not fairly meet this ſtory. He refers to it in note E, without directly mentioning it. He declares that it is too long to be inſerted, and that it will fall in with greater propriety hereafter; and he is very ſevere upon Anthony Wood. for his diſlike to Dr. Dickinſon. But, all this while, why did not Dr. Campbell come directly to the point? Why did he not ſhew that Wood's charge was totally ill-founded? That he would not have failed to do this, if it had been in his power, is evident from his partiality to Dr. Dickinſon, and his endeavours to repreſent his abilities, writings, and learning, in a high point of view; inſtead of which he has plainly ſlunk from the queſtion. The writer of this note well recollects, that, between forty and fifty years ago, an opinion prevailed, that Dr. Dickinſon was not the author of the "Delphi Phœnicizantes." The fact, I remember, was mentioned to me by my Tutor, Dr. Doddridge, without any doubt of its truth; and this circumſtance was added, that Dr. Dickinſon had affected to repreſent the work as the fruit of his leiſure hours. It may farther be obſerved, though perhaps no great ſtreſs is to be laid upon the remark, that he was only thirty-one years of age when the book was publiſhed, and that the ſubject of it did not ſeem to lie in the courſe of his early ſtudies, which had been devoted to Medicine. If, however we give credit to Anthony Wood's ſtory, ſtill it cannot be denied, that Dr. Dickinſon was a man of ingenuity and learning, and that he was the real author of ſeveral performances, curious in their kind.

As ſo much has been ſaid concerning the claim which Henry Jacob has to be conſidered as having been the writer of the "Delphi Phœnicizantes," a ſhort account of him ſeems to be an act of juſtice due to his memory. He was the ſon of Henry Jacob, a learned Clergyman, ſome time beneficed in Kent, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by writing againſt Biſhop Bilſon, in the famous controverſy concerning Chriſt's Deſcent into Hell. The year of young Jacob's birth cannot exactly be aſcertained; but it is probable that he was born either in 1606 or 1607. As his father was warmly attached to Puritanical Principles, he was ſent abroad for education; in the courſe of which he was put under the tuition of the celebrated Erpenius, Profeſſor of Arabic in the Univerſity of Leyden. The conſequence of this was, that by the help of ſtrong natural parts, united with a vigorous application, Mr. Jacob, in a ſhort time, made a ſurprizing progreſs in Philological and Oriental Literature. When he was about twenty-two years of age he returned to England, and was recommended by Mr. William Bedwell, a noted Orientaliſt of that time, to William Earl of Pembroke, Chancellor of Oxford, as an extraordinary young man, who deſerved particular encouragement. Accordingly, that generous Nobleman immediately wrote to the Univerſity letters in his behalf, requeſting that he might be created Bachelor of Arts; to which degree he was admitted in January 1628-9. In the Earl's recommendation, Jacob was deſcribed as having profited in Oriental Learning above the ordinary meaſures of his age. Soon after he obtained the patronage of John Selden, Henry Briggs, and Peter Turner (men very famous in their generation); and, by their endeavours, was elected Probationer Fellow of Merton-College, in the year 1630. Not, however, being ſufficiently ſkilled in Logic and Philoſophy to carry him through the ſevere exerciſes of that Society, the Warden and Fellows tacitly aſſigned him the ſituation of Philological Lecturer. This being done, he was, for a while, diverted from his ſtudies by the neceſſity of attending to ſome law-ſuits concerning his patrimony, at the concluſion of which he fell into a dangerous ſickneſs, and, by the ſudden loſs of his patron (the Earl of Pembroke) his life was in jeopardy. Biſhop Laud, that great encourager of literature, having ſucceeded the Earl in the Chancellorſhip of Oxford, a way was found out, from Merton-College Statutes, to make Mr. Jacob *Socius Grammaticus*, that is, Reader of Philology to the Juniors, a place which had been diſuſed for about a hundred years. Being now completely ſettled in his Fellowſhip, he occaſionally reſided with Mr. Selden, and aſſiſted him as an amanuenſis, in one of the works which he was publiſhing; and which, we apprehend, muſt have been the "*mare clauſum*." Selden, in acknowledging his obligations, ſtiles him, "Doctiſſimus Henri-"cus Jacobus." It is even underſtood, that Jacob added ſeveral things to the book, which Mr. Selden, finding them to be very excellent, permitted to ſtand. Nay, it is ſaid, that Jacob improved Selden in the Hebrew language. In 1636, Mr. Jacob was created Maſter of Arts; and, in the month of June, 1641, he was elected Superior Beadle of Divinity. At the beginning of the November of the following year, he was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Phyſic:

"But

hath been lately publiſhed (*e*). Before we diſmiſs this article it will be proper to obſerve, that, as our author wrote altogether in Latin, ſo he is among the number of thoſe Britiſh writers better known abroad than in his own country (*f*). To this alſo the ſubjects on which he wrote did, without a doubt, contribute not a little, being ſince his death leſs the objects of young peoples ſtudies, or of the notice of the learned. But, as there ſeems to be a ſpirit of enquiry reviving, and as the Oriental Languages begin to be again conſidered, the bringing this Life (hitherto ſhamefully neglected) into a work of this ſort, will certainly be approved; as alſo the large accounts given of his writings in the notes. This we the rather hope, becauſe, though no Engliſh writer is better known by his performances through the Northern parts of Europe than Dr. Dickenſon, yet no foreigner has touched one circumſtance of his life, becauſe (his works being all publiſhed in his life-time) they had no opportunity of acquainting themſelves with his character: a thing carefully provided againſt on their ſide, no writer of ſuch eminence dying in any other country of Europe but immediate care is taken of his memory; of which, were it in this place proper, numerous inſtances might be produced.

(*e*) Annexed to an account of the life and writings of Edmund Dickinſon, M. D. Lond. 1739. 8vo.

(*f*) As appears by the authorities cited in the notes.

"But his head," ſays Anthony Wood, "being always "over-buſy about critical notions (which made him "ſometimes a little better than crazed), he neglect-"ed his duty ſo much, that he was ſuſpended once, "if not twice, from his place, and had his Beadle's "ſtaff taken from him." In conſequence of the turn of the times, and his attachment to Archbiſhop Laud, he ſoon became expoſed to other calamities. Sir Nathaniel Brent, Warden of Merton College, ſilenced Mr. Jacob as Philological Lecturer; and, at length, he was totally deprived of his Fellowſhip, by the Parliamentary viſitors. Being now deſtitute of a ſufficient maintenance, he retired to London, where Mr. Selden aſſiſted him, gave him his clothes, and, among the reſt, an old ſcarlet cloak, the wearing of which rendered poor Jacob an object of mirth to ſome of his acquaintance, who, when they ſaw it upon his back, uſed to call him "Young Selden." "But being," ſays Wood, "a ſhiftleſs perſon, as "moſt mere ſcholars are, and the benefactions of "friends not ſufficing him," he ſold a ſmall patrimony, which he had at Godmerſham, in Kent, to ſupply his neceſſities, and died before the money was ſpent. He had brought on a bad habit of body by his cloſe application to his ſtudies. In the month of September, 1652, he retired to the city of Canterbury, where he was kindly entertained by Dr. William Jacob, a noted Phyſician of that place; but who, though of the ſame name, was not related to our Author. By this Gentleman Henry Jacob was cured of a Gangrene in his foot, which aroſe from a neglected ſore or gall, that he had contracted by walking in boots, according to the faſhion of the time. A tumour, however, having ſoon after broken out from one of his legs, his radical moiſture did, as from a flood-gate, violently run forth; and thus an end was put to his life, on the fifth of November, in the year before mentioned. The next day Dr. Jacob buried him in a manner anſwerable to his quality, in the midſt of the pariſh-church of All-Saints, in Canterbury. Anthony Wood ſays, that Mr. Jacob died about the year of his age forty-four. But if the circumſtances of his hiſtory be carefully compared together, it will be found that he was probably not leſs than forty-ſix years old at the time of his deceaſe. As to his character, it appears that he was an innocent, harmleſs, careleſs man, who was entirely devoted to the purſuits of Literature, and totally ignorant of the world.

From the catalogue of Mr. Jacob's Writings here annexed, it will be evident that he was a perſon of uncommon erudition. "Oratio inauguralis, ſub "Aditu prælectionis Philologicæ publicè habita apud "Collegium Oxonio—Merton." 4 Aug. 1636.—"Græca et Latina Poemata."—"Deſcription of "Oakley-Hole, near Wells." An. 1632, written in Engliſh Verſe.—"Annotationes in eam Partem Ora-"tionis inaug. in qua dicitur, Oratione ſoluta ſcrip-"ſit Ariſtæus Proconneſius." Theſe four pieces were publiſhed at Oxford, while the Author lived, in 1552, in quarto, by his intimate friend, Henry Birkhead, Fellow of All Souls College.

Mr. Jacob's other works, which have never found their way to the preſs, excepting the "Delphi Phœ-"nicizantes," in the manner already deſcribed, were as follows: "Etymotechnia Catholica," containing four Diatribes concerning the Original of Letters. The firſt, "*De Ordine Alphabeti*;" the ſecond, "*De "Tranſitu Alphabeti*;" the third, "*De Numero, Fi-"gura, Poteſtate et Diviſione Literarum*;" and the fourth called, "*Geographiſtor Etymotechnicus*"—"Gram-"matica Ebræa." No Engliſhman before his time did ever endeavour to make one after that way and manner which he did this.—"ΣΒΩ, vel Oſiris inven-"tus; de Coptiatis Originibus Commentatio.—"Geographumena." In which are many Aſſyriac and Egyptic Antiquities diſcovered.—"Pancarpia, "Opus ex Artibus et Linguis miſcellan." *Imperfect.* "Magnetologia, in Lib. 3. agentibus de triplici "Motu Magnetico Lapidali, Cœleſti et Animali, "&c."—"De Mari rubro," and another, "De "Hiſtoria Beli et Draconis."—"Libri Ebræo Rabbi-"nici in Bib. Bodleiana recenſiti," An. 1629 (29).

(29) Ibid. Vol. I. col. 464, 465. Vol. II. col. 158—161.

Henry Jacob might juſtly be reckoned among the number of unfortunate learned men ſo often ſpoken of by Bayle. What little preferment he did obtain was procured with difficulty; he was not permitted to hold it long; he was in a great meaſure dependent upon benefactions for ſubſiſtence; his conſtitution was impaired by intenſe ſtudy; he died comparatively young; his learned labours were, in general, conſigned to oblivion; and, in the moſt eminent inſtance in which this was not the caſe, he was deprived, by the hand of impoſture, of the fair fame to which he was entitled.] K.

DIGBY (Sir EVERARD) was deſcended from a very antient and honourable family, diſtinguiſhed by the confidence, and honoured with many teſtimonies, of royal favour, by ſeveral of our Monarchs, as well for the eminent abilities of their mind, as for the gallant exploits performed by them in the field (*a*) [*A*]. His father Everard Digby, of Dryſtoke

(*a*) Dugd. Bar. Vol. II. p. 436.

[*A*] *for the gallant exploits performed by them in the field.*] In order to do juſtice to this family it is requiſite to obſerve, that though the Digbys of Warwickſhire were, and are ſtill, noble, yet the Digbys of the county of Rutland were of the elder houſe, which appears thus: Sir Everard Digby of Tilton in the county of Leiceſter, to take the family no higher, though that might be done from record, was ſlain at Towton-field, fighting there on the ſide of Henry VI. (1). This Sir Everard, by Jaquetta, daughter of Sir John Ellis, left iſſue ſix ſons, of whom the eldeſt, Sir Everard Digby, was the anceſtor of this family; as Simon Digby, the ſecond ſon, was of the Digbys of Coleſhill in Warwickſhire, now repreſented by the Earl Digby of Sherborne, in Dorſetſhire, formerly Lord Digby, Baron of Geaſhill in the kingdom of Ireland, whence, as the reader will ſee in the text, deſcended the Earls of Briſtol (2). This Sir Everard Digby

(1) Dugd. Bar. Vol. II. p. 436.

(2) See a large account of this family in Dugdale's Warwickſhire.

Dryſtoke in Rutlandſhire, Eſq. was a perſon of great worth and learning; had his education at St. John's College, in Cambridge, where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts; and, though a man of an independent fortune (*b*), gave very ſignal marks of his inclination to, and his great ſucceſs in, his ſtudies [*B*]. This Gentleman, of whom we are ſpeaking, was born ſome time in the year 1581, and educated with great care, but under the tuition of ſome Popiſh Prieſts; for, when he was about eleven years of age, he had the misfortune to loſe his father, who, as he was a man of ſound knowledge, and extenſive capacity, would, very probably, have given him better impreſſions, and have taught him to act rather by the light of his own reaſon, than merely according to the dictates of thoſe, who, by having the care of him in his infancy, had aſſumed a deſpotic empire over his ſpirit. In reſpect to his parts, however, he was very far from being at all deficient, abating his blind zeal for Popery, and his ſervile ſubmiſſion to the Prieſts (*c*). In his perſon he was remarkably handſome, very expert in his exerciſes, extremely modeſt and affable in his behaviour, ſo that he was juſtly reputed one of the fineſt Gentlemen in England (*d*). He was brought very early to the Court of Queen Elizabeth, where he was much taken notice of, and received ſeveral marks of her Majeſty's favour. On the coming in of King James he went likewiſe to pay his duty, as others of his religion did, was very graciouſly received, and had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him, being looked upon as a man of a fair fortune, pregnant abilities, and a court-like behaviour (*e*). Theſe accompliſhments, aſſiſted by the influence of the Prieſts, who were perfectly ſatisfied, that, in purſuing his intereſt, they conſulted their own, procured his marriage to Mary, daughter and ſole heireſs of William Mulſho, Eſq; of Gothurſt in Buckinghamſhire, with whom he had a great fortune (*f*); which gave occaſion for his ſettlement of that, and of his own eſtate, upon the children of that marriage (*g*). One would have imagined, that, conſidering his mild temper, and happy ſituation in the world, he might have paſſed his days in honour and peace, without running the ſmalleſt hazard of meeting that dreadful and diſgraceful death, which has introduced his name into all our hiſtories. It happened, however, unfortunately for him, that, having a great acquaintance with Sir Thomas Treſham, a very active and zealous Papiſt, he poſſeſſed his mind with ſuch diſaffection to his Prince, ſuch falſe notions of the ill uſage that thoſe who ſtiled themſelves Catholicks had met with, and ſuch apprehenſions of ſtill greater miſchiefs ready to befal them, that he was ripe to receive any counſels that ſhould be given him, for redreſſing theſe pretended grievances, and preventing thoſe threatened evils, of how dangerous and deſperate a nature ſoever they might be (*b*) [*C*]. His intimate friendſhip with Robert Cateſby, Eſq. proved the means of his being drawn in to act againſt that

(*b*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 354.

(*c*) See the preface to Sir Everard Digby's private papers.

(*d*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 354.

(*e*) The Earl of Northampton's ſpeech to him at his conviction. State Trials, Vol. I. p. 245.

(*f*) Wright's Hiſt. and Antiquities of Rutlandſhire, p. 114.

(*g*) Coke's Rep. Lib. viii. fol. 165. *b*.

(*b*) This Sir Everard Digby himſelf alledged, in anſwer to the Earl of Northampton's ſpeech.

Digby juſt mentioned, married Mary, the daughter of Sir John Heydon, by whom he had Kenelm Digby, Eſq. of Dry Stoke, or Stoke Dry, for ſo it is now commonly called, in the county of Rutland, who, by Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Cope, Knt. had Everard Digby, Eſq. who married Mary, daughter and coheireſs of Francis Neal and the Widow of Samſon Erderſwick, Eſq. by whom he had three ſons and two daughters, the eldeſt of which ſons was Sir Everard Digby, who is the ſubject of this article (3).

(3) Wright's Hiſt and Antiq. of Rutland. p. 115.

[*B*] *And his great ſucceſs in his ſtudies.*] This gentleman publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes, ſome of them upon learned, and others on curious ſubjects; and of theſe the following titles may poſſibly gratify the reader's curioſity (4).

(4) Hyde Catal. impreſſor Lib. Bibloth. Bod. p. 220.

I. "Theoria Analytica viam ad Monarchiam ſcientiarum demonſtrans. Lond. 1579. 4to."

II. "De Duplici Methodo libri duo, Rami Methodum refutantes. Lond. 1580, 8vo."

III. "De Arte Natandi, libri duo. Lond. 1587."

IV. "A Diſſwaſive from the taking away the Goods and Livings of the Church, &c. Lond. 4to (5)."

(5) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 354.

[*C*] *And deſperate a nature ſoever they might be.*] It is very remarkable, that the far greateſt part of the perſons embarked in this treaſon were Gentlemen of family and fortune. Robert Cateſby, Eſq. was a Gentleman of an antient family, whoſe anceſtor was a Privy-Counſellor and favourite to Richard III. Ambroſe Rookwood, and Francis Treſham, Eſquires, were men of large eſtates, and the latter undertook to advance two thouſand pounds upon this occaſion. Mr. Thomas Piercy was related to the Earl of Northumberland, and the King's ſervant: in ſhort, except Robert Keys, who had ſpent his fortune, and Thomas Bates, who was Mr. Cateſby's man, they were all perſons in ſuch circumſtances, as nothing but their furious zeal could have driven into ſuch a conſpiracy (6). The means by which Sir Everard Digby was wrought upon, himſelf affirmed to be theſe: Firſt, he was told that the King had broken his promiſes to the Catholicks; for which, however there was no foundation, ſince Watſon the Prieſt, who was executed in the firſt year of the King for treaſon, confeſſed, that having had acceſs to his Majeſty at Edinburgh twice, he told him plainly what thoſe of his religion had to expect, and this put him upon plotting againſt him. Mr. Piercy, a principal inſtrument in this conſpiracy, went likewiſe into Scotland upon the ſame errand, and had the like anſwer. He was next told, that ſeverer laws againſt Popery would be made in the next Parliament: that huſbands would be made liable for their wives offences; and that it would be made a præmunire only to be a Catholick. But the main point was, that the reſtoring of the Catholick religion was the duty of every member, and that, in conſideration of this, he was not to regard any favours received from the Crown, the tranquillity of his country, or the hazard that might be run in reſpect to his life, his family, or his fortune (7). All this himſelf, and very probably many of his companions, believed, or otherwiſe it is not eaſy to account for their involving themſelves in ſuch a ſeries of dangers, or for their adhering to each other with ſuch fidelity, that, in the courſe of ſeveral years intrigue, there was nothing divulged (8). But what is yet a ſtronger, and indeed an invincible proof, that it was a miſtaken notion of religion which guided them throughout, was the exceeding care they took to the very laſt, to prevent thoſe Prieſts from coming into any trouble by their means, who had brought all this deſtruction upon themſelves, for attaining which they ſcrupled nothing: Sir Everard Digby valuing himſelf in his private papers, upon affirming falſehoods to the Lords for this purpoſe; and Francis Treſham taking it upon his death, that he had not for ſeveral years ſeen father Garnet, upon account of a difference between them, the direct contrary of which was afterwards confeſſed by Garnet himſelf (9).

(6) Diſcourſe of the manner of the diſcovery of the Gunpowder-Plot, p. 62, 63.

(7) The arraignment and execution of the late traitors, Lond. 1666. 8vo. In which it is affirmed, that Sir Everard declared, that to reſtore Popery, he cared not if he rooted out all his poſterity.

(8) See the Attorney-General Coke's ſpeech at Garnet's arraignment.

(9) Proceedings againſt the traitors in the Powder Plot, p. 105.



govern-

government, towards which he had ſo long borne the utmoſt diſlike. This Mr. Cateſby was a man of determined courage, as well as great parts: he had been, for ſeveral years, very deep in all the plots formed by the Jeſuits; and, notwithſtanding that which had miſcarried in the beginning of this reign, he ventured to frame a new one in his own mind, which he communicated only to a few of his intimate friends, in the cloſe of the year 1604 (*i*); and this was, blowing up the Parliament-houſe with gunpowder. When they had taken all the methods for putting this abominable ſcheme in execution, they began to reflect, that they could make no uſe even of their ſucceſs, if they did not provide, at the ſame time, for an inſurrection, and the eſtabliſhment of a new government. It was therefore, upon mature deliberation, agreed by the confederates, at a meeting they held in the city of Bath, that Mr. Cateſby ſhould take in to their aſſiſtance whom he ſhould think fit, provided they were bound by the oath of ſecrecy which themſelves had taken (*k*). In purſuance of this reſolution, Mr. Cateſby applied himſelf to his friend Sir Everard Digby, whom he acquainted with the whole affair, and with their reſolution of ſeizing the Princeſs Elizabeth, and proclaiming her Queen, upon the execution of the Powder-treaſon at London; in which his aſſiſtance was particularly neceſſary, as ſhe was then at the Lord Harrington's, at Comb-Abbey, in Warwickſhire (*l*). To this Sir Everard willingly aſſented, and offered fifteen hundred pounds towards defraying the expences of this dark deſign, entertained Mr. Fawkes afterwards at his houſe (*m*), and, the weather being rainy, adviſed him, upon his return to London, to be very careful in obſerving that the powder was not damp. So induſtrious and indefatigable he was, that, when the reſt of the conſpirators, upon the diſcovery of their deſign, at the very point of execution, fled down into the country, they found him at Dunchurch, as had been concerted; and, in company with him, they retired towards Staffordſhire, where, after a deſperate defence, in which ſome of theſe unhappy men were ſlain (*n*) [*D*], Sir Everard Digby, and others, were taken (*o*). Upon the commitment of Sir Everard to the Tower, he perſiſted ſteadily to maintain his own innocence as to the Powder-treaſon, and abſolutely denied his having knowledge of any other perſons being embarked in this deſign, than ſuch as were either killed or taken; in which, notwithſtanding all the arguments that could be uſed by thoſe noble perſons before whom he was examined, he continued obſtinately firm (*p*). This reſolution of his did not proceed from any hopes of eſcaping, but from an earneſt deſire of avoiding, if poſſible, being the inſtrument of other men's ruin, or diſcloſing more than was already diſcovered, being ſtill ſatisfied that he was engaged in a good cauſe, and having much leſs concern about his life, than about the bad effects to that cauſe which the detection of this plot might produce (*q*). This, which is the ſtrongeſt proof of the infatuation that may be brought upon minds naturally virtuous, appears fully from a

(*i*) Diſcourſe of the manner of the diſcovery of the Gunpowder Plot, p. 40, 41—47.

(*k*) Hiſt. of the Powder Treaſon, Lond. 1681, 4to. p. 9.

(*l*) See Sir Everard Digby's own account of this matter in note [*F*].

(*m*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 247.

(*n*) Diſcourſe of the manner of the diſcovery of the Powder Plot, p. 69, 70.

(*o*) Hiſt. of the Powder Treaſon p. 18.

(*p*) See the preface to Sir Everard Digby's private papers.

(*q*) This manifeſtly appears from the whole ſubſtance of his private papers, written by him under his condemnation.

[*D*] *In which ſome of theſe unhappy men were ſlain.*] In this note we will give the reader a ſuccinct account of the proceedings of the conſpirators in town and country, which will ſhew how perfectly they had concerted their meaſures, and how punctual they were in executing each the part that had been aſſigned him. The 4th of November fell that year upon a Sunday, and it was paſt twelve at night when ſearch was made under the Parliament-houſe, and Mr. Guy Fawkes ſeized there booted and ſpurred (10). Mr. Piercy had early notice of this, and ſet out of town about four in the morning. Mr. Cateſby was gone the night before. Mr. Winter and the two Wrights ſoon followed (11). We come now to another part of the conſpiracy, ſtill ſtranger than any of the reſt, which is this: there was one John Grant, Eſq. a zealous Papiſt, who lived near Warwick; who, having collected ſeveral perſons of his own principles, and determined courage, they went on Monday-night, about the very time that Fawkes was ſeized in London, broke open the ſtables of one Mr. Bennock, at Warwick, who made it his buſineſs to break horſes for the menage, and took thoſe of ſeveral gentlemen that were in his hands, and coming well-armed, and being now well-mounted, made the beſt of their way to Dunchurch, where they found Sir Everard Digby and his party ready (12); and, on Wedneſday, the 7th of November, being joined by their accomplices from London, and knowing all their hopes had failed them there, they reſolved, as their laſt reſource, openly to take up arms; and father Teſmond, *alias* Greenwell, a Jeſuit, went into Lancaſhire to excite thoſe of their religion to join them (13). They had flattered themſelves with a great appearance in their favour; but they could never aſſemble above fourſcore, nor could they depend upon many of thoſe, or even upon their own ſervants (14). Sir Fulk Grevil, Deputy-Lieutenant, though an old and infirm man, ſeized the horſes and arms of ſeveral gentlemen in his neighbourhood in Warwickſhire, and made about fifteen of their followers priſoners (15). Sir Richard Verney, High-Sheriff of the county, likewiſe took ſome of them (16). On Thurſday they were at Robert Winter's houſe, where they had abſolution given them by Father Hammond, though in open rebellion (17). They were purſued through Worceſterſhire by Sir Richard Walſh, which forced them to take ſhelter at Holbitch, the ſeat of Stephen Lyttleton, in Staffordſhire, where Sir Richard, who was Sheriff of Worceſterſhire, with the people who came in to his aſſiſtance, ſurrounded them (18). He ſent a trumpet to ſummon them to ſurrender, promiſing to intercede with the King to ſpare their lives, for as yet they had no notice of the Powder Treaſon; but the conſpirators rejected this offer with contempt, and prepared to defend themſelves as well as they could. This was on the Friday; and finding their powder damp, they placed a ſmall parcel in a pan before the fire, upon a bag which held ſeventeen or eighteen pounds. A ſervant, who knew nothing of this, throwing ſome wood upon the fire, a ſpark flew out into the pan, which blew up all the powder, together with the roof of the houſe, and at the ſame time wounded Cateſby, Rookwood, and Grant (19). About eleven o'clock the Sheriff, and thoſe with him, attacked the houſe, when Thomas Winter was ſhot in the ſhoulder, both the Wrights were killed, Ambroſe Rookwood ſoon fell after: then as Winter, Cateſby, and Piercy, were ſtanding together, the two laſt were ſhot through by the ſame ball. Winter, being hurt in the belly by a pike, was taken (20), and upon this the reſt ſubmitted and were ſent up to London, excepting Robert Winter and Stephen Lyttleton, who for ſome weeks hid themſelves (21). Francis Treſham ſtayed in town, and for ſome time preſerved his liberty, but was at length ſeized, and made an ample confeſſion, but finding himſelf in a dying condition with the ſtranguary, denied again what he had ſaid, that it might be of no uſe (22).

(10) Diſcourſe of the manner of the diſcovery, &c. p. 36.

(11) See Thomas Winter's confeſſion, dated 23d Nov. 1605, annexed to the manner of the diſcovery.

(12) Hiſt. of the Gunpowder Treaſon, p. 16, 17.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Diſcourſe of the manner of the diſcovery, &c. p. 64.

(15) Ibid. p. 65.

(16) Hiſt. of the Powder Treaſon p. 17.

(17) Echard's Hiſt. England, p. 383.

(18) Proceedings againſt the Traitors, p. 123.

(19) Diſcourſe of the manner of the diſcovery, p. 69, 70.

(20) Hiſt. of the Powder Treaſon, p. 18.

(21) But the King's Proclamation was firſt ſent down into the country, directing they ſhould be taken alive.

(22) Proceedings againſt the Traitors, p. 147, 148.

paper of his, written under his confinement, and ſent privately to his family [*E*]. When he was brought to his trial at Weſtminſter, January 27th, 1605-6, he was indicted for being acquainted with and concealing the Powder-treaſon, taking the double oath of Secrecy and Conſtancy, and acting openly, with other traitors, in rebellion; to which indictment he pleaded guilty (*r*). After this he endeavoured to extenuate his offence, by ſhewing the motives to it, which have been before explained; then requeſted, that, as he had been alone in the crime, he might alone bear the puniſhment, without extending it to his family, that his debts might be paid, and that he might be beheaded; to which he received no favourable anſwer (*s*). Yet the Earls of Northampton and Saliſbury, of whom the latter owned him for his relation, ſpoke mildly to him, and ſhewed him how very little ſervice his behaviour had done him, ſince Fawkes confeſſed, that he was acquainted with the Powder-treaſon; and many other things which he had laboured to conceal, were, by other means, found out (*t*). But, whatever he might ſay in his examinations, certain it is, that, upon his having ſome notice of its being thought, by his own party, a very wild and ill-concerted enterprize, in which he engaged, he could write a very clear defence againſt this imputation, though he refuſed to make any when his life was at ſtake; ſo much more did he fear reproach amongſt thoſe of his own communion, than a violent and ignominious death [*F*]. Yet, after ſentence of death was paſſed,

(*r*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 244.

(*s*) See the Attorney-General Coke's anſwer to his petition.

(*t*) See their ſpeeches at his trial.

[*E*] *And ſent privately to his family.*] While Sir Everard Digby was priſoner in the Tower, he wrote in juice of lemon or otherwiſe, upon ſlips of paper, as opportunity offered; and got theſe conveyed to his Lady, by ſuch as had permiſſion to ſee him. Theſe notes, or advertiſements, were preſerved by the family as precious relicks, till, in the month of September, 1675, they were found at the houſe of Charles Cornwallis, Eſq. executor to Sir Kenelme the ſon of Sir Everard Digby, by Sir Rice Rudd, Baronet, and William Wogan, of Gray's-Inn, Eſq. (23). The firſt of theſe papers runs thus:

(23) Annexed to the Proceedings againſt the Traitors, and other pieces relating to the Popiſh Plot, printed by the orders of Mr. Secretary Coventry, dated Dec. 12, 1678. No. 1.

'I have not named any, either living or dead, that 'ſhould have hurt my Lord Saliſbury, and only in-'tended theſe general informations, to procure me ac-'ceſs of ſome friend, that I might inform my know-'ledge, for I never intended to hurt any creature, 'though it would have gained me all the world. 'As yet they have not got of me the affirming that I 'know any Prieſt particularly, nor ſhall ever do to the 'hurt of any but myſelf. At my firſt examination the 'Earl of Saliſbury told me, that ſome things ſhould 'be affirmed againſt me by Gerrat the Prieſt, who, 'ſaith he, I am ſure you know well. My anſwer was, 'if I might ſee him I would tell him whether I knew 'him or no, but by that name I did not know him; 'nor at Mrs. Vauxe's, as he ſaid I did, for I never 'ſaw a Prieſt there. Yeſterday I was before Mr. At-'torney and my Lord Chief-Juſtice, who aſked me if 'I had taken the ſacrament to keep ſecret the plot as 'others did? I ſaid that I had not, becauſe I would 'avoid the queſtion of at whoſe hands it were. They 'told me that five had taken it of Gerard, and that 'he knew of the plot, which I ſaid was more than I 'knew.

'Now for my intention, let me tell you, that if I 'had thought there had been the leaſt ſin in the plot, 'I would not have been of it for all the world; and no 'other cauſe drew me to hazard my fortune and life, 'but zeal to God's religion. For my keeping it ſecret 'it was cauſed by certain belief, that thoſe which were 'beſt able to judge of the lawfulneſs of it, had been 'acquainted with it, and given way unto it. More 'reaſons I had to perſuade me to this belief than I 'dare utter, which I will never to the ſuſpicion of 'any, though I ſhould to the rack for it, and as I did 'not know it directly that it was approved by ſuch, 'ſo did I hold it in my conſcience the beſt not to 'know any more if I might.

'I have, before all the Lords, cleared all the Prieſts 'in it for any thing that I know. But now let me tell 'you what a grief it hath been to me, to hear that ſo 'much condemned, which I did believe would have 'been otherwiſe thought on by Catholicks. There is 'no other cauſe but this which hath made me deſire 'life, for when I came into priſon death would have 'been a welcome friend unto me, and was moſt de-'ſired; but when I heard how Catholicks and Prieſts 'thought of the matter, and that it ſhould be a great 'ſin that ſhould be the cauſe of my end, it called my 'conſcience in doubt of my very beſt actions and in-'tentions in queſtion; for I knew that myſelf might 'eaſily be deceived in ſuch a buſineſs; therefore I pro-'teſt unto you, that the doubts I had of my own good 'ſtate, which only proceeded from the cenſure of 'others, cauſed more bitterneſs of grief in me than all 'the miſeries that ever I ſuffered; and only this cauſed 'me to wiſh life, till I might meet with a ghoſtly 'friend. For ſome good ſpace I could do nothing but 'with tears aſk pardon at God's hands for all my 'errors, both in actions and intentions, in this buſi-'neſs, and in my whole life, which the cenſure of this, 'contrary to my expectance, cauſed me to doubt. 'I did humbly beſeech that my death might ſatisfy for 'my offence, which I ſhould and ſhall offer moſt 'gladly to the giver of my life. I aſſure you, as I 'hope in God, that the love of all my eſtate and 'worldly happineſs did never trouble me, nor the 'love of it ſince my impriſonment did ever move 'me to wiſh life. But if that I may live to make 'ſatisfaction to God and the world, where I have 'given any ſcandal, I ſhall not grieve if I ſhould 'never look living creature in the face again. And 'beſides that deprivations endure all worldly miſery, 'I ſhall not need to clear any living body either pri-'vate or publick; for I never named any body, but 'reported that thoſe that are dead did promiſe that all 'forces in thoſe parts about Mr. Talbot would aſſiſt us; 'but this can hurt nothing, for they openly ſpoke it. 'You muſt be careful how you ſend, for Mr. Lieute-'nant hath ſtayed the **** book, but take no no-'tice of it. Let my brother ſee this, or know the 'contents: tell him I love his ſweet comforts as my 'greateſt jewel in this place. If I can I will convey 'in the tables a copy of a letter which I ſent yeſterday. 'It is, as near as I can underſtand, the meaning of 'the inſtruction: I perceive it works with the Lords, 'for I ſhall be ſent to them. Oh how full of joy 'ſhould I die, if I could do any thing for the cauſe 'which I love more than my life. Farewell my '———.'

[*F*] *Than a violent and ignominious death.*] This, which is the laſt of Sir Everard's papers, is alſo the moſt material, and muſt appear, to every impartial reader, an inconteſtible proof of what the Attorney-General Coke affirmed at the trial of theſe conſpirators; that their ſcheme was no more than an appendix to the plots framed by their party in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and, in a great meaſure, an improvement upon the ſcheme of Watſon and Clarke on King James's coming to the throne: it runs thus (24).

(24) The ſame papers, No. 9.

'My deareſt, the ****** I take at the uncha-'ritable taking of theſe matters, will make me ſay 'more than ever I thought to have done. For, if this 'deſign had taken place, there could have been no 'doubt of other ſucceſs; for that night, before any 'other could have brought the news, we ſhould 'have known it by Mr. Cateſby, who ſhould have pro-'claimed the heir-apparent at Charing-Croſs, as he 'came out of town; to which purpoſe there was a 'proclamation drawn. If the Duke had not been in 'the Houſe, then was there a certain way laid for the

'poſſeſſing

paſſed, he ſeemed to be very much affected; for, making a low bow to thoſe upon the bench, he ſaid, *If I could hear any of your Lordſhips ſay you forgave me, I ſhould go the more chearfully to the gallows.* To this all the Lords anſwered, *God forgive you, and we do* (*u*). On Thurſday the 30th of January Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, John Grant, and Thomas Bates, were executed, purſuant to their ſentence, at the weſt-end of St. Paul's church, when Sir Everard is ſaid to have expreſſed a very different ſenſe of his crime from that which he had written concerning it after his confinement (*x*). But of this, and of a much more extraordinary circumſtance attending his tragical departure out of this life, ſome notice will be taken in the notes [*G*]. He left at his death two young

(*u*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 247.

(*x*) Echard's Hiſt. of Eng.

'poſſeſſing him; but, in regard of the aſſurance they 'ſhould have been there, therefore the greateſt of our 'buſineſs ſtood in the poſſeſſing the Lady Elizabeth, 'who, lying within eight miles of Dunchurch, we 'would have eaſily ſurprized before the knowledge of 'any doubt, this was the cauſe of my being there. If 'ſhe had been in Rutland, then Stoaks was near; and, 'in either place, we had taken ſufficient order to have 'been poſſeſſed of her. There were alſo courſes taken 'for the ſatisfying the people if the firſt had taken 'effect; as the ſpeedy notice of liberty and freedom 'from all manner of ſlavery, as the ceaſing of ward-'ſhips and all monopolies, which, with change, would 'have been more plauſible to the people if the firſt 'had been, than it is now. There was alſo a courſe 'taken to have given preſent notice to all Princes, and 'to aſſociate them with an oath anſwerable to the 'League in France. I have not uttered any of theſe 'things, nor ever thought to do. For my going from 'Dunchurch I had this reaſon: firſt, I knew that 'Fawkes could reveal me, for I muſt make choice of 'two beſides Mr. Cateſby, which I did of him and 'Mr. Winter. I knew he had been employed in great 'matters, and, till torture, ſure he carried it very 'well: ſecondly, we all thought, if we could procure 'Mr. Talbot to riſe that ********* party at 'leaſt, to a compoſition ********** that was 'not little becauſe we had in our company his ſon-in-'law, who gave us ſome hope of, and did not much 'doubt of it. I do anſwer your ſpeech with Mr. 'Brown thus: Before that I knew any thing of the 'plot, I did aſk Mr. Farmer what the meaning of the 'Pope's brief was: he told me, that they were not '(meaning Prieſts) to undertake or procure ſtirs, but 'yet they would not hinder any, neither was it the 'Pope's mind they ſhould, that ſhould be undertaken 'for Catholick good. I did never utter thus much, 'nor would not but to you; and this anſwer, with 'Mr. Cateſby's proceedings with him and me, gave me 'abſolute belief that the matter in general was ap-'proved, though every particular was not known. I 'dare not take that courſe that I could to make it 'appear leſs odious, for divers were to have been 'brought out of the danger, which now would rather 'hurt them than otherwiſe. I do not think there 'would have been three worth ſaving that ſhould have 'been loſt. You may gueſs that I had ſome friends 'that were in danger, which I had prevented; but 'they ſhall never know it. I will do as much as my 'partner wiſheth; and it will then appear, that I have 'not hurt or accuſed one man; and howſoever I might, 'in general, poſſeſs them with fear, in hope to do the 'cauſe good, yet my care was ever to loſe my own 'life rather than hurt the unworthieſt member of the 'Catholick Church. Tell her, I have ever loved her 'and her houſe, and, though I could never ſhew it, 'I will not live to manifeſt the contrary. Her God 'I hope will remember me, who I am, in temporal re-'ſpects, indebted to: your ſiſter ſalute from me, whoſe 'noble mind to me, in this miſery, I will never '******* my Lord of Arundel may do much 'with the Lord and the Queen. One that you write 'of, which dearly loveth him, and is dearly loved of 'him again, can tell him that I love him, and did 'manifeſt it in his ſight, and he might have found it: 'laſt time as I ſaw him was in his company, as I think. 'I am ſure when this was, he was there. If your 'mother were in town, you ſhould do it, to ***** 'her. Farewell, and where you cannot underſtand, 'ſend to me by your next, and I will explain.'

[*G*] *Some notice will be taken in the notes.*] We have a pretty full account of the manner in which Sir Everard and his accomplices finiſhed their days; and that too penned within a very ſhort time after it happened: it runs thus (25). 'Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates, according to their 'judgment, were drawn, hanged, and quartered, at 'the weſt-end of St. Paul's Church, in London, where 'all but Grant died very penitent. Sir Everard Digby 'proteſted, from the bottom of his heart, he aſked 'forgiveneſs of God, the King, the Queen, the Prince, 'and all the Parliament; and, if that he had known 'it at firſt to have been ſo foul a treaſon, he would 'not have concealed it to have gained a world; re-'quiring the people to witneſs he died penitent and 'ſorrowful for this vile treaſon, and confident to be 'ſaved in the merits of his ſweet Saviour Jeſus, &c. 'He prayed kneeling about half a quarter of an hour, 'often bowing his head to the ground: in the ſame 'manner they all prayed, but no voice heard ſaving 'now and then, O Jeſu, Jeſu, ſave me, and keep me, '&c. Which words they repeated many times upon 'the ladder. Friday, the laſt of January, in the Par-'liament-Yard at Weſtminſter, were executed, as the 'former, Thomas Winter, Rookwood, Keyes, and 'Fawkes; which Fawkes, at his death, was more pe-'nitent than any of the reſt, and beſought all Catho-'licks never to attempt any ſuch bloody act, being 'a courſe which God did never favour nor proſper: 'Keyes, in obſtinacy, cohered much with Grant: 'they all craved teſtimony that they died Roman Ca-'tholicks; their quarters were placed over London 'gates, and their heads upon the Bridge.' It is very ſtrange, that no notice at all ſhould be taken, in this account, of that extraordinary circumſtance which Mr. Wood mentions as a thing generally known (26): That, when the executioner plucked out his heart, and, according to the manner, held it up, ſaying, *Here is the heart of a traytor*, Sir Everard made anſwer, *Thou lieſt.* This, continues Mr Wood, a moſt famous author mentions, but tells us not his name. This famous author is the Lord Bacon (27), and the paſſage referred to is this: 'We ourſelves indeed remember to have 'ſeen the heart of a man who was embowelled, ac-'cording to the cuſtom amongſt us in the execution of 'traytors, which, being thrown into the fire, as is 'uſual, ſprung up at firſt ſix foot high, and continued 'leaping gradually lower and lower between ſeven and 'eight minutes, as far as our memory reaches. There 'is alſo an old and credible tradition, of an ox that 'lowed after it was embowelled. But it is more cer-'tain that a man, who ſuffered in the manner we have 'before mentioned, his entrails being taken out, and 'his heart almoſt torn away, and in the hands of the 'hangman, was heard to utter three or four words of 'a prayer, which, we ſay, is more credible than what 'is reported of the ſacrifice, becauſe the friends of 'ſuch criminals are wont to give money to the execu-'tioner, that he may be the quicker in performing his 'work, and the ſooner put them out of their pain; 'whereas, in ſacrifices, we ſee no cauſe why the 'Prieſts ſhould uſe ſuch extraordinary diligence.' This proves no more than the poſſibility of ſuch a thing in Lord Bacon's opinion, but cannot be properly applied as a proof to this particular fact, from which, in all its circumſtances, it manifeſtly differs. C.

(25) Stowe's Ann. continued by Howes, p. 882.

(26) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 354.

(27) Hiſtoria Vitæ & Mortis.

*** [This article exhibits one of the moſt curious and ſtriking inſtances that hiſtory affords of the power of bigotry and ſuperſtition over the human mind. Such was the ſubjugation of Sir Everard Digby's underſtanding and feelings to his religious principles, and the intereſt of the Church to which he was devoted, that he had no conception of there being the leaſt ſin in his

young ſons, who were afterwards Sir Kenelme Digby and Sir John Digby, and expreſſed his affection towards them by a well-written and pathetic paper, which he deſired might be communicated to them at a fit time, as the laſt advice of their father. We ſhall take occaſion, in another place, to ſhew how the Powder-treaſon was really diſcovered, and by whom. At preſent it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that even this ſecond part of the deſign, in which Sir Everard Digby was to have acted, was likewiſe timely diſcovered; and, as the plot proved the ruin of Sir Everard, ſo that diſcovery was the riſe of his relation. For the Lord Harrington, who had the care of the Princeſs Elizabeth, having received ſome intimation of an intention to ſeize her, immediately ſent up John Digby, a younger ſon of Sir George Digby, to Court, with an account of all he knew; where the young Gentleman told his tale ſo well, as to acquire thereby the King's good graces, who, not long after, knighted him (*y*), employed him in a long negotiation in Spain, and, September 15th, 1622, created him Earl of Briſtol. His ſon was the famous George Lord Digby, who, while he bore that title, made ſo great a figure in the Houſe of Commons, was Secretary of State afterwards to King Charles I. and, ſucceeding to his father's title, attended King Charles the Second in his exile, was inſtalled Knight of the Garter in the month of April, 1661, and made a great figure throughout that reign. He was ſucceeded by his ſon John, who died in 1698, without iſſue, in whom the title became extinct, his younger brother Francis being killed in the Dutch war (*z*).

(*y*) Dugd. Bar. Vol. II. p. 436.

(*z*) Peerage of Eng. Vol. II. p. 35.

his engaging in a conſpiracy of the moſt execrable nature, and which involved in it an aſtoniſhing complication of murder. It appears, too, that he was ſurprized and grieved to the laſt degree, that the plot ſhould be condemned by any Catholick. Nor was he ſingular in theſe ſentiments. The other perſons who were concerned in the conſpiracy gloried in the deſign, and they were moſt of them men of family, eſtate, and character. Mr. Hume's obſervations on the ſubject are worthy of being recited: "Neither," ſays he, "had the deſperate fortune of the conſpirators urged "them to this enterprize, nor had the former profli-"gacy of their lives prepared them for ſo great a "crime. Before that audacious attempt, their con-"duct ſeems, in general, liable to no reproach. "Cateſby's character had entitled him to ſuch regard, "that Rookwood and Digby were ſeduced by their "implicit truſt in his judgment; and they declared, "that, from the motive alone of friendſhip to him, "they were ready, on any occaſion, to have ſacrificed "their lives. Digby himſelf was as highly eſteemed "and beloved as any man in England; and he had "been particularly honoured with the good opinion of "Queen Elizabeth. It was bigoted zeal alone, the "moſt abſurd of prejudices maſqued with reaſon, the "moſt criminal of paſſions covered with the appear-"ance of duty, which ſeduced them into meaſures "that were fatal to themſelves, and had ſo nearly "proved fatal to their country (28)."

(28) Hiſt. of Great Britain, Vol. VI. p. 37. edit. of 1789.

Dr. Campbell hath ſaid, in the text, that he ſhall take occaſion, in another place, to ſhew how the powder-treaſon was really diſcovered, and by whom; and, in the former edition, a reference was made to the article of Thomas Habington, in this Dictionary. But, in the courſe of the work, no ſuch article was given; nor do we think that the omiſſion is blamable. We cannot, however, help remarking, that it hath always appeared to us ſomewhat extraordinary, that the diſcovery of the plot ſhould ſolely be owing to the uncommon ſagacity of King James, in penetrating the hidden meaning of the letter to Lord Monteagle. Indeed, it muſt have been no ſmall degree of acuteneſs which could collect, from that letter alone, the particular nature and object of the conſpiracy, and the preciſe mode of carrying it into execution. James's flatterers, we are told, did not ſcruple to ſay, that he could never have diſcovered the myſtery without the immediate aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt. But the inſpiration of that Monarch will form no part of the creed of the preſent day. The fact ſeems to be, that Government had previous intimation of the plot. Welwood, in his Memoirs, aſſerts, that it was made known to the Engliſh Court by Henry the Fourth of France; and that Monſ. Sully was the perſon who, by commiſſion from his Royal Maſter, communicated the intelligence. It is certain, that about that time he was the French King's Embaſſador in England. There is other evidence, that the diſcovery of the deſign preceded Lord Monteagle's application to the Earl of Saliſbury. Cecil acknowledges, in a letter to Cornwallis, that he had intimation of ſome plot in hand. He mentions, likewiſe, that the whole affair was diſcovered before the letter to Lord Monteagle was communicated to James (29). At the ſame time, it might be wiſe to conceal the true ſource of information; and courtiers were glad of the opportunity of paying that tribute of flattery to the King which was ſo agreeable to the vanity of his character, and ſo congenial to the ſervile ſpirit of the age. We may add, that the Earl of Saliſbury expreſsly aſcribes the developement of the letter to Lord Monteagle, as referring to Gunpowder, to himſelf and the Lord Chamberlain (the Earl of Suffolk), in conjunction. If intelligence of a conſpiracy was communicated by Henry the Fourth of France, he might not know the particular manner in which it was to be executed] K.

(29) Mrs. Macaulay's Hiſt. of Eng. Vol. I. p. 26. Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 170—172.

DIGBY (Sir KENELME) the ſon of the former, and a very famous Philoſopher in the XVIIth century. It is extremely difficult to fix the time of his birth, there being authorities for three different days; but the 11th of June, 1603, ſeems to have been generally received (*a*). It is ſaid, that King James reſtored his eſtate to him in his infancy (*b*); which, however, is a miſtake, ſince it was decided at law, that the King had no title to it. Both theſe points ſhall be cl e ard up in the notes [*A*]. At the time of his father's unfor-

(*a*) Johnſon's Underwoods, p. 243. See alſo Ferrar's Epitaph on Sir K. D.

(*b*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts. Vol. I. p. 29.

[*A*] *Shall be cleared up in the notes.*] The famous Antiquary of Oxford is clear and poſitive, that the birth of this gentleman ought to be fixed to the 11th of July 1603 (1), in ſupport of which he quotes two authorities that have very great weight with him, but not altogether ſo great with me (2). As to Dr. Napier of Buckinghamſhire, his work is written in a very bad hand; and I could give more inſtances than one, of nativities in his book that diſagree with the pariſh regiſters of perſons to whom they belong; and therefore an entry therein ought not to be looked upon as deciſive. Again, as to Mr. Gadbury, there is great probability that his date was borrowed from Dr. Napier's book; and if it was not, the ſame exceptions lie againſt it as have been urged againſt that. In the life-time of Sir Kenelme there is no doubt that the 11th of June was taken to be his birth-day. The famous Ben Jonſon, in a copy of verſes to his honour, ſpeaking of a fea-

(1) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 383. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351.

(2) Dr. Richard Napier's Collection of Nativities, in the Aſhmolean Library. John Gadbury's Almanack for the year 1673.

unfortunate death he was with his mother at Gothurſt, being then but in the third year of his age. He ſeems to have been taken early out of her hands, ſince it is certain that he renounced the errors of Popery very young, and was carefully bred in the Proteſtant Religion; chiefly, as there is good reaſon to believe, under the direction of Archbiſhop Laud (*c*), then Dean of Glouceſter, who had a very great affection for him, and who had reclaimed a near relation of his from Popery (*d*). In 1618, Mr. Kenelme Digby was ſent to the Univerſity, and entered of Glouceſter-Hall (*e*), where the direction of his ſtudies was committed to Mr. Thomas Allen, one of the moſt learned and able men of thoſe times (*f*); though he had another member of that ſociety for his tutor. His being recommended to Mr. Allen was a great advantage to our young ſtudent; for Mr. Allen quickly diſcerned the natural ſtrength of his faculties, and that ſpirit of penetration which is ſo ſeldom met with in perſons of his age. He took pains, therefore, to ſhew him the right method of applying his wonderful capacity, which he frequently compared to that of the ſo-much-celebrated wit of Italy, Picus de Mirandula (*g*), to the ſublimer parts of Philoſophy; ſo that notwithſtanding his ſtay at Oxford was but between two and three years, yet, upon his leaving that Univerſity, in 1621, in order to travel, he was conſidered as a very extraordinary perſon, and ſuch high expectations of him raiſed as he lived afterwards to fulfil (*h*). Having made the tour of France, Spain, and Italy, and having been in all places remarkably well received, he returned to England in 1623; and being preſented to the King, at the Lord Mountague's houſe at Hinchinbroke, on the 23d of October, the ſame year, with high commendations of his learning, he there received the honour of knighthood in the preſence of Charles Prince of Wales and the famous Duke of Buckingham, then juſt returned out of Spain, where Mr. Digby had attended on his Royal Highneſs, as himſelf informs us (*i*). In a very ſhort time after Sir K. Digby rendered himſelf very remarkable, by the happy application of a ſecret which he met with in his travels, as to which we will, from his own authority, inform the reader fully in the notes [*B*]. After the demiſe of King James,

(*c*) In this point that Prelate was remarkably vigilant.

(*d*) Wharton's Hiſtory of the Troubles and Trial of Archbiſhop Laud.

(*e*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 383.

(*f*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351.

(*g*) Spoken probably of the univerſality of his genius.

(*h*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 581.

(*i*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 351. Digby of Bodies, p. 308, 309.

fight in which he commanded, and of his undaunted courage, ſays (3),

(3) In his Underwoods, p. 243.

*Witneſs thy* action *done at* Scanderoon,
*Upon thy* birth day *the* eleventh *of* June.

Theſe two verſes indeed do more honour to the hero than the Poet; but a man muſt have a ſtrange opinion of Johnſon's judgment, to believe he would falſify a date for the ſake of ſuch poetry. Mr. Wood indeed ſays, and very truly, that this action was not upon the 11th but upon the 16th of June (4), which is indeed a proof that the Poet miſtook the date of the battle, but not at all that he miſſed that of the birth-day, for ſixteenth would have run as well, at leaſt no worſe, than eleventh. After Sir Kenelme's death, we find the very ſame day, I mean the eleventh of June, fixed upon in his epitaph (5), and therefore it ſeems to have been the true date. In the fourth edition of Bayle's Dictionary (6), and in all the late editions of Moreri (7), there is an article of our Author, in which the day of his birth and of his death is ſaid to be the eleventh of March, but whence this date was borrowed it is impoſſible to conceive, becauſe I know not of any writer that has fixed either his death or his birth upon that day. But enough of this; let us now ſpeak of the eſtate of the family. The diſpute about it was determined in the Court of Wards, in Michaelmas term, the eighth of King James, that is, in 1610, and in what manner the reader ſhall learn from the beſt authority (8). 'Sir Everard Digby, ſeized in fee of the 'manor of Stoke in the county of Rutland, and of the 'manor of Tilton in the county of Leiceſter, held '(by way of admittance) of the King, by Knights 'ſervice *in capite*, by act executed in his life-time, 'and before any treaſon by him committed, conveyed 'the ſaid manors to the uſe of himſelf for life, and afterwards to the uſe of his eldeſt ſon and heir apparent 'in tail, with divers remainders over to his other iſſues. And afterwards the ſaid Sir Everard Digby 'was attainted and executed, for the heinous and horrible Powder-treaſon, committed after the ſaid conveyance, his eldeſt ſon being then within age. 'The queſtion was, Whether the wardſhip of the 'body, or of the third part of the ſaid manors, ſhould 'be to the King by force of the ſtatutes of 32 and 34 'H. VIII? And it was reſolved by the two Chief-'Juſtices, the Chief Baron, and the whole Court of 'Wards, that the King ſhall never have wardſhip or 'primer-ſeiſin, but where there is an heir general or 'ſpecial. For the ſaid ſtatutes of 32 and 34 H. VIII. 'give wardſhip or primer-ſeiſin to the King, in divers 'caſes where there is no deſcent; as if the King's te-'nant conveys his land for the advancement of his 'wife, preferment of his children, or payment of his 'debts, but doth not give wardſhip or primer-ſeiſin 'in any caſe, where there is not any heir general or 'ſpecial, becauſe wardſhip or primer-ſeiſin ought to 'be of the land of ſome anceſtor who has an heir.' Thus it appears that a certain writer was miſtaken in affirming, that, at the requeſt of his Queen, King Charles I. reſtored Sir Kenelme Digby to the large eſtate of his anceſtors (9). His father had taken due care in this reſpect, and it ſeems was very well adviſed (10), yet he died under great concern even as to that point; for diſcovering, when it was too late, the univerſal odium attending the Popiſh-powder-plot, and fearing this might prejudice even Courts of juſtice, or excite the Parliament in ſo very extraordinary a caſe, to make ſome law *ex poſt facto*, for increaſing the puniſhment of ſuch as were concerned in it, he not only doubted, but ſeems to have died under a perſuaſion, that his eſtate would be confiſcated (11).

(4) This appears from Sir Kenelme Digby's own letter upon that ſubject.

(5) See that epitaph at the cloſe of this article.

(6) It is to be obſerved, that the article of DIGBY (Sir KENELME) is an additional one, not to be aſcribed to Bayle himſelf.

(7) In which the article is barely copied from Bayle.

(8) Coke's Reports, P. viii. fo. 166.

(9) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 580.

(10) Wright's Antiquities of Rutlandſhire, p. 114.

(11) See his private papers.

[*B*] *In the notes.*] This ſecret of his was that which has ſince made ſo much noiſe in the world, under the title of the Sympathetic Powder, the virtues of which were, as he aſſures us, thoroughly enquired into by King James, his ſon the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Buckingham, with other perſons of the higheſt diſtinction, and all was regiſtered among the obſervations of the great Chancellor Bacon, to add, by way of Appendix, to his Natural Hiſtory (12). The matter of fact on which this was grounded, take in his own words: 'Mr. James Howell, well known for his pub-'lick works, and particularly his *Dendrologies*, endea-'vouring to part two of his friends engaged in a duel, 'ſeized, with his left hand, the hilt of the ſword of 'one of the combatants, and with his right hand laid 'hold of the blade of the other. They, being tranſ-'ported with fury one againſt the other, ſtruggled to 'rid themſelves of the hindrance their friend made, 'that they ſhould not kill one another; and one of 'them roughly drawing the blade of his ſword, cut, to 'the very bone, the nerves and muſcles of Mr. How-'ell's hand; and then the other, diſengaging his hilt, 'gave a croſs-blow on his adverſary's head, which 'glanced towards his friend, who, heaving up his ſore 'hand to ſave the blow, he was wounded on the back 'of his hand; as he had been before within. The 'two combatants, ſeeing Mr. Howell's face beſmeared 'with blood by heaving up his wounded hand, left 'fighting at once, and ran to embrace him; and hav-'ing

(12) Extract from Sir Kenelme Digby's diſcourſe upon the Sympathetic Powder.

James, he made as great a figure in the new Court, though he was not remarkable for paying his homage to the great favourite. He became, notwithſtanding, a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, a Commiſſioner of the Navy, and a Governor of Trinity-houſe (*k*); which employments, if they added but little to the weight of his purſe, ſerved however to heighten his reputation. Some diſputes having happened with the Venetians in the Mediterranean, by which the Engliſh trade ſuffered, as well as by the depredations com-

(*k*) See the article of DIGBY (Sir KENELME) in Bayle.

'ing ſearched his hurts, they bound up his hand with 'one of his garters to cloſe the veins, which were cut 'and bled abundantly. They brought him home, and 'ſent for a ſurgeon; but this being heard at Court, 'the King ſent one of his own ſurgeons, for his Ma'jeſty much affected the ſaid Mr. Howell.

'It was my chance to be lodged hard by him, and 'four or five days after, as I was making myſelf ready, 'he came to my houſe, and prayed me to view his 'wounds, for I underſtand, ſaid he, that you have ex'traordinary remedies upon ſuch occaſions, and my 'ſurgeons are apprehenſive that it might grow to a 'gangrene, and ſo the hand muſt be cut off. In ef'fect, his countenance diſcovered that he was in much 'pain, which he ſaid was inſupportable, in regard of 'the extreme inflammation. I told him I would wil'lingly ſerve him; but if haply he knew the manner 'how I would cure him, without touching or ſeeing 'him, it may be he would not expoſe himſelf to my 'manner of curing, becauſe he would think it, per'haps, either ineffectual or ſuperſtitious. He replied, 'that the wonderful things which many have related 'unto me of your way of curing, make me nothing 'at all doubt of its efficacy. I aſked him then for 'any thing that had the blood upon it, ſo he preſently 'ſent for his garter wherewith his hand was firſt bound, 'and having called for a baſon of water, as if I would 'waſh my hands, I took a handful of powder of vi'triol which I had in my ſtudy, and preſently diſ'ſolved it. As ſoon as the bloody garter was brought 'me, I put it within the baſon, obſerving in the 'mean while what Mr. Howell did, who ſtood talking 'with a gentleman in a corner of my chamber, not 'regarding at all what I was doing; but he ſtarted 'ſuddenly, as if he had found ſome ſtrange alteration 'in himſelf. I aſked him What he ailed? I know not 'what ails me, replied he, but I find that I feel no 'more pain; methinks that a pleaſing kind of freſh'neſs, as if a wet cold napkin did ſpread over my 'hand, has taken away the inflammation that tor'mented me before. I anſwered, ſince you feel al'ready ſo good an effect of my medicament, I adviſe 'you to caſt away all your plaiſters, only keep the 'wound clean, and in a moderate temper betwixt heat 'and cold. This was preſently reported to the Duke 'of Buckingham, and a little after to the King, who 'were both very curious to know the circumſtance of 'the buſineſs, which was, that after dinner I took the 'garter out of the water, and put it to dry before a 'great fire. It was ſcarce dry but Mr. Howell's ſer'vant came running, that his maſter felt as much 'burning as ever he had done, if not more, for the 'heat was ſuch, as if his hand were betwixt coals of 'fire; I anſwered, that though that had happened at 'preſent, yet he ſhould find eaſe in a ſhort time, for I 'knew the reaſon of this accident, and I would pro'vide accordingly, for his maſter ſhould be free from 'that inflammation, it may be before he could poſ'ſibly return unto him, but in caſe he found no eaſe, 'I wiſhed him to come preſently back again; if not 'he might forbear coming. Thereupon he went, and 'at the inſtant I did put again the garter into the 'water, he found his maſter without any pain at 'all.

'King James, who had received a punctual infor'mation of what had happened, would fain know how 'it was done. I readily told him what the author, of 'whom I had the ſecret, ſaid to the Great Duke of 'Tuſcany on the like occaſion: it was a religious Car'melite, who came from the Indies and Perſia to Flo'rence; he had alſo been in China, and having done 'many ſtrange cures with his powder, after his arrival 'in Tuſcany, the Duke ſaid he would be very glad to 'learn it of him. The Carmelite anſwered, that it 'was a ſecret he had learnt in the Oriental parts, and 'he thought there was not any perſon in Europe who 'knew it but himſelf, and that it deſerved not to be 'divulged, which could not be done if his Highneſs 'meddled with the practice of it, becauſe he was not 'likely to do it with his own hand, but muſt truſt a 'ſurgeon, or ſome other ſervant, ſo that in a ſhort time 'divers others would come to know it as well as himſelf. 'But a few months after, I had an opportunity to do 'an important courteſy to the ſaid Fryar, which in'duced him to diſcover unto me his ſecret; and the 'ſame year he returned to Perſia, ſo that now there 'is no other knows this ſecret in Europe but myſelf. 'The King replied, that I need not be apprehenſive 'that he would diſcover any thing, for he would not 'truſt any body in the world to make experience of 'his ſecret, but that he would do it with his own 'hands, and therefore deſired ſome of the powder, 'which I delivered, inſtructing him in all the circum'ſtances, whereupon his Majeſty made ſundry proofs, 'whence he received ſingular ſatisfaction.'

If any inquiſitive reader ſhould demand, whether the Lord Bacon ever publiſhed this account or not, the anſwer muſt certainly be in the negative, and yet no inference can be fairly drawn from thence to the prejudice of Sir Kenelme Digby's relation; firſt, becauſe that noble Philoſopher never publiſhed his Appendix to his Natural Hiſtory, and next, becauſe in that very work he has given us of his own knowledge, and indeed as to his own perſon, a relation to the full as ſtrong as this, though of another kind (13). He tells us he had a wart from his childhood upon one of his fingers, and that being at Paris when he was about ſixteen years old, he had a great number of warts that broke out at both hands in a month's time, upon which the Engliſh Ambaſſador's Lady cauſed them to be rubbed with a piece of bacon with the rine on, which ſhe nailed upon the poſt of her window, which looked to the ſouth; and the conſequence of that was, that in the ſpace of five weeks all the warts died away, and amongſt them that which he had for ſeveral years. His Lordſhip likewiſe gives the receipt for making the weapon ſalve in the ſame place, upon which he makes ſeveral very judicious remarks.

(13) Bacon's Natural Hiſt. century 10. No. 997, 998.

The celebrated Mr. Bayle, in a letter of his dated March 27, 1697, has the following paſſage, which may prove acceptable to the curious reader (14). 'It 'is ſome time ago that I mentioned to you a Phy'ſician in Friezeland, who has performed ſeveral cures 'without giving any thing to his patients. He con'tents himſelf with mingling with their urine ſome'what, which, as the malady requires, either ſweats, 'vomits, or purges. He continues this practice, and 'I am told he was domeſtick to a certain great Lord of 'Italy, who was ſent for to the Court of Vienna to 'cure the Emperor, which he actually did. This man 'diſcovered his maſter's ſecret and has ſet up for him'ſelf. Yet he is not the only one who poſſeſſes it; 'for there are three others who purſue this practice as 'well as he: one is at Leyden, another at Antwerp, 'and another has been here in this city of Rotterdam 'for two or three months. He has been but lately in 'any degree of credit. His houſe is at preſent like 'the pool of Bethesda; all who are diſeaſed run thither. 'It is certain that he has cured ſome, and that he has 'ſweated a great many. The Phyſicians cry out 'againſt him with the utmoſt fury; and, as there are 'more in this country than in any other, who are apt 'to deny as impoſſible whatever they do not com'prehend, ſo there are numbers who join in the ſame 'outcry with the Phyſicians. But not being able to 'deny the fact that many have been ſweated, they at'tribute this to a prepoſſeſſed imagination. For my 'own part I cannot think it impoſſible, phyſically 'ſpeaking, that a man ſhould be made to ſweat by 'having ſomething put into his urine.' There was a German Phyſician, who, in the year 1700, undertook to cure diſeaſes in the ſame manner here in England (15).

(14) Oeuvres de Bayle, Tom. IV. p. 735.

(15) Oeuvres de St. Evremond. Amſterd. 1726. Tom. V. p. 343.



mitted

mitted by the Algerines, Sir Kenelme Digby sailed with a small squadron thither in the summer of 1628, took several armed vessels belonging to the Infidels, setting the English slaves that were on board at liberty; and, on the 16th of June, having gained a considerable victory with a very inferior force, he likewise brought the Venetians to reason; so that as he left England with a very high character as a Scholar, he returned to it with no less credit as a gallant Soldier and wise Commander (*l*). After his coming back to England, his antient friend and director of his studies, Mr. Thomas Allen of Gloucester-Hall, died there, full of years and reputation, having collected an excellent library of manuscripts as well as printed books, many of which last he rendered as valuable as the first, by inserting his learned notes in their margins; all which, as a testimony of his affection and esteem for his eminent abilities, he bestowed, by his will, upon Sir Kenelme Digby (*m*). This was in the year 1632, and Sir Kenelme, considering the great value of the manuscripts, how much they were esteemed in the University, and how serviceable they might prove to such as consecrated the greatest part of their time to their studies, most generously bestowed them, the very next year, upon the Bodleian Library (*n*). Sir Kenelme continued, to this time, a Member of the Church of England; but going some time afterwards into France, he began to have some religious scruples, occasioned, as it is supposed, by the vigorous solicitations of several zealous Ecclesiasticks of the first rank; and having applied himself for about two years to the perusal of books of controversy, though, as he himself confessed, all of the same side, he, at length, changed his sentiments, and, in 1636, reconciled himself to the Church of Rome (*o*); which, as it gave very great uneasiness to his friends in England, so to none more than to Archbishop Laud, who had borne him for many years a very particular affection (*p*). This occasioned his writing to that Prelate a very large apology for his conduct, who returned him a very ample answer, full of tenderness and good advice, which is still extant, and does great honour to the Archbishop's memory (*q*) [C]. His Grace had very little hopes that these admo-

(*l*) Sir Kenelme's letter on this subject. Johnson's Underwoods, p. 243. Athen. Oxon. Vol II. col. 351.

(*m*) See the art. ALLEN (THOMAS). Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351.

(*n*) See the Preface to the Catalogue.

(*o*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351.

(*p*) Sir Kenelme, apprehensive of this, wrote to that Prelate very early, to give him an account of it.

(*q*) Wharton's Troubles and Trial of Abp. Laud, Vol. I. p. 610.

[C] *And does great honour to the Archbishop's memory.*] This letter is dated from Lambeth, March 27, 1636. It is very large and full, written, not in decent terms only, but with great delicacy: some part of it the reader will expect to see, and we will give him what most concerns the personal history of this gentleman (16). 'Whereas you say that you have returned 'into that communion, who, from your birth, had 'right of possession in you, and therefore ought to 'continue it, unless clear and evident proof (which you 'say surely cannot be found) should have evicted 'you from it: Truly, Sir, I think this had been 'spoken with more advantage to you and your cause 'before your adhering to the Church of England than 'now; for then right of possession could not have been 'thought little. But now, since you deserted that 'communion, either you did it upon clear and evident 'proof, or upon apparent only. If you did it then 'upon clear and evident proof, Why say you now no 'such can be found? If you did it but upon apparent 'and seeming proof, a semblance of very good reason '(as yourself calls it) why did you then come off from 'that communion till your proof were clear and evi'dent? And why may not that which now seems 'clear and evident be but apparent, as well as that 'which then seemed clear unto you, be but semblance 'now? Nor would I have you say, that clear and 'evident proof cannot be found for a man in this 'case of religion to forego the communion which 'had right of possession in him from his birth; for the 'proposition is an universal negative, and of hard proof. 'And therefore, though I think I know you and your 'judgment so well, that I may not, without manifest 'wrong, charge you that you did in this great action, 'and so nearly concerning you, *ad pauca respicere*, 'which our great master tells us breeds facile and easy, 'rather than safe and warrantable, determinations; 'yet it will lie upon you not only in honour without, 'but also in conscience within, to be able to assure 'yourself, that you did *ad plurima*, if not *ad omnia* '*respicere*; the thing being so weighty in itself, and 'the miserable division of Christendom (never suffi'ciently to be lamented) making the doubt so great, 'that you who have been on both sides must needs 'lie under the dispute of both sides, whether this last 'act of your's be not in you rather a relapse into a for'mer sickness, than a recovery from a former fall.

'But against this, the temper of your mind (you 'say) arms you against all censures, no slight air of 'reputation being able to move you. In this I must 'needs say you are happy: for he that can be moved 'from himself by the changeable breath of men's lives, 'more out of than in himself, and which is a misery 'beyond all expression, must in doubts go to other 'men for resolution, not to himself; as if he had no 'soul within him. But yet *post conscientiam fama*, 'and though I would not desire to live by reputation, 'yet I would leave no good means untried, rather 'than live without it. And how far you have brought 'yourself in question, which of these two, conscience 'or reputation, you have shaken by this double change, 'I leave yourself to judge, because you say your first 'was with a semblance of very good reason. And 'though you say again that it now appears you were 'then misled, yet you will have much ado to make 'the world think so.

'The way you took in concealing this your resolu'tion, of returning into that communion, and the rea'sons which you give why you so privately carried it 'here, I cannot but approve. They are full of all 'ingenuity, tender and civil respects, fitted to avoid 'discontent in your friends, and scandal that might 'be taken by others, or contumely that might be re'turned upon yourself. And as are these reasons, so 'is the whole frame of your letter (setting aside that I 'cannot concur in judgment) full of discretion and 'temper, and so like yourself, that I cannot but love 'even that which I dislike in it. And though I shall 'never be other than that I have been to the worth of 'Sir Kenelme Digby, yet most heartily sorry I am 'that a man, whose discourse did so much content me, 'should thus slide away from me before I had so much 'as suspicion to awaken me, and suggest that he was 'going. Had you put me into a dispensation, and 'communicated your thoughts to me before they had 'grown up into resolutions, I am a Priest, and would 'have put on what secrecy you should have command'ed. A little knowledge I have (God knows a little), 'I would have ventured it with you in that serious 'debate you have had with yourself. I have ever ho'noured you since I knew your worth, and I would 'have done all offices of a friend to keep you nearer 'than now you are. But, since you are gone, and 'settled another way, before you would let me know 'it, I know not now what to say to a man of judg'ment, and so resolved. For to what end should I 'treat, when a resolution is set already? so set, as 'that you say no clear and evident proof can be found 'against it? nor can I tell how to press such a man as 'you to ring the changes in Religion. In your power

'it

(16) Wharton's Troubles and Trial of Abp. Laud, p. 610.

admonitions would operate on the mind of Sir Kenelme Digby, which was certainly carried away with that veneration which he thought due to the faith of his anceſtors, and for which his father was underſtood to have died a martyr; and, perhaps, he was alſo influenced by that praiſe which he received from all ſides, upon the ſubject of his converſion (*r*). At leaſt this is certain, that, to ſhew at once his parts and his ſincerity, he wrote very eagerly in defence of his new, or rather old religion, that the world might take notice he was a thorough convert, and that it might ſeem he had done nothing precipitately, or without due conſideration (*s*). Theſe works of his were ſeveral times printed [*D*]. After a long ſtay in France, where he was highly careſſed, he came over to England, and was very well received by the Queen, who, in the year 1658, employed him, and Mr. Walter Mountague, in the management of an affair that afterwards made a very great noiſe (*t*). The King was, at that time, preparing for a war with the Scots, of which we have elſewhere given the reader ſome account (*u*); and his ſituation, at that time, was ſuch as induced him to aſk, as well as to accept, the aſſiſtance of ſuch of his ſubjects as were able and willing to ſupply him with money. The Nobility led the way, and the Clergy of the Church of England contributed, in a manner, proportionable rather to their zeal than to their intereſt (*w*). The Queen taking notice of this, and being very deſirous that thoſe of her religion ſhould not appear deficient in loyalty at ſuch a juncture, prevailed with the two Gentlemen before-mentioned to write a kind of circular letter to thoſe of the Romiſh perſuaſion throughout the kingdom, in ſupport of one of

(*r*) This appears from ſeveral paſſages in thoſe pieces of his, as well as from the great influence he had afterwards amongſt the Papiſts.

(*s*) Of which he ſpoke much in his letter to Abp. Laud.

(*t*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 32. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 141.

(*u*) In the article DEVEREUX (ROBERT) II. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. P. ii. p. 821.

(*w*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. I. p. 818.

'it was not to change; in mine it is not to make you 'change again. Therefore, to the moderation of 'your own heart, under the grace of God, I muſt and 'do now leave you for matter of Religion, but retaining ſtill with me, and entirely, all the love and 'friendlineſs which your worth won from me, well 'knowing that all differences in opinion ſhake not the 'foundations of Religion.

'Now to your poſtſcript, and then I have done. 'That I am the firſt, and the only perſon, to whom 'you have written thus freely: I thank you heartily 'for it. For I cannot conceive any thing thereby, 'but your great reſpect to me, which hath abundantly 'ſpread itſelf all over your letter. And had you written this to me with a reſtraint of making it further 'known, I ſhould have performed that truſt: but 'ſince you have ſubmitted to me, what further knowledge of it I ſhall think fit to give to any other perſon, I have, as I took myſelf bound, acquainted his 'Majeſty with it, who gave a great deal of very good 'expreſſion concerning you, and is not a little ſorry to 'loſe the ſervice of ſo able a ſubject. I have likewiſe 'made it known in private to Mr. Secretary Cooke, 'who was as confident of you as myſelf. I could 'hardly believe your own letters, and he as hardly my 'relation. To my Secretary I muſt needs truſt it, 'having not time to write it again out of my ſcribbled 'copy; but I dare truſt the ſecrecy in which I have 'bound him. To others I am ſilent, and ſhall ſo continue, till the thing open itſelf; and I ſhall do it 'out of reaſons very like to thoſe which you give, 'why yourſelf would not divulge it here. In the laſt 'place, you promiſe yourſelf that the condition you 'are in will not hinder me from continuing to be 'the beſt friend you have. To this I can ſay no 'more, than that I could never arrogate to myſelf to 'be your beſt friend: but a poor, yet reſpective, 'friend of yours I have been ever ſince I knew you: 'and it is not your change that can change me, who 'never yet left but where I was firſt forſaken, and not 'always there.'

[*D*] *Theſe works of his were ſeveral times printed.*] There is nothing more common, than for perſons, who have thought fit to alter their choice as to a religious ſyſtem, to vindicate this conduct of theirs by writings; and the higher their ſtation, the greater their character, the more extenſive their reputation, ſo much the more neceſſary works of this kind are thought, and, without queſtion, ſo much the more difficult they are found. Our author had exhibited the beſt excuſes in his power to make, and, very probably, in the beſt dreſs, to his Grace of Canterbury; and how theſe were received, as well as what the nature of them might be, we may eaſily conjecture from the preceding note. As to thoſe pieces which are to be the ſubject of this, their titles are theſe:

I. *A Conference with a* Lady *about* Choice *of* Religion. *Paris*, 1638. *Lond.* 1654. 8*vo*. This was a piece written in an eaſy, polite, and conciſe ſtyle, in which its author was peculiarly happy. His principal aim was to ſecure a general approbation of his conduct, by keeping to ſuch arguments as ſuited beſt with common underſtandings; and, at the ſame time, inſinuated, that, in the choice of a religion, an uninterrupted authority of the ſafety of ſalvation, in any communion, was of high importance, and that, with regard to ſpeculative points, liberty of opinion was not precluded. Dr. Twiſſe, one of the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter, wrote an anſwer to this treatiſe, which was never publiſhed.

II. *Letters between the Lord* George Digby *and Sir* Kenelme Digby, *Knight*, *concerning* Religion. *Lond.* 1651, 8*vo*. Theſe letters, though printed thirteen years after, were written at the time which we have aſſigned them. The firſt, from Lord Digby to Sir Kenelme Digby, is dated November 2d, 1638, from Sherborne; and therein his Lordſhip attacks the authority of the Fathers with reſpect to Articles of Faith, in which he ſhews, that though Proteſtants, as well as Papiſts, frequently appeal to them in points where they think their judgments agreeable to their own doctrines, yet in others, where they differ from them, they are rejected by both; whence he infers, their authority can be deciſive to neither. Sir Kenelme Digby, in his anſwer, dated at London, December 6th, 1638, takes a great deal of pains to apologize for the Fathers, and diſtinguiſhes between their ſentiments as to Articles of Faith, and ſuch points of doctrine in which, without prejudice to the Church, freedom of opinion may be allowed. As to the firſt he will have their authority deciſive, though not as to the ſecond. Lord Digby, in his anſwer, dated at Sherborne, March 29th, 1639, returns to the charge with great ſtrength of reaſoning. He ſhews, that rejecting ſuch a deciſive authority in the Fathers, does by no means infer a diſreſpect of them; and profeſſes, that though he cannot ground his faith preciſely upon what they deliver, he nevertheleſs believes them to have been ſincerely pious and excellent perſons. He obſerves, that, if ſuch an authority was due to them, as is contended for, it muſt be chiefly attributed to thoſe of the earlieſt ages; and that, with reſpect to the Fathers of the firſt three centuries, there are great diſputes about the genuineneſs of the writings aſcribed to them; and a doubtful rule can be no rule at all. He inſiſts farther, that their authority cannot be deciſive, becauſe ſometimes they contradict each other, ſometimes they are inconſiſtent with themſelves, ſometimes they teach what is not either received by Proteſtants or Papiſts, and ſometimes they ſhew a manifeſt want of ability in handling thoſe ſubjects of which they treat. In theſe letters there is great civility expreſſed on both ſides, inſomuch, that few controverſies have been managed with ſo little acrimony; which, after all, is the higheſt commendation that can be beſtowed upon them, ſince the matters to which they relate had been as juſtly and as concluſively debated, by other as able writers, long before.

her

her own, to excite their liberality at this ſeaſon (*x*). Theſe endeavours were attended with very conſiderable effects, which, however, ought undoubtedly to be attributed to principles of honour rather than any thing elſe; for we have very good authority to prove, that this proceeding was ill reliſhed at Rome, from whence inſtructions were ſpeedily ſent, to caſt a damp upon the loyalty of the Engliſh Papiſts (*y*) [*E*]. In the month of January, 1640, the Houſe of Commons ſent for Sir Kenelme Digby, in order to know how far, and upon what grounds, he had acted in this matter, which he opened to them very clearly (*z*); and the Queen herſelf alſo ſent a meſſage to the Houſe, in which ſhe ſtated her own concern in the matter, and the motives for her conduct; with which the Houſe was, or at leaſt ſeemed to be, ſatisfied (*a*). Yet upon an addreſs, that his Majeſty would remove ſuch as were of the Popiſh Religion from Court, and more eſpecially from his royal preſence, Sir Kenelme Digby and Mr. Walter Mountague were particularly named, and felt the effects of it (*b*). Upon the breaking-out of the civil war Sir Kenelme Digby, remaining at London, was, by the Parliament, committed priſoner to Wincheſter-Houſe (*c*), where, however, he was treated with great reſpect, was viſited by men of all parties, and ſome amongſt them of the firſt diſtinction (*d*). At length, in the year 1643, her Majeſty the Queen-Dowager of France having vouchſafed to write a letter, with her own hand, in favour of Sir Kenelme, and to procure his liberty; it was granted upon certain terms (*e*), and a very reſpectful letter written in anſwer to that of the Queen upon this ſubject (*f*) [*F*]. Before he quitted the kingdom, however, he was ſummoned

(*x*) Sanderſon's Hiſt. of the Reign of Charles the Firſt, p. 247. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 141.

(*y*) See what is delivered on this head in Rushworth.

(*z*) Public Intelligence. Lond. 1640. 4to.

(*a*) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. I. p. 823.

(*b*) See the Commons Addreſs.

(*c*) This appears from his letters dated from thence.

(*d*) Which created great jealouſies.

(*e*) Abp. Laud's Hiſt. of his own troubles, Aug. 3, 1643.

(*f*) See that letter in the note.

[*E*] *Upon the loyalty of the Engliſh Papiſts.*] We have, in as conciſe terms as poſſible, repreſented the matter of fact clearly in the text; whence it appears, that the Queen was the firſt mover in this affair. She ſays in her letter, that ſhe had ventured to anſwer for the zeal of the Catholicks; and that, after ſoliciting ſo often in their favour, ſhe was deſirous of preſenting his Majeſty with ſome marks of their gratitude (17). For the management of this affair, an aſſembly was called at London, of the principal perſons of that perſuaſion, in which Signior Con, the Pope's Nuncio to the Queen, preſided, by which aſſembly the Queen's propoſal was embraced and recommended, and, upon the letters of Digby and Mountague, treaſurers were appointed in the ſeveral counties to collect this contribution, which amounted to upwards of twenty thouſand pounds (18). As this money was intended for the ſupport of an army raiſed againſt the Scots, who, under pretence of religious diſputes, but in reality excited by emiſſaries from France, were in arms againſt the King, it is a point of ſome importance to know what the ſentiments were of the Court of Rome in a caſe of this nature; and theſe are preſerved to us in the following paper (19).

(17) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. I. p. 818.

(18) Sir Kenelme Digby affirmed this when examined before the Houſe of Commons in 1640.

(19) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. I. p. 821.

*A Letter from the* Pope *to His* Nuncio *in* England *at the beginning of the* War *with* Scotland; *but badly tranſlated.*

'You are to command the Catholicks of England 'in general, that they ſuddenly deſiſt from making 'ſuch offers of men, towards this northern expedition, 'as we hear they have done, little to the advantage of 'their diſcretion. And likewiſe it is requiſite, con'ſidering the penalty already impoſed, that they be 'not too forward with money, more than what law 'and duty enjoins them to pay, without any innova'tion at all, or view of making themſelves rather 'weaker pillars of the kingdom than they were be'fore.

'Inform the Provincials of every order, that it is 'expreſsly prohibited no more aſſemblies (of what na'ture ſoever) ſhall admit of the Laity to have either 'voice or ſeſſion in it, being what will be urged for a 'precedent, *tho' it* is but only an uſurpation.

'Declare unto the beſt of the Peers and Gentlemen, 'by word of mouth or letter, that they ought not to 'expreſs any averſeneſs, in caſe the High Court of 'Parliament be called, nor ſhew any diſcontent at the 'acts which do not point-blank aim at religion, being, 'in general, the moſt fundamental law of that king'dom.

'Adviſe the Clergy to deſiſt from that fooliſh, nay, 'rather illiterate and childiſh cuſtom of diſtinction in 'the Proteſtant and Puritan Doctrine. And, eſpecial'ly, this error is ſo much the greater, when they un'dertake to prove, that Proteſtantiſm is a degree nearer 'the Catholick Faith than the other; for, ſince both 'of them be without the verge of the Church, it is 'needleſs hypocriſy to ſpeak of it, yea, it begets more 'malice than it is worth.

'That the Provincials are herein required to give a 'general warning, throughout all orders, that no reli'gious perſon ought to be ſeduced (by any Noblemen, 'either Officers of the Crown, or the like, who pre'tend to be ſchiſmatick) into a præmunire. For he 'that dares not follow the truth as his conſcience di'rects him, is not worthy to be ſought or followed by 'any of our faith. But, on the other ſide, we give the 'like command, that whoſoever is thought inclining 'to God in his heart, let no man be ſo raſh to boaſt 'and ſpeak it abroad.

'All buſy enquiries are forbidden; but eſpecially 'into arcanas of State.

'That none of the Church, whether Lay-Brother or 'Eccleſiaſtick, contribute ſo largely as they have done 'to the ſociety, but diſpoſe their charity that every 'order may partake alike.'

[*F*] *Upon this ſubject*]. Mr. Wood tells us, that Sir Kenelme Digby was very active for the King in the beginning of the Civil War (20): but it is moſt probable, that he was prevented from being active, ſince it is very evident that he was committed to Wincheſter-Houſe about the time it broke out, and continued in that confinement till he was diſcharged in the manner mentioned in the text. Mr. Hearne has preſerved the copy of a letter directed to the Queen-Regent of France, in the language of that country, a tranſlation of which follows (21).

(20) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 352.

'Madam,

'The two Houſes of Parliament having been in'formed, by the Sieur de Greſſy, of the deſire your 'Majeſty has, that we ſhou'd ſet at liberty Sir Ke'nelme Digby; we are commanded to make known 'to your Majeſty, that although the religion, the paſt 'behaviour, and the abilities of this Gentleman, might 'give juſt umbrage of his practiſing to the prejudice of 'the conſtitutions of this realm; nevertheleſs, having 'ſo great regard to the recommendation of your Ma'jeſty, they have ordered him to be diſcharged, and 'have authorized us farther to aſſure your Majeſty, of 'their being always ready to teſtify to you their re'ſpects upon every occaſion, as well as to advance 'whatever may regard the good correſpondence be'tween the two States. We remain,

'Your Majeſty's

'Moſt humble ſervants, &c.

(21) Walteri Hemingford Chronicon, p. 581.

By whom this letter was to be ſent does not appear, but, moſt probably, by the Committee to whom this matter was referred. In regard to the terms upon which this Gentleman was ſet at liberty, they will ſufficiently

moned before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, in order to give an account of any knowledge he might have of tranſactions between Archbiſhop Laud and the Court of Rome, and particularly as to an offer ſuppoſed to be made to that Prelate from thence of a Cardinal's hat. Sir Kenelme Digby aſſured the Committee, that he knew nothing of any ſuch tranſactions, and that, in his judgment, the Archbiſhop was what he ſeemed to be, a very ſincere and learned Proteſtant (*g*); of all which he took care that his Grace ſhould be informed, as well as that his enemies were very ſolicitous to diſcover any thing that might fix an imputation of that ſort upon his conduct (*b*). We may eaſily conceive, that a perſon of Sir Kenelme Digby's ſtudious and philoſophic genius could not be altogether idle even while under confinement, but that his thoughts would be ſometimes employed upon thoſe ſublime and important topicks which had formerly furniſhed matter for his meditations; and accordingly we find, that, during his reſidence in Wincheſter-Houſe, he compoſed two pieces at leaſt, that ſoon after ſtole abroad into the world, and kept alive that fame which their author had acquired in better times. Theſe two pieces regard the works of others, and may be juſtly eſteemed judicious criticiſms, as well as very learned philoſophical diſſertations [*G*]. His appearance at the Court of France, to return thanks to the Queen-Mother, for her gracious interpoſition in his favour, was highly acceptable to many of the learned in that kingdom, who had a very high opinion of his abilities, and were charmed with the life and freedom of his converſation, which is, on all hands, allowed to have been very agreeable, notwithſtanding that ſpirit of envy which purſued him living, and which has not ceaſed to perſecute his memory ſince his death (*i*). It is highly probable, that, about this time, having heard ſo much of the fame of Des Cartes, he reſolved to go and pay him a viſit at Egmond, the place he had choſen for his retreat, where he accordingly found him, and had a converſation with him upon a very remarkable ſubject (*k*); and though he did not declare to that Philoſopher who he was, yet Des Cartes preſently diſcovered him by his diſcourſe, which is a circumſtance worthy of notice [*H*]. Our author is alſo reported to have had many conferences with him after at Paris (*l*), where he ſpent the beſt part of the enſuing year in a cloſe application to his ſtudies, and in frequenting the aſſemblies of the learned in that city, where he was gene-

(*g*) Wharton's Troubles and Trial of Archbiſhop Laud, Vol. I. p. 209.

(*b*) The perſon employed was Mr. Edward Leathorpe.

(*i*) As appears from the writings of Roſs, Stubbes, &c.

(*k*) Des Maizeaux, Life of M. St. Evremond, p. 41.

(*l*) To which ſome paſſages in his treatiſe on *Bodies* ſeem to refer.

ficiently appear from the following paper, entirely written with, as well as ſubſcribed by, his own hand.

'Whereas upon the mediation of her Majeſty the 'Queen of France, it hath pleaſed both Houſes of 'Parliament to permit me to go into that kingdom; 'in humble acknowledgment of their favour therein, 'and to preſerve and confirm a good opinion of my 'zeal and honeſt intentions to the honour and ſervice 'of my country, I do here, upon the faith of a Chriſ-'tian, and the word of a Gentleman, proteſt and pro-'miſe, that I will, neither directly nor indirectly, ne-'gotiate, promote, conſent unto, or conceal, any prac-'tice or deſign, prejudicial to the honour or the ſafety 'of the Parliament. And, in witneſs of my reality 'therein, I have hereunto ſubſcribed my name, this '3d day of Auguſt, 1643.

'KENELME DIGBY.'

[G] *As well as very learned philoſophical diſſertations.*] Both were written in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, and are ſo full of deep learning, that the reader cannot help allowing there muſt have been prodigious ſtore in that magazine, which could furniſh ſuch variety and choice upon ſuch ſudden occaſions.

III. "Obſervations upon Religio Medici, occaſion-"ally written by Sir Kenelme Digby, Knt. Lond. "1643, 8vo." Theſe obſervations, digeſted into the form of a letter, were written in the night between the 22d and 23d of December, 1642, and addreſſed to Edward Earl of Dorſet, Sir Kenelme's great friend and patron, and who was a very great admirer of that famous piece written by the ingenious Dr. Browne. Whoever peruſes theſe obſervations carefully will diſcern that Sir Kenelme Digby was not either ſo credulous, or ſo ſuperſtitious a man as ſome have repreſented him; and though there are many crude and haſty cenſures in that letter, yet there are alſo ſome very ſtrong and ſenſible meditations upon very uncommon ſubjects.

IV. "Obſervations on the 22d Stanza, in the Ninth "Canto of the 2d Book of Spenſer's Fairy Queen. "Lond. 1644, 8vo." This likewiſe was a letter to Sir Edward Stradling, written haſtily, and containing a very deep philoſophical commentary upon the moſt myſterious verſes that ever fell from the pen of their learned author, and which are thought to have been admirably explained in this diſcourſe. Beyond all doubt, if Sir Kenelme Digby has reached the ſenſe of his author, it does very high honour to Mr. Spenſer, and might kindle a ſpirit of emulation in ſuch as read his excellent writings with delight, to attempt ſomething of the ſame kind with reſpect to other obſcure paſſages, which, cleared up in the ſame manner, would not fail of being very acceptable to the literary world.

[H] *Which is a circumſtance worthy of notice.*] The late very ingenious and knowing M. des Maizeaux, in the life of M. St. Evremond, tells us, this gentleman was informed by Sir Kenelme Digby, that, having read the writings of that great Philoſopher Des Cartes, he reſolved to go in perſon to Holland on purpoſe to ſee him (22). He did ſo, and found him in his retirement at Egmond. There that ſtudious and intelligent perſon received and converſed with him as a ſtranger, but after a conſiderable time ſpent in a free and learned diſcourſe upon a great variety of ſubjects, M. Des Cartes, who had ſeen ſome of his works, told him, that he did not doubt but he was the famous Sir Kenelme Digby. And if you, Sir, replied the Knight, were not the illuſtrious M. Des Cartes, I ſhould not have come on purpoſe to ſee you. Then Sir Kenelme Digby remarked to the Philoſopher, that our ſpeculative diſcoveries were, indeed, pretty and agreeable, but that after all they were too uncertain and unprofitable to take up a man's whole thoughts: that life was almoſt too ſhort to attain to the right knowledge of neceſſary things; that it would be much more worthy of him, who ſo well underſtood the frame of the human body, to ſtudy ways and means to prolong it, than to apply himſelf to the barren ſpeculations of Philoſophy. Des Cartes aſſured him that he had already conſidered that matter; and that to render a man immortal was what he would not venture to promiſe, but that he was very ſure it was poſſible to lengthen out his life to the period of the Patriarchs. When Monſ. de St. Evremond told M. des Maizeaux this particular, he added, that they were not ignorant in Holland that Des Cartes flattered himſelf he had made this diſcovery, and that he had heard ſeveral perſons talk of it who had known that Philoſopher; that Des Cartes's friends alſo in France knew it; and that Abbot Picot, his diſciple and martyr, being perſuaded that he had found out this great ſecret, would not believe the news of his death, and that, when he was aſhamed to doubt of it any longer, he cried, *'tis done and over, the world will ſoon be at an end.*

(22) Des Maizeaux Life of M. St. Evremond, p. 41.

rally well received, and, for the reasons before assigned, greatly admired (*m*). He had now leisure to digest that Philosophy which he had been so long meditating, and of which he framed a system, in two parts, which, in his own language, but with a licence or privilege from the French King, he published in the following year, and which is regarded by the learned as his principal performance (*n*). Some have insinuated, that, in this work of his, he has taken to himself the honour of many weighty and curious observations which he met with in the writings of his learned and judicious friend Thomas Allen, of Glocester-Hall (*o*); but as never any proof of this was attempted, and as Sir Kenelme Digby, in every thing he penned, had the air of an original writer, this ought, in justice, to be considered as a very groundless suggestion. We shall give the reader a more full account of these two parts of his Philosophy in the notes [*I*]. After the King's affairs

(*m*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 352.

(*n*) See the titles, &c. in the note.

(*o*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col 575. See also the article of ALLEN (THOMAS) in the General Dictionary.

[*I*] *Of these two parts of his Philosophy in the notes.*] In order to treat the subject of this note as clearly and as concisely as possible, we will first give the titles of our author's works; then some observations upon them; next shew how they were received; and lastly, speak of the answers that were written to them.

V. "A Treatise of the Nature of Bodies." Paris, 1644. fol. printed again at London in 1658, 1665, and 1669, all which editions are in 4to, and to the last some other pieces of his are added.

VI. "A Treatise declaring the Operations and Nature of Man's Soul, out of which the Immortality of "Reasonable Souls is evinced." Paris, 1644, fol. Printed again at London 1645, 1657, 1669, all in 4to. and together with the former treatise.

VII. "Institutionum Peripateticarum libri quinque, "cum Appendice Theologica de Origine Mundi;" that is, "Five Books of Peripatetick Institutions, together with a Theological Appendix concerning the "Origin of the World." Paris, 1651, fol. This piece is added to the two former, translated into Latin by J. L. together with a Preface prefixed in the same language, by Thomas Anglus, that is, Thomas White, who also translated these Peripatetick Institutions into English.

The author addresses the two treatises first mentioned, which are, indeed, but the first and second parts of the same work, to his son Kenelme Digby, and his epistle to him is dated at Paris, August 31, 1644, and the French King's privilege at Fontainbleau, the 26th of September in the same year. It will appear clearly to such as peruse these pieces, that our author was a man of very deep thought, extensive learning, and very happy in supporting his philosophic arguments by a very dextrous application of facts. He was entirely addicted to the Corpuscularian Philosophy, which for those times he very well understood; but his notions being for the most part very new, and the relations advanced by him very extraordinary, those who envied him took occasion from thence to treat him, not only with severity, but indecency; and better writers having succeeded him, have not taken the pains to expose this ill usage, perhaps to prevent the world's taking notice how much they were obliged themselves to our learned Knight. An instance will make all this plain. Our author having explained the sense of smelling, and shewn why brutes have it in so much greater perfection than human creatures, he proceeds thus (23):

(23) Digby on Bodies, p. 310.

'Without doubt the like use men would make of 'this sense, had they not on the one side better means 'than it to know the qualities of meats: and there-'fore this is not much reflected upon. And on the 'other side, were they not continually stuffed and 'clogged with gross vapours of steamy meat, which 'are daily reeking from the table and their stomachs, 'and permit not purer atoms of bodies to be discerned, 'which require clear and uninfected organs to take no-'tice of them. As we see it fare with dogs, who have 'not so true and sensible noses when they are high fed, 'and lie in the kitchen amidst the steams of meat, as 'when they are kept in their kennel with a more spare 'diet fit for hunting.

'One full example this age affordeth us in this 'kind, of a man whose extremity of fear wrought upon 'him to give us this experiment. He was born in 'some village of the country of Liege, and therefore 'among strangers he is known by the name of John of 'Liege. I have been informed of this story by several '(whom I dare confidently believe) that have had it 'from his own mouth, and have questioned him with 'great curiosity particularly about it.

'When he was a little boy there being wars in the 'country, as that state is seldom without molestations 'from abroad, when they have no distempers at home, 'which is an unseparable effect of a country's situation 'upon the frontiers of powerful neighbouring Princes 'that are at variance, the village of which he was, 'had notice of some unruly scattered troops that were 'coming to pillage them, which made all the people 'of the village fly hastily, with what they could carry 'with them, to hide themselves in the woods, which 'were spacious enough to afford them shelter, for they 'joined upon the forest of Ardenne. There they lay 'till some of their scouts brought them word that the 'soldiers, of whom they were in such apprehension, 'had fired their town and quitted it. Then all of 'them returned home excepting this boy, who, it 'seemeth, being of a very timorous nature, had images 'of fear so strong in his fancy, that first he ran farther 'into the wood than any of the rest, and afterwards 'apprehended that every body he saw through the 'thickets, and every voice he heard, was the soldiers; 'and so hid himself from his parents that were in much 'distress, seeking him all about, and calling his name 'as loud as they could. When they had spent a day 'or two in vain, they returned home without him, and 'he lived many years in the woods, feeding upon fruits 'and wild roots, and mast.

'He said, that after he had been some time in this 'wild habitation, he could by the smell judge of the 'taste of any thing that was to be eaten, and that he 'could at a great distance wind by his nose where 'wholesome fruits or roots did grow. In this state he 'continued (still shunning men with as great fear as 'when he first ran away; so strong the impression was, 'and so little could his little reason master it), until, 'in a very sharp winter, that many beasts of the forest 'perished for want of food, necessity brought him to 'so much confidence, that, leaving the wild places of 'the forest, remote from all people's dwellings, he 'would, in the evenings, steal among cattle that were 'fothered, especially the swine, and among them glean 'that which served to sustain wretchedly his miserable 'life. He could not do this so cunningly, but that 'often returning to it, he was upon a time espied, and 'they who saw a beast of so strange a shape, for such 'they took him to be, he being naked and all over-'grown with hair, believing him to be a satyr, or 'some such prodigious creature as the rencounters of 'rare accidents tell us of, laid wait to apprehend him. 'But he that winded them as far off as any beast could 'do, still avoided them; till at length they laid snares 'for him, and took the wind so advantageously of 'him, that they caught him, and then soon perceived 'he was a man, though he had quite forgotten the use 'of all language; but, by his gestures and cries, he 'expressed the greatest affright that might be, which 'afterwards he said (when he learnt to speak anew), 'was because he thought those were the soldiers he 'had hidden himself to avoid, when he first betook 'himself to the wood, and were always living in his 'fancy, through his fears continually reducing them 'thither.

'This man, within a little while after he came to 'good keeping and full feeding, quite lost that acute-'ness of smelling which formerly governed him in his 'taste, and grew to be in that particular as other ordi-'nary men were. But at his first living with other 'people, a woman that had compassion of him, to see a 'man so near like a beast, and that had no language to 'call for what he wished or needed to have, took parti-

'cular

affairs were totally ruined, this Gentleman found himself under a neceſſity of returning into England (*p*), in order to compound for his eſtate, as is generally ſaid, though another account is given of this journey (*q*); but at what time he came, how long he remained here, or where he reſided, is very uncertain. He met, however, during his ſtay, with ſeveral misfortunes, ſtill more ſenſible than that which brought him over. Amongſt theſe we ought to reckon the loſs of his eldeſt ſon Kenelme Digby, Eſq. a young Gentleman of great hopes, with reſpect both to his abilities and his virtues (*r*). He engaged himſelf with the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Peterborough, the Lord Petre, and many other Noblemen and Gentlemen, who, on July 7th, 1648, appeared for the King, under the Earl of Holland, near Kingſton in Surry; but, being attacked before they could well form, were obliged to retire into Huntingdonſhire, where, at St. Neot's, they were ſurprized by Colonel Adrian Scroop's regiment of horſe, and, though they made a gallant defence, were totally routed; Colonel Dalbier, who till then had ſerved the Parliament, and is ſaid to have taught Cromwell the art of war, with Mr. Digby, being ſlain upon the ſpot (*s*). The Parliament, notwithſtanding Sir Kenelme's compoſition, did not, for reaſons which will be hereafter mentioned, judge it proper that he ſhould remain in England, and therefore not only ordered him to withdraw, but voted if he ſhould afterwards, at any time, return without leave of the Houſe firſt obtained, he ſhould loſe both life and eſtate (*t*). Upon this he went again into France, where he was very kindly received by Queen Henrietta Maria, Dowager of England, to whom he had been, for ſome time, Chancellor, and was, not long after, ſent into Italy, where he was, at firſt, well received by Pope Innocent X (*u*); but Mr. Wood ſays he behaved to him ſo haughtily, that he very quickly loſt his good opinion; and adds farther, that there was ſuſpicion of his being no faithful Steward of the contributions raiſed in that part of the world, for the aſſiſtance of the diſtreſſed Catholicks in England (*w*). However that matter might be, it is very certain, that he viſited ſeveral other Courts in Italy, where he was treated with great reſpect, as well on account of his perſonal qualifications, as from the eſteem thoſe Princes had of the Queen his miſtreſs (*x*). But, whether his conduct deſerved thoſe imputations mentioned by Mr. Wood, or whether his figure and addreſs were capable of making ſuch impreſſions as another writer mentions, we have not lights ſufficient to determine (*y*) [*K*].

(*p*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 581.

(*q*) See this fully cleared in note [*L*].

(*r*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 542.

(*s*) See the Preface to his father's treatiſe of *Bodies*, addreſſed to him.

(*t*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 329.

(*u*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 585.

(*w*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II col. 352.

(*x*) So it appears from various Letters of a perſon then at Rome.

(*y*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 581.

After

'cular care of him, and was always very ſolicitous to 'ſee him furniſhed with what he wanted; which made 'him ſo apply himſelf unto her in all his occurrents, 'that whenſoever he ſtood in need of aught, if ſhe were 'out of the way and were gone abroad into the fields, 'or to any other village near by, he would hunt her out 'preſently by his ſcent, in ſuch ſort as with us thoſe dogs 'uſe to do which are taught to draw dry foot. I imagine 'he is yet alive, to tell a better ſtory of himſelf than 'I have done, and to confirm what I have here ſaid of 'him; for I have it from them who ſaw him but a few 'years agone, that he was an able ſtrong man, and 'likely to laſt yet a good while longer.

'And of another man I can ſpeak aſſuredly myſelf, 'who being of a very temperate or rather ſpare diet, 'could likewiſe perfectly diſcern by his ſmell the qua'lities of whatſoever was afraid to paſs the exa'mination of his taſte, even to his bread and beer. 'Wherefore to conclude, it is evident both by reaſon 'and by experience, that the object of our touch, our 'taſte, and our ſmell, are material and corporeal 'things, derived from the diviſion of quantity into 'more rare and more denſe parts, and may with eaſe 'be reſolved into their heads and ſprings ſufficiently 'to content any judicious and rational man.'

The reception given to this work when it firſt appeared, may be collected from this character given of the author by one who wrote in his own time (24), *Sir Kenelme Digby is an ingenious learned gentleman, and an ornament of this nation, as his book of Bodies ſhews.* We might cite many writers of our own, and of the French nation, of the ſame ſtanding, to vouch with equal ſtrength in favour of his reputation; but perhaps it will be ſufficient to take notice of the learned Morhoff, who had conſulted moſt of his writings, cites them often, and ſpeaks of their author with great applauſe (25). The Abbe Vallemont was a great admirer of Sir Kenelme Digby's writings (26), and applauded the ſagacity with which he handles the moſt difficult ſubjects, his penetration in diſcovering the true cauſes why they were difficult, and his perſpicuity in delivering his own notions.

We muſt not however imagine, that Sir Kenelme could make himſelf ſo famous by his writings without meeting ſome degree of cenſure, and, in an age ſo full of cavils as that was, of oppoſition. Accordingly, we find that he was attacked at home by Alexander Roſs, a voluminous writer, who likewiſe undertook to diſparage the abilities of Dr. Hervey and Sir Thomas Browne. The title of his work was,

*The Philoſophical Touchſtone, or Obſervations upon Sir* Kenelme Digby's *Diſcourſes of the Nature of Bodies, and of the Reaſonable Soul*, &c. *in which his erroneous Paradoxes are refuted.* Lond. 1645, 4*to*.

He was alſo attacked abroad in a ſmall treatiſe, intituled,

*Triumphans Anima, ſive Philoſophica Demonſtratio immortalitatis Animæ.* Frank. 1661, 12*mo*. This was publiſhed under the fictitious name of Amandus Verus, which concealed John Chriſoſtom Enggenfield, a very learned Bavarian, J. U. D. concerning whoſe hiſtory the curious reader may meet with ſome circumſtances in the author cited in the margin (27).

(27) Vincentii Placcii Theatrum Anonymorum & Pſeudonymorum, P. ii. p. 38.

[*K*] *We have not lights ſufficient to determine.*] It appears from the original picture of Sir Kenelme Digby ſtill remaining, that though he was a perſon of the largeſt ſize, as indeed his family generally were, yet he was a very well made graceful man. His gallant action at ſea, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, affords us a pregnant proof of his courage, which ſhewed itſelf alſo upon other occaſions; and his writings, which are peculiarly calculated to enliven the drieſt, as well as to enlighten the darkeſt ſubjects, cannot leave us in any doubt as to the faculties of his mind. But that with all theſe high qualities he had his imperfections, who can doubt? Of what nature theſe failings were the reader muſt collect, as well as he can, from Mr. Wood's account, which is this (28): 'He was not only maſter 'of a good, graceful, and judicious ſtile, but alſo wrote 'an admirable hand both faſt and Roman. His per'ſon was handſome and gigantick, and nothing was 'wanting to make him a compleat Cavalier. He had 'ſo graceful elocution and noble addreſs, that had he 'been dropped out of the clouds into any part 'of the world, he would have made himſelf re'ſpected; but the Jeſuits who cared not for him, 'ſpoke ſpitefully, and ſaid it was true, but then he 'muſt not ſtay there above ſix weeks. He had a great 'faculty, which proceeded from abundance of wit 'and invention, of propoſing and reporting matters 'to the Virtuoſi, eſpecially to the Philoſophical Aſ'ſembly at Montpellier, and Royal Society at home. 'Which

(28) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351.

(24) Leigh's Religion and Learning, p. 180.

(25) Polyhiſtor. II. 2, 15, 5. II. 2, 3, 6. II. 2, 8, 4. II. 2, 14, 2. II. 2, 32, 3. II. 2, 40, 2. II. 2, 47, 6. II 2, 48, 1. III. 5, 1, 10.

(26) La Phyſique Occulte, P. 195.

After Cromwell had assumed the supreme power in this kingdom, Sir Kenelme Digby, who had now nothing to fear from the Long Parliament, ventured to return home (z), and continued here a great part of the year 1655, when it is very certain that he was embarked in some very great design; and, as some writers have suggested, this was reconciling the Papists to the Protector (a). This created great jealousies against him on all sides; and the countenance he received from Cromwell, who is said to have been very much taken with him, produced no small clamour against his government (b). Whether either of them were sincere, or whether, like thorough Politicians, each acted a part which suited with their interests at that juncture, remains doubtful; but that the facts already mentioned are certainly true, and that Mr. Wood has not injured Sir Kenelme in his censure (c), may be proved to the Reader's satisfaction [L]. Besides all this, after Sir

(z) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 263, a.

(a) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 195.

(b) See this largely discussed in note [L].

(c) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 352.

'Which is the reason why many say, that as he was 'most exactly accomplished with all sorts of learning, 'so he was guilty withal of extravagant vanities.' Mr. Lloyd (29), who likewise wrote when things were fresh in memory, bestows a better character on our illustrious Knight, whom he reports of a fluent invention and discourse, as appears from his long discourse at Montpellier in France, and his entertainments of the Ladies of the several nations he travelled in; of a great faculty in negotiations both at France, Rome, and Florence, and most of the states of Italy, of one of the Princes whereof it is reported, that, having no children, he was very willing his wife should bring him a Prince by Sir Kenelme, whom he imagined the just measure of perfection.

(29) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 582.

[L] *May be proved to the reader's satisfaction.*] In the articles relating to our author inserted in foreign collections, his loyalty to King Charles I, his steady attachment to King Charles II, and his averring himself to be of the Romish religion at the peril of his life, are extolled as so many acts of heroism (30). As it is our business to discover truth, we are under a necessity of observing, that this gentleman has no title to these praises, and that whatever tincture of envy there might be in the censures passed upon his Philosophical character, what is said to the prejudice of his political behaviour will admit of no such extenuation. His practices in favour of the Catholicks, with those who murdered King Charles I. began early, as appears from the following passages in a letter from the Lord Byron to the Marquis of Ormond (31), dated from Caen in Normandy, March 1, 1649, N. S. 'In 'some letters from good hands I meet with a particular of great concernment, which I thought fit to 'advertise your Excellency of by this bearer, Major 'Jamot, who, though a Roman Catholick, yet herein 'so much detests their ways, that truly I believe it will 'alter his opinion. The business is briefly this: Sir 'Kenelme Digby, with some other Romanists, accompanied with one Watson an Independent, who hath 'brought them passes from Fairfax, is gone for England to join the interests of all the English Papists with 'that bloody party that murdered the King, in the 'opposition and extirpation of monarchical government; 'or if that government be thought fit, yet that it 'shall be by election, and not by succession as formerly provided; that a free exercise of the Romish 'religion be granted, and of all other religions whatsoever, excepting that which was established by law 'in the Church of England. This deviliish design, 'which most certainly is now setting on foot, I doubt 'may have an ill influence upon Ireland, especially 'upon O-Neil's party, if not prevented by your vigilance and prudence. Poyntz (my Lord of Worcester's devil) I hear is a prime actor in it, and it is 'much suspected that Walsingham, whom your Excellency knows for a pragmatical knave, and I believe comes over in Darcy's frigate, is employed by 'Sir K. Digby, though pretending some other business. Sir Edward Nicholas either hath, or will write 'to your Excellency, concerning this particular, and 'Major Jamot is able to say something in it. I am 'the apter to believe it, because, when I was in 'England, something to this purpose was propounded 'by the Independent party to the Recusants.' This was followed by a letter from Secretary Nicholas, inclosing a letter from Dr. Winstad, a Physician of the Romish religion at Rouen, dated February 7, 1649, in which he gives the following account of the same journey, from his own knowledge (32): 'Tuesday 'last arrived here Sir Kenelme Digby from Paris, with 'divers young gentlemen in his company; only there 'was a wry-necked fellow amongst them, which Sir 'Kenelme commended to my acquaintance and care, 'as being, he said, in a consumption, and for that cure 'had changed the air and came into France, but was 'now going into England, with an intention to return 'within sixteen or twenty days, and then would stay 'here, or go into Languedoc for his health. Feeling 'his hand and pulse, I assured him that he was in no 'consumption nor never had been. Afterwards I perceived that this was but a pretence, and that he was 'an agent for that accursed crew, his name Watson, 'Scout-master to the rebels. I spake freely my mind 'of the murther, and the judgment that was made 'here by the French: his answer was, that the 'French abhorred the fact in general. I spared no 'curses, for I assure myself it is no sin to curse the enemies of God and my King. I asked Sir Kenelme 'Digby why he would go now into England, considering the abomination of that country: his answer 'was, that he had not any means to subsist longer, 'and if he went not now he must starve. I answered 'it was the better choice to die, if he remembered 'the obligations he had to the Queen-Regent of 'France, who took him from those that would have 'destroyed him. He answered, that the Queen-Regent knew of his going, and that he had the King of 'France's pass, and would return again suddenly. I 'next prest him to stay two or three months; he replied, that by that time all his business would be settled. 'I desired him not to think to have from those at 'London any toleration, for that for my part I had 'rather live in exile all the days of my life, and suffer 'at Tyburn when I came home, than that my publick 'liberty to serve God should spring from the bloody 'murtherers of my Sovereign.' What his thoughts were of the design appears likewise from his own words: 'The plot as I am told about, which Sir Kenelme Digby (who came a few days since to this town) is employed as agent to treat with those horrid rebels, 'the Independents of England, is for the subversion of 'successive hereditary monarchy there, and to make it 'elective, and to establish Popery there, and to give 'toleration to all manner of religions, except that of 'the Church of England according to the practice 'thereof.' The reader will observe that this treaty was with the Independents, and that as soon as the Presbyterian faction recovered power, Sir Kenelme Digby was banished by the Parliament, as an artful, busy, and dangerous person. When Oliver came into power the same design of the Papists was revived again, for the prosecution of which Sir Kenelme Digby came over in 1655, when he lived here in all the ease, freedom, and credit imaginable (33), conversing entirely with those who were favourers of that government, which induced Mr. Holles, afterwards Lord Holles, to publish a pamphlet, in which he addresses himself to Cromwell in the following terms (34): 'What liberty the 'Priests and Jesuits take, how far they prevail on the 'people, what countenance they receive from this 'government, is apparent enough by not proceeding 'against them in justice, as if no laws were in force 'for their punishment. Your private negotiations 'with the Pope, and your promises, that, as soon as 'you can establish your own greatness, you will protect 'the Catholicks, and the insinuations that you will 'countenance them much farther, are sufficiently 'known and understood; and of their dependance 'upon, and devotion to, you, there needs no evidence 'beyond

(30) See the article of DIGBY (Sir KENELME) in Bayle and Moreri.

(31) Collection of original letters and papers found amongst those of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 216.

(32) Ibid. p. 220.

(33) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 263, 264.

(34) A letter from a true and lawful Member of Parliament, &c. Lond. 1656, 4to. p. 58.

Sir Kenelme had left England, and was again in France, we find him not only applying to the government of England, and particularly to Secretary Thurloe, for private favours, but in respect to matters of publick concern (*d*), and on the behalf of the English Merchants at Calais, who, without doubt, would not have applied to him, if they had not believed his credit with the Protector better than their own. But what serves to put this matter entirely out of doubt, is a letter of his, which contains such extraordinary acknowledgments and assurances, as renders it every way worthy of the reader's notice (*e*) [*M*]. After some stay at Paris, he went to spend the summer of the year 1656 at Toulouse; and, as he had there the pleasure of conversing with a great many learned and ingenious men, so he frequently entertained them, in his turn, not only with his Mathematical,

(*d*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 244.

(*e*) See the ground of this letter in that last referred to. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. P. 591.

'beyond the book lately written by Mr. White, a Romish Priest, and dedicated to your favourite Sir Kenelme Digby, entitled, "The Grounds of Obedience and Government;" in which he justifies all the grounds and maxims in your declaration, and determines positively, that you ought to be so far from performing any promise, or observing any oath that you have taken, if you know that it is for the good of the people, that you break it. Albeit they foreseeing all that you now see, did therefore bind you by oath not to do it, and that you offend both against your oath and fidelity to the people, if you maintain those limitations you are sworn to, and sure what you do must be supported by such Casuists.' This point is still more explicitly handled by Mr. Prynne, who tells us of Cromwell (35) 'that Sir Kenelme Digby was his particular favourite, and lodged by him at Whitehall; that Maurice Conry, Provincial of the Franciscans in England, and other Priests, had his protections under hand and seal, and that he suspended laws and executions against Popish Priests and Jesuits, though sometimes taken in their pontificalibus at mass, and were soon after released; and that he endeavoured to stop the bill against Papists the very morning he was to pass it, by his Whitehall instruments, who moved its suspension for a time, as not suiting with the then present foreign correspondencies, against whom it was carried by eighty-eight votes, that it should be sent up with the rest then passed, and that he writ to Mazarine to excuse his passing that bill, as being carried on by a violent Presbyterian party, much against his will, and that yet it should not hurt them though passed, &c.' All these testimonies, taken conjunctly with the letter produced in the next note, are certainly very decisive, and prove plainly, that Sir Kenelme had precisely his father's principles, and pursued nothing with so much vehemence as the establishment of Popery in England, under any government, and upon any terms. It is very strange that this did not ruin him with the Queen-Dowager, but that it did not is very certain, as it likewise is, that these intrigues were continued to the very last hour of our disturbances, Lambert, who made the final struggle, being a concealed Papist, and King Charles II, or at least his Ministers, so thoroughly apprized of these points, as to send instructions to those who managed his affairs in England, to concert nothing with the Papists (36), though, as we have seen, there might be honest men amongst them, who detested those treacherous arts, by which, after the miscarriage of the Powder-treason, disaffection was cunningly spread all over England, commotions excited in Scotland, and, by degrees, the body of the Papists in Ireland precipitated into a bloody massacre, and a most unnatural rebellion. As this detail has a near relation to Sir Kenelme Digby's personal history, so it opens to our view one of the darkest parts of that disagreeable period of our History, in which many people are apt to think that the Papists are accused rather from prejudice than proof; whereas in reality, though they must be allowed an admirable faculty in mining, yet it would not be at all impossible to prove, that, during this space, the Popes and their agents were as active abroad, as Cromwell and his party were indefatigable at home, and both with the like views, though not from the same principles; and hence we may easily account for Sir Kenelme Digby's great favour and credit with the Protector.

(35) True and perfect narrative of what was done, or spoken by, and between, Mr. Prynne, the old and newly forcibly late secluded Members, the army Officers, and those now sitting, both in the common Lobby, House, and elsewhere, on the 7th and 9th of May, &c. Lond. 1659. 4to. p. 57.

(36) Collection of original letters and papers found amongst those of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 216, 225, 243.

[*M*] *Every way worthy of the reader's notice.*] This letter stands in need of no introduction, since it comes directly up to the point mentioned in the text, and is an excellent instance of the advantages that may be drawn from such kind of collections, in works of this nature (37).

(37) State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 591.

Sir Kenelme Digby to Secretary Thurloe.

'Right Honourable, Paris, Mar. 18, 1656.

'THE French Ambassador taking leave of me 'yesterday, told me, that his Secretary at London 'had, among other things, written to him, that Sir 'Robert Welsh had spoken something to your Honour much to my prejudice, and that since some letter 'of a Lady to me had been intercepted, the contents 'whereof did in some sort make good what he had 'spoken. I believe your Honour hath so good information what this woful Knight is, that if there were 'nothing but the venom that his malicious tongue can 'spit, I should not think it needful to trouble myself, 'much less your Honour's more serious occasions, with 'taking any notice of it. But since he hath contrived 'as I verily believe, some better name than his own, 'to seem to justify what would have no credence 'from him, I may not sit down without beseeching 'your Honour to search the matter to the bottom, 'and to drive it to the utmost. I look upon this as 'a contriving of his, because forging of letters, 'and doing treacheries of this kind, hath been his 'ordinary course, and because I am confident that 'nobody in the world, who hath so much familiarity 'with me as to write to me, but knoweth me so well, 'as to be sure that whatsoever may be disliked by my 'Lord Protector and the Council of State, must be 'detested by me. My obligations to his Highness are 'so great, that it would be a crime in me to behave 'myself so negligently as to give cause for any shadow 'of the least suspicion, or to do any thing that might 'require an excuse or apology. I make it my business 'every where, to have all the world take notice how 'highly I esteem myself obliged to his Highness, and 'how passionate I am for his service, and for his honour and interests, even to the exposing of my life 'for them. If your Honour cannot readily find out 'the bottom of this villainy plotted against me upon 'notice of so much, I will take post the next day to 'return into England (though it may be much to the 'prejudice of my domestick affairs, in my broken 'estate, because my debts are not yet quieted) and I 'doubt not but I shall soon make discovery of some 'wicked treachery intended against me: for this 'wretched creature hath as much malice to me as he is 'capable of, first, as being an Irish Papist (whose 'whole tribe have an implacable animosity against me), 'and next, because I have heretofore shamed him, and 'have broken some cheating designs of his, by making 'publick some of his infamous villanies, for which he 'never durst make any expostulation with me. I 'humbly crave pardon of your Honour for suffering 'myself to be thus far transported. My excuse is, 'that I should think my heart were not an honest one, 'if the blood about it were not warmed with any the 'least imputation upon my respects and my duty to 'his Highness, to whom I owe so much. I humbly 'crave a line or two from your Honour, that I may 'either resolve to return presently home, or remain 'satisfied by your having discovered the villany attempted against me, which, with all humility, expecting, I rest,

'Your Honour's Most Humble,

'and Most Obedient servant, &c.'

Physical,

Phyſical, and Philoſophical Diſcoveries, but with ſuch communications alſo received from his friends in the different parts of Europe, as he thought moſt capable either of extending knowledge, or of creating pleaſure or delight (*f*). Amongſt theſe was a relation he obtained concerning a petrified city in Africa, which he likewiſe tranſmitted to a friend in England in the month of September, the ſame year, and which very undeſervedly drew upon him a very heavy load of calumny and reproach (*g*) [*N*]. We find him the next year at Montpelier, in the South of France, whither he went, partly for the ſake of his health, which began to be impaired by ſevere fits of the ſtone, and partly for the ſake of enjoying the learned ſociety of ſeveral worthy and ingenious perſons, who had formed themſelves into a kind of academy (*h*) there, and to whom he read his large diſcourſe of the Sympathetic Powder, afterwards printed and publiſhed in ſeveral languages, and, at that time, generally well received (*i*) [*O*]. We are indebted to the letters lately publiſhed of the famous Mr. Algernon Sydney (*k*), for the knowledge of this Gentleman's paſſing the year 1658, and part of the year 1659, in the Lower Germany, and more eſpecially in the Palatinate; but, as to what he ſays of his going there by the name of Earl or Count Digby, and other circumſtances of a very diſparaging nature, they ſeem to flow from a mixture of inconnected reports, joined to a very high diſlike of the perſon to whom they related. It is probable, that he returned from thence towards the cloſe of the laſt mentioned year to Paris, where we find him in 1660, and employed there after his accuſtomed manner in converſing with the learned, moderating in their aſſemblies, and giving them occaſional lights from his own obſervations and informations. This circumſtance we derive from the pen of a very ingenious and knowing perſon, who wrote it as acceptable news to his great patron in England (*l*) [*P*]. He returned the following

(*f*) Athen. Oxon. Vol II. col. 352.

(*g*) Stubbes's Animadverſions on the *Plus Ultra* of Glanville, p. 161.

(*h*) See the advertiſement to the reader before the French tranſlation.

(*i*) La Phyſique occulte, par M. de Vallemont, p. 195.

(*k*) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 698.

(*l*) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 302.

[*N*] *A very heavy load of calumny and reproach.*] The matter of fact hinted at in the text was plainly this: Mr. Fitton, an Engliſh Gentleman, who was at that time Library-Keeper to the Great Duke of Tuſcany, wrote a letter, dated July 2, 1656, to Sir Kenelme Digby, at Toulouſe, with an Account of a city within the territories of Tripoli in Africa, ſuppoſed to be entirely petrified by the riſing of a vapour out of the earth; which piece of intelligence Sir Kenelme having written to a friend in England, he was ſo free in communicating it, that it was at length printed in the *Mercurius Politicus* (38). The famous Dr. Stubbes took occaſion from this to ſhew at once his diſlike to Sir Kenelme Digby, and to gratify his profeſſed averſion for the Royal Society, by treating the thing as an abſurd and ridiculous falſhood, and by ſaying of Sir Kenelme, whom he would have repreſented as the author of it, *That he was the Pliny of our age for lying* (39). To ſhew that ſuch a city as this there is from the accounts given by modern writers, would indeed vindicate the ſagacity of our author, and ſhew that he made a better judgment of things than his antagoniſt Stubbes; but we can do more than this; for we can ſhew that Sir Kenelme did not either credit a haſty, or an idle report, but that it had been current ſome time, and the truth of it believed upon good authority; which is ſufficient to juſtify Sir Kenelme in his Philoſophic character, and to demonſtrate, that though he was extremely curious, he was not at all credulous (40).

(38) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 353.

(39) Animadverſions upon Glanville's *Plus Ultra*, p. 161.

(40) Philoſophical Experiments and Obſervations of the late eminent Dr. Robert Hook, publiſhed by W. Derham. Lond. 1726. 8vo. p. 386, 387.

The following Paper was delivered to Richard Waller, Eſq. Fellow of the Royal Society, by Mr. Baker, who was the Engliſh Conſul at Tripoli, Nov. 12, 1713.

'ABOUT forty days journey S. E. from Tripoli, 'and about ſeven days from the neareſt ſea-coaſt, there 'is a place called Ougila, in which there are found the 'bodies of men, women, and children, beaſts and 'plants, all petrified of a hard ſtone-like marble. 'That about 1654 or 5, the Corſairs having taken ſe'veral of the Engliſh ſhips, Admiral Blake was ſent, 'with a ſquadron of men of war to Tripoli, from which 'place and Tunis he had all the captives delivered 'without ranſom, at which time the report of this diſ'covery of the abovementioned city was new, ſo that 'he obliged the Alkade to procure a whole figure for 'him, which he promiſed. But Blake not ſtaying 'long enough there, but ſailing to Leghorn, he ſent 'a ſmall frigate to Tripoli to fetch it aboard; in 'which frigate one Mr. Hebden (then a young gen'tleman) went, who told Mr. Baker, that he himſelf 'ſaw a figure of a man petrified, which was conveyed 'to Leghorn, and thence to England, and that it was 'carried to Secretary Thurloe.

'The ſame Mr. Baker told me, that, when he was 'at Tripoli, he ſpoke with ſeveral Turks, who af'firmed themſelves to have been eye-witneſſes of the 'ſaid petrifaction. That particularly an officer that 'commanded a garriſon of two hundred men, on a 'frontier place called Derney, not many days journey 'from the place, had promiſed him to procure a figure 'thence; the ſame affirmed the relation, that accord'ingly he ſent ſome ſpies to find the place, which at 'that time they could not, as he ſent him word, it 'being wholly buried in the ſands, which in that 'country are carried in great clouds; that a ſtrong 'north wind blows the ſand off, and by that means 'diſcovers the place, which, at other times, is covered 'by theſe ſands.

'He farther told me, that this Mr. Hebden died 'about two years ſince a priſoner in the Fleet, though 'he had been formerly ſent to Moſcow by King 'Charles II. He ſaid he had procured the arm of a 'fig-tree, as big as his arm, petrified, whereon the 'bark and wood were plainly viſible, the bark grey, 'the wood yellowiſh, of the true colour of the plant; 'that in the bark was a groove, in which were ſeveral 'ſmall inſects, like the lady-cow, petrified; that he 'had preſented this piece of petrified wood to my 'Lord Torrington, in whoſe poſſeſſion he believes it 'now is.'

[*O*] *At that time generally well received.*] Our author deſigned to have collected Roger Bacon's Works, and actually tranſlated from the Latin of Albertus Magnus, Biſhop of Ratiſbon, a ſmall piece, intituled,

VIII. "A Treatiſe of adhering to God," Lond. 1654, 8vo.

IX. "Of the Cure of Wounds by the Powder of "Sympathy," Lond. 1658, ſpoken in French in a ſolemn aſſembly at Montpellier in France, in 1657, and tranſlated into Engliſh by Richard White, Lond. 1660, reprinted at London with the Treatiſe of Bodies, *anno* 1669, and tranſlated into Latin by Laur. Stranſius of Darmſted in Heſſe. It is alſo printed in the book intituled, "Theatrum Sympatheticum," publiſhed by John Andreas Endter at Norimberg, 1662, in 4to, of which there is an account in our Philoſophical Tranſactions. As to the philoſophical arguments in this treatiſe, and the manner in which the author accounts for the ſtrange operations of this remedy, they were highly admired in thoſe days, have been often copied ſince, and even in this inquiſitive and judicious age, are allowed to be very ingenious, though not very convincing.

[*P*] *Who wrote it as acceptable news to his great patron in England.*] The perſon mentioned in the text is Mr. Oldenburgh, afterwards Secretary to the Royal Society, who, in his letter to Mr. Boyle, dated Paris Mar. 20, 1660, writes thus (41): 'Sir Kenelme 'Digby will himſelf aſſure you, by the annexed, of 'his

(41) Boyle's Works, Vol. V p. 302.

lowing year to England, and was very well received at Court, notwithſtanding the Miniſters were far from being ignorant of the irregularity in his conduct, and the court that he had paid to Oliver while the King was in exile (*m*). It does not, however, appear, that any other favour was ſhewn him, than ſeemed to be due to a man of letters (*n*). In the firſt ſettlement of the Royal Society, we find him appointed one of the Council, by the title of Sir Kenelme Digby, Knight, Chancellor to our dear mother Queen Mary (*o*). He was not likely to be conſidered or truſted in the beginning of King Charles's adminiſtration, becauſe he not only ſhewed himſelf an open but a buſy Papiſt, interfered in their quarrels, and declared himſelf, upon all occaſions, an eager enemy to the Jeſuits (*p*), who were not at all behind with him in reſentment, but took all the care they could to leſſen his character, and to defame him. As long as his health would permit, he attended the meetings of the Royal Society, and gave his aſſiſtance towards the improvements that were then made in uſeful knowledge. One of his diſcourſes (*q*) was printed and publiſhed by itſelf, of which we ſhall take notice [Q]. He ſpent the remainder of his days at his houſe in Covent-Garden, where he enjoyed the company of his friends, and was much viſited by the lovers of Mathematical and Philoſophical Learning; ſo that, according to a cuſtom which then prevailed much in France, he had a kind of Academy, or Literary Aſſembly, in his own dwelling (*r*). Some years before his death, he cauſed a vault to be built under the eaſt end of the ſouth iſle of Chriſt-Church within Newgate, in which was depoſited the body of his wife, and over it was erected a very ſtately altar monument of black marble, whereon her buſt, made of copper gilt, was placed, with four inſcriptions in honour of her memory (*s*). This lady's name was Venetia, daughter to Sir Edward Stanley, of Tongue-Caſtle, in Shropſhire, Knight of the Bath, by his wife the Lady Lucy, daughter and coheireſs of Thomas Piercy, Earl of Northumberland (*t*), which Sir Edward Stanley was the ſon of Sir Thomas Stanley, Knight, and grandſon of Edward Earl of Derby (*u*), by the Lady Dorothy Howard, daughter of Thomas Duke of Norfolk. We ſhould have been able to have rendered this article much more perfect, if we could have had the aſſiſtance of that noble manuſcript which Sir Kenelme cauſed to be collected at the expence of a thouſand pounds, as well out of private memorials, as from publick hiſtories and records in the Tower, and elſewhere, relating to the Digby family in all its branches (*w*): but not knowing where this was to be found, we have drawn together, with no ſmall pains, what lay ſcattered about him in a variety of authors, and have digeſted the ſeveral facts they mentioned in the beſt order we could. In the ſummer of the year 1665, his old diſtemper the ſtone increaſed upon him very much, and

(*m*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col 352.
(*n*) Kennet's Chronicle p. 286.
(*o*) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 137.
(*p*) In the edition of 1669, added to his Treatiſe of Bodies.
(*q*) Kennet's Chronicle p. 286.
(*r*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 827.
(*s*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 352, 353.
(*t*) Stowe's Survey of London by Strype, Vol I. B. iii. p. 137.
(*u*) F. Stem. antiq. fam. Stanleiorum.
(*w*) So his ſon John Digby informed Anthony Wood.

'his reſpects to you. We met lately at the houſe of 'a Chemiſt, where the queſtion was agitated about the 'diſſolvent of gold, Whether the univerſal ſpirit of 'the world, in its undetermined nature, or, as it is 'ſpecified and contracted to a mineral, be the men'ſtruum of that noble metal? The diſcuſſion hereof 'being rather made by authority than reaſon, gave 'ſmall ſatisfaction to the auditors, whereof the learned 'Knight himſelf being the chief, did moderate the 'action, but not determine the queſtion, interlacing 'the diſcourſes of others with ſeveral conſiderable re'lations, whereof two did raviſh the hearers to admi'ration. The one was of a King's houſe in England, 'which having ſtood covered with lead for five or ſix 'ages, and being ſold after that, was found to con'tain three-fourths of ſilver in the lead thereof. 'The other was of a fixed ſalt, drawn out of a certain 'potters earth here in France, at a place called Ar'cueil, which ſalt being for ſome time expoſed to the 'ſun-beams, became ſalt-petre, then vitriol, then lead, 'tin, copper, ſilver, and, at the end of fourteen 'months, gold; which he aſſured to have experienced 'himſelf, and another able Naturaliſt beſides him. 'I muſt confeſs I would rather ſee this than believe it, 'though the author be a very authentick gentleman.'

Theſe facts, as they are very cloſely ſet down, and without any illuſtration of circumſtances, have an air of incredibility: but without doubt if we knew exactly how they were related by Sir Kenelme, they would not appear either ſo ſtrange or ſo improbable. As to the alterations of lead indeed, and its growing heavier in time, ſo as to endanger the buildings covered with it, we meet with ſome very extraordinary inſtances in Mr. Boyle's own writings (42): and as to the other matter, ſtrange as it is, it appears not to have reſted entirely upon Sir Kenelme Digby's authority, and ſeems beſides to have ſome concurrence with the accurate experiments long afterwards made in France by that ingenious and candid Chemiſt Mr. Homberg. It may not however be amiſs to remark, by the way, that Sir Kenelme Digby had a true philoſophic ſpirit, and was much more covetous of knowledge than of wealth, and as deſirous of communicating ſcience as of obtaining it; which ſometimes expoſed him, as it hath done other great men, to the ſupercilious contempt of perſons far inferior both in learning and in underſtanding.

(42) Boyle's Works, Vol. III. p. 460.

[Q] *Of which we ſhall take notice.*] In this note we are to ſpeak of the laſt genuine work of our author; which was,

X. "Diſcourſe Concerning the Vegetation of Plants." Lond. 1661, 8*vo*, and again in 1669, 4*to*, printed in Latin at Amſterdam 1663, and again in 1669, 12*mo*, under this title: "Diſſertatio de Plantarum Vegetatione."

This work is highly applauded by the learned Morhoff, whoſe judicious character of it will give the reader a true idea of the worth of our author (43).

'Magnam huic vegetationi lucem affert liber Kenelmi 'Digbæi, de Vegetatione Plantarum, è lingua Angl. in 'Lat. converſus, quo eleganter proceſſum nutritionis & 'accretionis è ſemine demonſtrat, cujus Diſſertationis 'argumentum libro ſuo de immortalitate animæ inſe'ruit. Tota illa Diſſertatio ſubtiliſſima eſt, & cum ac'curatione legi meretur. Mathematica demonſtratione 'enim ob oculos ponit, quomodo à primo ſeminali 'puncto partes extra partes procedunt, partim ſalibus 'aëris aut terreſtribus evocatæ, partim preſſione aëris & 'humoris externi, partim calore ſubterraneo, quæ omnia 'hic ſingulatim explicare, nimis eſſet operoſum, Vi'deatur Auctor ille, & cum ipſo conferatur Honor: Fa'ber, qui partes plantarum, quæ ſucceſſione excreſcunt, 'optime delineavit, &, ut exiſtimo, maxime ad men'tem Digbæi.'

(43) Polyhiſtor. II. 2. 40. 2.

The reader may find in Wood, and in ſome other authors, ſeveral pieces attributed to Sir Kenelme Digby (44); but as theſe were publiſhed after his deceaſe by one Hartman, who was his Operator, and who put Sir Kenelme Digby's name in the title-page, with a view to recommend compoſitions very unworthy of him to the publick; they ſeem by no means to deſerve a place here, which, with our deſire to bring this article within bounds as much as poſſible, are our reaſons for rejecting them.

(44) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 353.

brought him very low, which rendered him desirous, as it is said, of going to France (x); which, however, he lived not to accomplish, but deceased on his birth-day, June 11th, 1665 (y), when he was sixty-two years of age: his corpse was interred near that of his lady in the Church before-mentioned (z). Sir Kenelme's valuable library, which was justly esteemed a most excellent collection, had been transported into France at the first breaking out of the troubles, and improved there at a very considerable expence; but, as he was no subject of his Most Christian Majesty's, it became, according to that branch of the prerogative which the French style *Droit d' Aubain*, the property of the Crown upon Sir Kenelme's decease. This was a very great injury to his family, as may appear from hence, that, being afterwards begged from that King, the new possessor, for I think one can hardly call him proprietor, sold it (and, it is very probable, below its real value) for ten thousand crowns. Sir Kenelme left an only son, John Digby, Esq. who succeeded to the family estate (a); and, therefore, there is plainly some mistake in the account given us by a certain great Historian (b), who says, that the death of this son of Sir Kenelme produced the ruin of his family, as that did the finding his grandfather's papers; of which, in the former article, we gave some account, and of which it will be necessary to say somewhat farther here [R]. This John Digby, Esq. of Gothurst in Buck-

(x) See the article DIGBY (Sir KENELME) in Bayle.

(y) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 827.

(z) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 581.

(a) Wright's Antiquities of Rutland, p. 115.

(b) Burnet's Hist. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 11.

[R] *To say somewhat farther here.*] The great Historian mentioned in the text is the Bishop of Salisbury, who seems to have had some particular concern in this extraordinary transaction, or at least to have been for some time possessed of Sir Everard Digby's original papers. His own words are these (45): 'I will mention what I myself saw, and had for some time in my possession: Sir Everard Digby died for being of the conspiracy. He was the father of the famous Sir Kenelme Digby. The family being ruined upon the death of Sir Kenelme's son, when the executors were looking out for writings to make out the titles of the estates they were to sell, they were directed by an old servant to a cupboard that was very artificially hid, in which some papers lay that she had observed Sir Kenelme was oft reading. They looking into it found a velvet bag, within which there were two other silk bags (so carefully were those relicks kept), and there was within these a collection of all the letters that Sir Everard writ during his imprisonment. In these he expresses great trouble, because he heard some of their friends blamed their undertaking: he highly magnifies it, and says, if he had many lives he would willingly have sacrificed them all in carrying it on. In one paper he says, they had taken that care that there was not above two or three worth saving, to whom they had not given notice to keep out of the way: and in none of those papers does he express any sort of remorse for that which he had been engaged in, and for which he suffered.' We will now compare this with the attestation prefixed to the papers (46): 'The several papers and letters of Sir Everard Digby, which are, as we have been credibly informed, the original papers and letters written by him concerning the Gunpowder-treason, were found by us Sir Rice Rudd, Bart. and William Wogan of Gray's-Inn, Esq; in the presence of Mrs. Ursula Giles, and Mr. Thomas Hughes, about the month of September 1675, at the house of Charles Cornwallis, Esq; who was Executor of Sir Kenelme Digby (son and heir to the said Sir Everard) tied up in two silk bags, amongst the deeds, evidences, and writings of the said Sir Kenelme Digby.

'RICE RUDD.
'WILLIAM WOGAN.'

(45) Burnet's Hist. of his own time, Vol. I. p. 11.

(46) At the close of the Preface to Sir Everard Digby's private papers, published in 1675. 8vo.

It is not clear from the Prelate's account whose executors he means, but it looks as if it were the executors of Sir Kenelme's son (47); whereas the certificate shews, that the papers were not found by any executors at all, but by two gentlemen of credit, in the house of the executor of Sir Kenelme Digby. In the certificate two silk bags are mentioned, though not the velvet bag; and, which is very singular, there is no notice at all taken of their being led to this discovery by hearing of the cupboard, or of the old servant; but there are the names of two persons in whose presence they were found, and it is not impossible they might take to themselves some merit in the discovery. But from the certificate, one can see no reason to judge they were hidden at all, but rather that they were accidentally found, searching among Sir Kenelme's papers, who might die in circumstances indifferent as to himself, but whose estate, as we have seen, was too well secured to prejudice his son or his family.

C.

(47) John Digby, Esq; son to Sir Kenelme, appears from Wright's Hist. of Rutlandshire, to have been living in 1684.

*** [The Correspondent to whom we have so often been obliged has remarked, that the story of the cure of the warts, related in note [B], is very different from the operation of the Sympathetic Powder. In the former case, the medicine was applied; and if the bacon had any effect, it was owing to that circumstance, and not to its being nailed at the post of a south window. It may, however, be observed, that even Lord Verulam was not exempted from the credulity of his age; since, otherwise, he would not have mentioned so childish a receipt for removing warts. With respect to the quotation from Bayle, our friend adds, "Bayle was no philosopher. And "as he often disbelieved, so perhaps he might some-"times believe from singularity. King Charles the "Second said, that Vossius believed every thing but "the Bible. Lord Shaftesbury observes something "to the same purpose of many unbelievers, that they "scrupled to credit a Christian, but easily assented "to the truth of a Chinese Miracle."

Sir Kenelme Digby seems to have obtained a reputation that was beyond his merit. He was undoubtedly a man of strong natural abilities, and possessed of considerable learning; but he has no claim to the character of a sound philosopher. His notions were visionary, and his credulity very great; besides which, we are afraid that his veracity may sometimes be called in question. It is not easy to give credit to all which he relates concerning his Sympathetic Powder; and it is still more difficult to believe his story of the transmutations of a fixed salt, though he asserted that he had experienced them himself. We admire the candour of our ingenious predecessor in his narration of these matters, but we cannot pay an equal compliment to his judgment.

Whimsical and ill-founded as was Sir Kenelme Digby's philosophy, he was not without his followers. One of them attained so much celebrity, especially abroad, that Bayle has thought him deserving of an article; for which reason we shall give a short account of him in this place. The person we are speaking of was usually called, especially in France, Thomas Anglus; and under that appellation the lives that occur of him, in different Biographical works, are written. As an author, he occasionally assumed other signatures, but his real name was Thomas White. He was the son of Richard White, Esq; of Hatton in the county of Essex, by Mary his wife, daughter of Edmund Plowden, the famous lawyer in Queen Elizabeth's reign. His parents being Roman Catholics, he was educated, probably abroad, in the strictest principles of that profession, and at length became a secular priest (48). In that character he resided very much in foreign parts. He was principal of the College at Lisbon, and sub-principal of that at Douay; but his longest stay was at

(48) Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, Vol. ii. col. 665.

Buckinghamſhire, dying many years after his father, left behind him, by his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Longueville, of Wolverton, in the ſame county, Baronet, by

at Rome and Paris. For a conſiderable time, he lived in the houſe of Sir Kenelme Digby; and he ſhewed his attachment to that gentleman's philoſophy by various publications. His firſt work of this kind was printed at Lyons, in 1646. It is entituled, *Inſtitutionum Peripateticarum ad mentem ſummi clariſſimique Philoſophi Kenelmi Equitis Digbæi.* "Inſtitutions of the Peripatetic Philoſophy, according "to the Hypotheſis of the great and celebrated Phi-"loſopher Sir Kenelme Digby." Mr. White was not contented with paying homage to Sir Kenelme on account of his philoſophical opinions, but raiſed him alſo to the character of a Divine. A proof of this is afforded in a book publiſhed by him, the title of which is, *Quæſtio Theologica, quomodo ſecundum principia Peripapetices Digbæanæ, ſive ſecundum rationem, et abſtrahendo, quantum materia patitur, ab authoritate,* humani Arbitrii Libertas, *ſit explicanda, et cum* Gratia efficaci *concilianda.* "A Theological Queſtion, in "what Manner, according to the Principles of Sir "Kenelme Digby's Peripatetic Philoſophy, or accord-"ing to Reaſon, abſtracting, as much as the Subject "will admit, from Authority, *the Freedom of a Man's "Will,* is to be explained and reconciled with *Efficacious "Grace.*" Another publication to the ſame purpoſe, which appeared in 1652, was entituled *Inſtitutiones Theologicæ ſuper Fundamentis in Peripatetica Digbæana jactis exſtructæ.* "Inſtitutions of Divinity, built "upon the Foundations laid down in Sir K. Digby's "Peripatatic Philoſophy."

By his friend Sir Kenelme Mr. White was introduced, with large commendations, to the acquaintance of Des Cartes, who hoped to make a proſelyte of him; but without ſucceſs. Thomas Anglus was too much devoted to Ariſtotle's philoſophy to admit of the truth of any other ſyſtem. In his application of that philoſophy to Theological Doctrines, he embarraſſed himſelf in ſo many nice diſtinctions, and gave ſuch a free ſcope to his own thoughts, that he pleaſed neither the Moliniſts nor the Janſeniſts. Indeed, though he had a genius very penetrating and extenſive, he had no talent at diſtinguiſhing the ideas which ſhould have ſerved as the rule and foundation of his reaſonings, nor at clearing the points which he was engaged to defend. His anſwer to thoſe who accuſed him of obſcurity may ſerve to diſplay the peculiarity of his diſpoſition. "I value myſelf," ſays he, "upon ſuch a brevity and conciſeneſs, as is "ſuitable for the teachers of the ſciences. The Di-"vines are the cauſe that my writings continue ob-"ſcure; for they refuſe to give me any occaſion of "explaining myſelf. In ſhort, either the learned "underſtand me, or they do not. If they do un-"derſtand me, and find me in an error, it is eaſy "for them to refute me; if they do not underſtand "me, it is very unreaſonable for them to exclaim "againſt my doctrines." This, obſerves Mr. Bayle, ſhews the temper of a man who ſeeks only to be talked of, and is vexed at not having antagoniſts enow to draw the regard and attention of the public upon him (49). Conſidering the ſpeculative turn of Mr. White's mind, it is not ſurprizing that ſome of his books were condemned at Rome by the congregation of the "Index Expurgatorius," and that they were diſapproved of by certain Univerſities. The Treatiſes which found their way into the "Index Expurgatorius," were "Inſtitutiones Peripateticæ;" "Appendix Theologica de Origine Mundi;" "Ta-"bula ſuffragialis de Terminandis Fidei Litibus "ab Eccleſia Catholica Fixa;" and "Teſſeræ Ro-"manæ Evulgatio." In oppoſition to the Doctors of Douay, who had cenſured two and twenty propoſitions extracted from his "Sacred Inſtitutions," he publiſhed a piece, entituled, "Supplicatio poſtula-"tiva Juſtitiæ," in which he complains that they had given a vague uncertain cenſure of him, attended only with a *reſpective*, without taxing any propoſition in particular; and he ſhews them that this is acting like prevaricating divines. Another of his works was the "Sonitus Buccinæ," in which he maintained that the Church had no power to determine, but only to give her teſtimony to tradition. This likewiſe was cenſured. Mr. White had a very particular notion concerning the ſtate of ſouls ſeparated from the body, which involved him in a diſpute with the Biſhop of Chalcedon (50). Two tracts were written by him upon this ſubject, of which a large and elaborate account is given in Archdeacon Blackburne's Hiſtorical View of the controverſy concerning an intermediate ſtate. The concluſion drawn by the Archdeacon is, that Mr. White entered into the queſtion with more preciſion and greater abilities than any man of his time; and that it is very clear, from the inconſiſtencies he ran into to ſave the reputation of his orthodoxy, that if the word *purgatory* had been out of his way, he would have found no difficulty to diſpoſe of the ſeparate ſoul in a ſtate of abſolute unconſcious reſt (51).

Our author ſpent the latter part of his life in England. Hobbes had a great reſpect for him, and when he lived in Weſtminſter, would often viſit him. In their converſations they would carry on their debates with ſuch eagerneſs as ſeldom to depart in cool blood; for "they would wrangle, ſquabble, and "ſcold," ſays Anthony Wood, "about philoſophi-"cal matters, like young ſophiſters," though they were both of them eighty years of age. In conſequence of Hobbes's not being able to endure contradiction, thoſe ſcholars who were ſometimes preſent at theſe wrangling diſputes, held that the laurel was carried away by White (52).

It is remarkable that Mr. White's book, "De "medio Animarum Statu," was cenſured by the Houſe of Commons. In the Journal of that Houſe is the following Reſolution:

Anno 1666.

"Die Mercurii 17° Octobris 18° Car. II.

"*Ordered*, That the Committee to which the "Bill againſt Atheiſm and profaneneſs is committed, "be impowered to receive information touching ſuch "books as tend to Atheiſm, Blaſphemy, and pro-"faneneſs, or againſt the eſſence and attributes of "God, and in particular the book publiſhed in the "name of one White, and the book of Mr. Hobbes "called the Leviathan, and to report their opinions "to the Houſe *."

In thoſe days, to call in Queſtion the natural immortality of the human ſoul was underſtood to imply atheiſm. White's treatiſe had certainly a *tendency* to weaken the arguments for that immortality, by weakening the common proofs of the ſoul's conſciouſneſs in a future ſtate; but there was nothing in his work which could juſtly be conſtrued as being of an atheiſtical nature. It does not appear that the bill againſt Atheiſm and Profaneneſs ever paſſed, or that the Commons proceeded farther in their cenſures of White and Hobbes. Perhaps White would not have been cenſured in the Houſe of Parliament, for his Theological Notions, if he had not been obnoxious to the politicians of the time on another account. "To underſtand this," ſays Archdeacon Blackburne, "it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that White "was a diſciple of Sir Kenelme Digby, not only in "philoſophy, but alſo in politicks. The knight has "been accuſed, and upon very authentic evidence, "of intriguing with Cromwell, to the prejudice of "the exiled Stuarts. Whether White was in the "depth of the ſecret or not, it is probable that he "knew ſomething of the tranſaction, and that Digby "might ſet him to work with his pen, in favour of "Cromwell's government.

"Be this as it might, White wrote a book, about "that time, entituled, "*The Grounds of Obedience and "Government*;" wherein he held, "*That the people, by "the evil management, or inſufficiency of their Governor, "are remitted to the force of nature to provide for them-"ſelves, and not bound by any promiſe made to their "Governor: that the magiſtrate, by his miſcarriages, "abdicateth himſelf from being a magiſtrate, and "proveth a brigand or robber; inſtead of a defender:— "that if he be innocent and wrongfully depoſed, and to-"tally diſpoſſeſſed, it were better for the common good "to ſtay as they are, than to venture the reſtoring him, "becauſe of the public hazard.*" (53)

Mr.

(49) General Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary. Vol. II. p. 2, 3.

(50) Ibid. 3, 4.

(51) Hiſtorical View, p. 93.—134.

(52) Athenæ Oxonienſes, Vol. ii. col. 665.

* Journals of the Houſe of Commons, Vol. VIII. p. 636.

(53) Hiſtorical View of the Controverſy concerning an Intermediate State, p. 132—134.

by the Lady Margaret his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Temple, of Stow, two daughters and coheirs, Margaretta-Maria, married to Sir John Conway, of Bodey, in Flintſhire, Baronet, to whom ſhe was firſt wife, and by whom ſhe had Margaretta, married to Sir Thomas Longueville, of Eſtcluſham in Denbighſhire, Baronet, and Henry Conway, Eſq. who died before his father, married to Honora, daughter and heir of —— Ravenſcroft, of Bretton, in Flintſhire, Eſq. and left only one daughter, Honora, married to Sir John Glynne, of Hawarden Caſtle, in Flintſhire, Baronet; and Charlotta-Theophila, married to Richard Moſtyn, of Penbeddw, in Flintſhire, Eſq. by whom ſhe had two daughters, Bridget, married to Lytton Lytton, of Knebworth in Hertfordſhire, Eſq. and Charlotta, married to Richard Williams, Eſq. third ſon of Sir William Williams, of Llanvorda in Shropſhire, Eſq. and brother to Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Baronet, and one ſon Richard, and Penelope, who died a Nun abroad (*c*). We cannot conclude this article better than by the following verſes, compoſed by way of epitaph on Sir Kenelme Digby.

(*c*) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. V. p. 353.

*Under this tomb the matchleſs* DIGBY *lies,*
DIGBY *the great, the valiant, and the wiſe;*
*This age's wonder, for his noble parts,*
*Skill'd in ſix tongues, and learn'd in all the arts:*
*Born on the day he died, the eleventh of June,*
*And that day bravely fought at Scanderoon;*
*Its rare that one and the ſame day ſhould be*
*His day of birth, of death, of victory!*

R. FERRAR.

Mr. White departed this life, at his lodging in Drury Lane, on the ſixth of July, 1676, aged ninety-four years, and, on the ninth day of the ſame month, was buried in the church of St. Martin's in the Fields. "By his death," ſays Wood," "the Roman "Catholics loſt an eminent ornament from among "them; and it hath been a queſtion among ſome "of them, whether ever any ſecular prieſt of Eng-"land. went beyond him in philoſophical matters," "(54).

(54) Athenæ Oxonienſes, ubi ſupra.

The names by which Mr. White was occaſionally diſtinguiſhed, beſides that of Thomas Anglus, were Candidus, Albius, Bianchi, Richworth, and Blackloe. Deſcartes generally called him Mr. Vitus (55).

(55) Bayle and Blackburne, ubi ſupra.

We ſhall cloſe our addition to Sir Kenelme Digby's article with the maſterly character drawn of him by Lord Clarendon. "Sir Kenelme Digby," ſays the noble hiſtorian, "was a perſon very eminent and "notorious throughout the whole courſe of his life, "from his cradle to his grave: of an ancient family "and noble extraction; and inherited a fair and "plentiful fortune, notwithſtanding the attainder of "his father. He was a man of a very extraordinary "perſon and preſence, which drew the eyes of all "men upon him, which were more fixed by a wonderful graceful behaviour, a flowing courteſy and "civility, and ſuch a volubility of language, as ſurpriſed, and delighted; and though in another "man it might have appeared to have ſomewhat of "affectation, it was marvellous graceful in him, and "ſeemed natural to his ſize, and mould of his perſon, to the gravity of his motion, and the tune "of his voice and delivery. He had a fair reputation "in Arms, of which he gave an early teſtimony "in his youth, in ſome encounters in Spain, and "Italy, and afterwards in an action in the Mediterranean Sea, where he had the Command of a "Squadron of ſhips of war ſet out at his own charge "under the King's Commiſſion; with which, upon "an injury received, or apprehended from the Venetians, he encountered their whole fleet, killed "many of their men, and ſunk one of their galeaſſes; "which in that drowſy and unactive time was looked "upon with a general eſtimation, though the crown "diſavowed it. In a word, he had all the advan-"tages that nature, and art, and an excellent edu-"cation could give him, which, with a great con-"fidence and preſentneſs of mind, buoyed him up "againſt all thoſe prejudices, and diſadvantages (as "the attainder and execution of his father for a "crime of the higheſt nature; his own marriage "with a Lady, though of an extraordinary beauty, "of as extraordinary a fame; his changing and "rechanging his religion; and ſome perſonal "vices, and licences in his life) which would have "ſuppreſſed and ſunk any other man, but never "clouded or eclipſed him, from appearing in the "beſt places, and the beſt company, and with the "beſt eſtimation and ſatisfaction (56)]. K.

(56) Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon. Vol. i. p. 33, 34. 8vo. edition.

*** [DIGBY (JOHN), the firſt Earl of Briſtol, and an Embaſſador and Stateſman of eminence, was born at Coleſhill, in Warwickſhire, in February, 1580, and was the youngeſt ſon of Sir George Digby, Knight, by Abigail his wife, daughter of Sir Arthur Hevenengham, a Gentleman ſeated in the county of Norfolk. That the family of the Digbies was ancient and honourable, and that it was divided into numerous and flouriſhing branches, is ſufficiently apparent from Dugdale's Baronage, and other Peerages. John, the ſubject of the preſent article, after having gone through a proper courſe of grammatical education, was admitted a Commoner of Magdalen-College, Oxford, in 1595, and made himſelf known in the following year, by a copy of verſes, compoſed on the death of Sir Henry Unton, of Wadley, in Berkſhire. Upon quitting the Univerſity, which he appears to have done without taking a Degree, he traveled into France and Italy; from which countries he returned into England a very accompliſhed young gentleman (*a*) About this time a circumſtance occurred, which introduced him to the notice and favour of King James the Firſt. When the Conſpirators in the gunpowder-plot had formed the deſign of ſeizing the Princeſs Elizabeth, then reſiding at Combe, in Warwickſhire, under the guardianſhip of Lord Harrington, his Lordſhip, who had received private intimation of the ſcheme, ſent Mr. Digby to court, to lay the matter before his Majeſty; which commiſſion he executed with ſo much fidelity and addreſs,

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage. Tom. II. p. 436. Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſes. Vol. iii. col. 163.

that a high opinion was formed of his abilities; and he was immediately promoted to be a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and one of the King's Carvers (*b*). On the preceding thirtieth of Auguſt, of the ſame year (1605), he had been created Maſter of Arts in the Univerſity of Oxford, his Majeſty being then upon a viſit to that Univerſity (*c*). He received the honour of Knighthood on the ſixteenth of March following; and in April, 1611, was appointed Embaſſador to Spain. In 1614, he was again ſent to that kingdom in the ſame character; and continued there till he was ſucceeded by Mr. Francis Cottington, who went thither on the third of January, 1615-16. Sir John Digby arrived in England about the middle of March; and on the third of April, 1616, was preferred to the poſt of Vice-Chamberlain of the Houſehold, and ſworn of the Privy Council. King James having formed the deſign of negotiating a marriage between Charles Prince of Wales and the *Infanta* Maria daughter to Philip the Third King of Spain, Sir John Digby was thought to be a proper perſon for the purpoſe; and accordingly he was commiſſioned to carry it into execution. In the commiſſion, which bore date on the 16th of April, 1617, he was highly commended for his fidelity, wiſdom, induſtry, and experience. He repaired to Spain in July; and upon his return, which was in the next year, he was raiſed, on the twenty-fifth of November, to the dignity of the Peerage, by the title of Baron Digby of Shireburne, in the County of Dorſet. The caſtle and manor of that town had been previouſly granted to him by the King; and he purchaſed the monaſtery and parſonage about the year 1620. In that year, he was ſent Embaſſador to the Archduke Albert; and, in the ſucceeding year, to the Emperor Ferdinand the Second; and alſo to the Duke of Bavaria. The purpoſe of theſe embaſſies, and eſpecially of that to the Emperor, was to obtain a poſitive anſwer concerning the recovery of the Palatinate, and to accompliſh that event without the neceſſity of having recourſe to actual war (*d*). The ability with which Lord Digby conducted this buſineſs will be apparent from the large diſpatches relating to it, which are printed in the Appendix to the firſt volume of the Clarendon State Papers (*e*); and a more conciſe view of the matter may be ſeen in a ſpeech delivered by him in the Houſe of Lords, in the month of November, 1621, ſoon after his return to England (*f*). With regard to the grand object of his negotiation, we need not ſay that he was unſucceſsful. The reſtoration of the Palatinate was not to be obtained. Perhaps it was the King's diſappointment in this reſpect, that, amongſt other cauſes, the more ſtrongly impelled him to puſh forward, with freſh vigour, the Spaniſh match, from the completion of which alone he could hope to procure favourable terms for his ſon-in-law. Be this as it may, Lord Digby was commiſſioned, in March, 1622, to go into Spain, as Embaſſador extraordinary, to negotiate (in conjunction with Sir Walter Aſton, who reſided there as Embaſſador in ordinary), a treaty of friendſhip and alliance with Philip the Fourth, who had lately come to the crown by the deceaſe of his father, and to conclude the long-depending marriage. In conſideration of his Lordſhip's merits, as well as to give greater credit to his negotiations, he was created, on the fifteenth of September following, Earl of Briſtol (*g*).

(*b*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Ath. Vol. I. Faſti. col. 173.

(*d*) Dugdale's ubi ſupra, p. 437. Collins's Peerage, Vol. viii. p. 250, 251.

(*e*) Appendix to the Clarendon State Papers, vol. i. p. i. xviii.

(*f*) Parliamentary Hiſtory. Vol. v. p. 481—485.

(*g*) Dugdale and Collins, ubi ſupra.

It is not our deſign to enter particularly into the buſineſs of the Spaniſh match, which makes a prominent figure in the various hiſtories of this kingdom. All that is neceſſary to our preſent purpoſe is, only to take notice of it ſo far as more immediately relates to the Earl of Briſtol. His Lordſhip appears to have been himſelf fully convinced of the wiſdom and good policy of the marriage; and, therefore, beſides the general obligation he was under to diſcharge the duty of his commiſſion with fidelity, he was ardently ſolicitous to bring the affair to an accompliſhment. So zealous was King James upon the matter, that if Briſtol had finally ſucceeded in his negotiation, it was likely that he would come into great favour with his Majeſty, and probably too with the heir apparent. The honour and advantage he was hence in the road of acquiring excited the envy and jealouſy of the favourite Buckingham; upon which account he contrived the journey of himſelf and the Prince of Wales into Spain (*h*). At firſt, every thing ſeemed to proſper in the fulleſt manner: but at length the Prince and Buckingham quitted that kingdom in diſguſt, and in the way to which no readers of the Engliſh hiſtory can be ſtrangers. After the Prince's return to England, he ſtill continued to profeſs great ſolicitude for the completion of the match, though in the end it was wholly broken off. That the Earl of Briſtol, as well as the Spaniſh Court, ſuſpected him of ſome duplicity in the buſineſs, is evident from the letters which the Earl wrote home from Madrid, and in one of which, dated on September the twenty-fourth, 1623, new ſtile, he expreſſes himſelf in the following terms: "I muſt now crave leave to ſpeak unto your Highneſs "like a faithful plain ſervant; which is, that if your Highneſs's pleaſure be to have "made uſe of the powers you have left in my hands, I no way doubt but in this parti-"cular ſuch ſatisfaction will be given as will appear reaſonable to all the world. But, "if your Highneſs deſire that theſe powers ſhould not be uſed, they may be detained "upon other juſt reaſons, which will ariſe in the treaty of the temporal articles; and "I doubt not but the *deſpoſorios* may be deferred upon other fair pretexts: but theſe in-"conveniences I conceive will follow. Firſt, it will be of great diſcomfort to the

(*h*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. ii.

" Infanta, who, until the *deſpoſorios* are paſt, is not her own woman, but muſt be governed " by the pleaſure of the Junta, which, I think ſhe is very weary of; neither till then " may ſhe declare herſelf to be your's, nor comply with your Highneſs in anſwering of " your letters and meſſages, and giving you thoſe reſpects and comforts which I know " ſhe would be glad to do; but, if ſhe ſhould any way judge that the delay of the " *deſpoſorios* ſhould ariſe from your Highneſs's part, I conceive ſhe would take it moſt " heavily. Secondly, it will certainly raiſe great jealouſies in this King and his Miniſ- " ters, and retard the reſolutions that are fit to be taken with ſpeed for the putting in " execution that which is capitulated. I therefore offer it unto your Highneſs's wiſ- " dom, whether, upon the ſatisfaction which they will give in this particular, which " will be whatſoever you can deſire, and upon the agreement of the temporal articles, " your Highneſs would, upon the coming of the Pope's approbation, have me make " any further ſcruple in the delivering of your Highneſs's powers? If I ſhall, I am " confident they will not preſs it, as not decent for the woman's part to urge the " haſtening of the marriage. But, I conceive, it will caſt ſuch a cloud of jealouſy and " diſtruſt upon the buſineſs, that, beſide the diſcontent and affliction which I know it " will give unto the Infanta (which moſt worketh with me), it will ſo diſorder the " buſineſs, that it will make a ſtand in the whole proceedings and preparations, where- " in they now go on chearfully and confidently, and, I conceive, will punctually per- " form all they have capitulated with your Highneſs.

" I dare not ſo much as give myſelf leave once to queſtion your Highneſs's intention " of proceeding to the real effecting of the match; which makes me deſirous that all " things may be excuſed that may any way retard or diſturb it. Only I ſhall, like a " faithful though poor ſervant, preſume thus much to ſay unto your Highneſs, that, " for divers years paſt, I know the King your Father and yourſelf have held this the " fitteſt match in the world; and, by a deſire of effecting it, your Highneſs was in- " duced to undertake that hazardous journey of coming to this Court in perſon. In the " time of your being here, admitting that their proceedings have been in many things " unworthy of you, and that diſtaſtes have grown up by intervenient accidents, yet " now, things being reduced to thoſe terms, that the match itſelf is ſure, the portion " and the temporal articles ſettled, I hope to the King's liking and your's, and all other " good effects that could be hoped for by this alliance are in a fair way; if to theſe " reaſons may be added, that, on his Majeſty and your Highneſs's part, you have " already paſt and overcome the main difficulties, and your Highneſs, by your journey, " hath ſatisfied yourſelf of the perſon and worth of the Infanta, GOD forbid that any " perſonal diſtaſtes of miniſters, or any indiſcreet or paſſionate carriages of buſineſſes, " ſhould hazard that which your Majeſty and your Highneſs have done ſo much for to " obtain, and whereby, doubtleſs, ſo much good and peace is to accrue to Chriſten- " dom by the effecting it; and, contrariwiſe, ſo much trouble and miſchief by the " miſcarrying of it, beſides the individual happineſs of your Highneſs in ſuch a wife, " which the world ſuppoſeth you infinitely eſteem for her perſon, and for her birth " and portion is no where to be matched; and, queſtionleſs, for her virtue and ſettled " affection to your Highneſs, deſerveth you better than any woman in the world.

" I humbly crave pardon for writing to your Highneſs in this manner; which I hope " your Highneſs well knoweth, that neither the benefits I have received from Spain, nor " their grateful uſage to me upon occaſions, nor, I proteſt unto your Highneſs, any " earthly reſpect moveth me unto it, but the love and zeal I bear to your ſervice, for " which I ſhall ever undervalue anything that may concern myſelf: and therefore I ſhall " conclude by entreating your Highneſs, that, if you would have things go well, a " poſt may inſtantly be diſpatched back unto me, authoriſing me to deliver the ſaid " powers upon the arrival of the diſpenſation, and having taken fitting ſecurity in this " particular point. And this I earneſtly beſeech your Highneſs may be done with all " poſſible ſpeed and ſecrecy, and that the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors may not know that there " ever was any ſuſpenſion made of the delivery of the powers. In the interim, I will " find means, if the diſpenſation come, for twenty or twenty-four days, to allege ſome " fair pretexts for the deferring of the *deſpoſorios*: but herein I deſire I may know your " Highneſs's reſolution with all poſſible ſpeed (*i*)."

(*i*) Appendix to the Clarend State Papers, vol. I. p. xx. xxi.

We have been thus copious in our extracts from this letter, both becauſe it diſplays the Earl of Briſtol's conduct in one of the principal tranſactions of his political life, and becauſe it throws ſome additional light on the character of the Prince of Wales, which, in the point we are ſpeaking of, will not, perhaps, appear to the higheſt advantage. It will not be thought ſurprizing that the iſſue of this affair was productive of an irre- concilable variance between the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Briſtol; and, conſider- ing the all-powerful influence of the over-grown favourite, the Earl was expoſed to every diſadvantage in the conteſt. In 1624, he returned from Spain; and, immediately on his arrival in England, a warrant was iſſued for ſending him to the Tower. He was ſoon, however, releaſed from his confinement; but, at the ſame time, orders were carried to him from the King, to retire to his country-ſeat, and to abſtain from all attendance in

Parliament. He obeyed; but loudly demanded an opportunity of juſtifying himſelf, and of laying his whole conduct before his Royal Maſter. On all occaſions, he proteſted his innocence, and threw on his enemy the blame of every miſcarriage. Buckingham, and, at his inſtigation, the Prince, declared that they would be reconciled to the Earl of Briſtol, if he would but acknowledge his errors and ill conduct; but, jealous of his honour, and animated with a becoming ſpirit, he refuſed to buy favour at ſo high a price. Though James had the equity to ſay, that the inſiſting on that condition was a ſtrain of unexampled tyranny, he had not courage to ſupport the Earl's cauſe in oppoſition to his favourite and his ſon (*k*). In the courſe of theſe proceedings, Briſtol had been examined by a Committee of Lords; but there is no evidence that any thing material was the reſult of the enquiry. Indeed, their lordſhips met but once upon the buſineſs (*l*). After the acceſſion of Charles the Firſt to the throne, the tide of reſentment ran ſtronger againſt the Earl of Briſtol. He endeavoured, for a time, to divert it; and made many trials to regain the good opinion of his maſter. Finding them all, however, to be fruitleſs, and obſerving that the King was entirely governed by Buckingham, his implacable enemy, he reſolved no longer to keep any meaſures with the Court. "A new "ſpirit," ſays Mr Hume, "he ſaw, and a new power ariſing in the nation; and to "theſe he was determined for the future to truſt for his ſecurity and protection." When the Parliament for 1626 was ſummoned, it was contrived to expoſe the Earl of Briſtol to a particular mortification. The King, by a ſtretch of prerogative, gave orders that the cuſtomary writ for his parliamentary attendance ſhould not be ſent to him. He was not in a diſpoſition to ſubmit tamely to this undue exertion of power. Accordingly, he laid his caſe, by petition, before the Houſe of Lords; and entreated their good offices with his majeſty for obtaining what was his due as a Peer of the realm. In conſequence of this application, his writ was ſent to him; but it was accompanied with a letter from the Lord Keeper, Sir Thomas Coventry, commanding him, in the King's name, to abſent himſelf from Parliament. This letter the Earl of Briſtol conveyed to the Lords, and aſked their advice how to proceed in ſo delicate a ſituation. His Majeſty's prohibition was at length withdrawn, and the Earl was permitted to take his ſeat (*m*). As this affair is ſomewhat curious we ſhall inſert below the fuller account of it, which is to be found in the Parliamentary Hiſtory [*A*]. The Earl of Briſtol's ſpirited behaviour in this buſineſs was

(*k*) Hume's Hiſtory of Great Britain, Vol. VI. p. 147.
(*l*) Parliamentary Hiſtory, Vol. VI. p. 471—473.
(*m*) Hume, ubi ſupra, p. 214, 215.

[*A*] *We ſhall inſert below the fuller account of it, which is to be found in the Parliamentary Hiſtory.*]

'After this, the Earl petitioned the Houſe of Lords, 'and ſhewed, "That he, being a Peer of this realm, "had not received a ſummons to Parliament, and de-"ſired their Lordſhips to mediate with the King, that "he might enjoy the liberty of a ſubject and the "privilege of his peerage, after almoſt two years "reſtraint without being brought to a trial: and, "if any charge was brought againſt him, he prayed "that he might be tried by Parliament."

'Upon the receipt of this Petition, the Lords re-'ferred it to the Committee of Privileges; from 'whom the Earl of Hertford reported, "That it was "neceſſary for their Lordſhips humbly to beſeech his "Majeſty to ſend a writ of ſummons to the Earl of "Briſtol; as alſo to ſuch other Lords whoſe writs "are ſtopped, except ſuch as are made uncapable to "ſit there by judgment of Parliament, or ſome other "legal courſe."

'Hereupon the Duke of Buckingham ſignified to 'the Houſe, That, upon the Earl's petition to the 'King, his Majeſty had ſent him his writ of ſum-'mons; and, withal, ſhewed the Lords a copy of 'a letter, written from the King to the ſaid Earl, 'dated Jan. 28, 1625-6, the tenor of which followeth:

"WE have read your letter addreſſed unto us by "Buckingham, and cannot but wonder that you "ſhould, thro' forgetfulneſs, make requeſt to us of "favour, as if you ſtood evenly capable of it, when "you know what your behaviour in Spain deſerved of "us, which you are to examine by the obſervations "we made, and know you well remember; how, at "our firſt coming into Spain, taking upon you to be "ſo wiſe, as to foreſee our intention to change our "religion, you were ſo far from diſſuading us, that "you offered your advice and ſecrecy to concur in it; "and, in many other conferences, preſſing to ſhew "how convenient it was to be a Roman Catholic, it "being impoſſible, in your opinion, to do any great "action otherwiſe; and how much wrong, diſad-"vantage, and diſſervice you did to the treaty, and "to the right and intereſt of our dear brother and 'ſiſter, and their children; what diſadvantage, in-"convenience, and hazard you intangled us in by "your artifices, putting off and delaying our return "home; the great eſtimation you made of that ſtate, "and the low price you ſet this kingdom at; ſtill "maintaining, that we, under colour of friendſhip "to Spain, did what was in our power againſt them, "which they ſaid you very well knew: and, laſt of "all, your approving of thoſe conditions, that our "nephew ſhould be brought up in the Emperor's "court; to which, Sir Walter Aſhton then ſaid, "that he durſt not give his conſent for fear of his "head: your replying unto him, that without ſome "ſuch great action, neither marriage nor peace could "be had.

'There is no anſwer to this letter in the Journals; 'but, inſtead of it, we find another petition from the 'Earl, addreſſed to the Lords, on his receiving his 'writ of ſummons; to which he annexed the Lord 'Keeper's letter and his anſwer, and deſired to be 'heard in accuſation of the Duke.

*The* HUMBLE PETITION *of* JOHN *Earl of* BRISTOL.

"*Humbly ſhewing unto your Lordſhips,*

"THAT he hath lately received his writ of "ſummons to Parliament, for which he returned "unto your Lordſhips moſt humble thanks; but, "jointly with it, a letter from my Lord Keeper, "commanding him, in his Majeſty's Name, to for-"bear his perſonal attendance; and altho' he ſhall "ever obey the leaſt intimation of his Majeſty's "pleaſure, yet he moſt humbly offereth unto your "Lordſhips wiſe conſiderations, as too high a point "for him, how far this may trench upon the liberty "and ſafety of the Peers, and the authority of their "letters patents, to be in this ſort diſcharged by a "letter miſſive of any ſubject, without the King's "hand; and, for your Lordſhips due information, "he hath annexed a copy of the ſaid Lord Keeper's "letter, and his anſwer thereunto.

"He further humbly petitioneth your Lordſhips, "that having been, for the ſpace of two years, "highly wronged in point of his liberty and of his "honour,

was so offensive to the governing powers, that it was determined to act against him with the utmost severity. A message was accordingly delivered from the King to the House of Lords, acquainting them, that it was his Royal Pleasure, that the Earl should be sent for as a delinquent, to answer in the House his offences committed in his negotiations before his Majesty's being in Spain, his offences while he was in Spain, and his offences since his Majesty's coming from Spain (*n*). But it was not deemed sufficient merely to charge his lordship with having been guilty of several high offences: for the royal resentment went farther; and Sir Robert Heath, the Attorney General, was directed to exhibit against him articles of Treason. On the first of May, 1626, the Earl was brought to the bar of the House of Lords, where, being ordered to kneel, the Lord Keeper acquainted him, "That the King had commanded the Attorney General to "charge his Lordship with high treason, and other offences and misdeameanors of a "very high nature, that they may proceed in a legal course against him, according to "the justice and usual proceedings of Parliament." Then the Attorney General began

(*n*) Parliamentary History, ubi supra, p. 481.

"honour, by many sinister aspersions which have "been cast upon him, without being permitted to "answer for himself; which hath been done by the "power and industry of the Duke of Buckingham, "to keep him from the presence of his Majesty and "the Parliament, lest he should discover any crimes "concerning the said Duke;

"He therefore most humbly beseecheth, that he "may be heard, both in the point of his wrong, "and of his accusation of the said Duke: wherein "he will make it appear, how infinitely the said "Duke hath abused their Majesties, the State, and "both the Houses of Parliament. And this, he is "most confident, will not be denied, since the Court "of Parliament never refuseth to hear the poorest "subject seeking for redress of wrongs, nor the "accusation against any, be he never so powerful. "And herein he beseecheth your Lordships to me-"diate to his Majesty, for your suppliant's coming "to the House, in such sort as you shall think "fitting; assuring his Majesty, that all he shall "say, shall not only tend to the service of his Majesty "and the State, but highly to the honour of his "Majesty's Royal Person, and of his princely virtues: "and your suppliant shall ever pray for your Lord-"ships prosperity."

The LORD KEEPER to the Earl of BRISTOL.

"*Dorset-court, March* 31, 1626.

"My very good Lord,

"BY his Majesty's commandment, I herewith send "unto your Lordship your writ of summons for "the Parliament; but withal signify his Majesty's "pleasure herein further, that howsoever he gives "way to the awarding of the writ, yet his meaning "is thereby not to discharge any former directions "for restraint of your Lordship's coming hither; "but that you continue under the same restriction as "you did before; so as your Lordship's personal at-"tendance here is to be forborne. And herein I "doubt not but your Lordship will readily give his "Majesty satisfaction; and so I commend my service "very heartily unto your Lordship, and remain,

"Your Lordship's
"Assured friend and servant,
"THO. COVENTRY, *C. S.*"

The Earl of BRISTOL's Answer to the LORD KEEPER.

"May it please your Lordship,

"I have received your Lordship's letter of the "31st of March, and, with it, his Majesty's writ of "summons for the Parliament. In the one, his Ma-"jesty commandeth me, that, all excuses set aside, "upon my faith and allegiance, I fail not to come "and attend his Majesty; and this under the Great "Seal of England. In the other, as in a letter missive, "his Majesty's pleasure is intimated by your Lordship, "that my personal attendance should be forborne. "I must crave leave ingenuously to confess unto your "Lordship, that I want judgment rightly to direct "myself in this case: as likewise, that I am ignorant "how far this may trench upon the privileges of the "Peers of this land, and upon mine and their safety "hereafter: for if the writ be not obeyed, the law "calleth it a mis-prision, and highly fineable, whereof "we have had late examples; and a missive letter "being avowed or not, it is to be doubted would not "be adjudged a sufficient discharge against the Great "Seal of England: on the other side, if the letter be "not obeyed, a Peer may, *de facto*, be committed "upon a contempt in the interim, and the question "cleared afterwards; so that in this case, it is above "mine abilities. I can only answer your Lordship, "that I will most exactly obey; and to the end I may "understand which obedience will be, in all kinds, "most suitable to my duty, I will presently repair to "my private lodging at London, and there remain, "until, in this and other causes, I shall have petitioned "his Majesty, and understand his further pleasure. "For the second part of your Lordship's letter, where "your Lordship saith, "that his Majesty's meaning is "not thereby to discharge any former directions for "restraint of your Lordship's coming hither, but that "you continue under the same restriction as before; so "that your Lordship's personal attendance here is to be "forborne:" I conceive your Lordship intendeth this "touching my coming to Parliament only; for as "touching my coming to London, I never had at any "time one word of prohibition, or colourable pretence "of restraint; but, on the contrary, having his late "Majesty's express leave to come to London to follow "my affairs, out of my respect to his Majesty, then "Prince, and to the Duke of Buckingham, I forbore "to come until I might know whether my coming "would not be disagreeable unto them. Whereunto "his Majesty was pleased to answer, both under the "hand of the Duke, and of Mr. Secretary Conway, that "he took my respect unto him herein in very good "part, and would wish me to make use of the leave "the King had given me. Since which time I never "received any letter or message of restraint, only his "Majesty, by his letter, bearing date in June last, "commanded me to remain as I was in the time of "the King his father; which was with liberty to "come to London to follow my own affairs as I pleased, "as will appear unto your Lordship, if you will afford "me so much favour as to peruse it. I have writ thus "much unto your Lordship, because I would not, "thro' misunderstanding, fall into displeasure by my "coming up, and to intreat your Lordship to inform "his Majesty thereof: and that my Lord Conway, "by whose warrant I was only restrained in the late "King's time, of famous memory, may produce any "one word, that may have such as any colourable "pretence of debarring my coming up to London. "I beseech your Lordship to pardon my desire to have "things clearly understood: for the want of that for-"merly hath caused all my troubles; and when any "thing is misinformed concerning me, I have little or "no means to clear it; so that my chief labour is to "avoid misunderstanding. I shall conclude with be-"seeching your Lordship to do me this favour, to let "his Majesty understand, that my coming up is only "rightly to understand his pleasure, whereunto I "shall, in all things, most dutifully and humbly con-"form myself. And so, with my humble service to "your Lordship, I recommend you to God's holy "protection, and remain,

"Your Lordship's
Sherborn, April 12. "Most humble Servant,
1626. "BRISTOL (1)."

(1) Parliamentary History, Vol. VI. p. 470—481.

" to read the charge; but he was immediately interrupted by Briſtol, deſiring, that, agreeably to a petition he had before delivered to the Houſe, he might be firſt heard againſt the Duke of Buckingham, and the Lord Conway, Secretary of State, againſt whom he had prepared articles of impeachment. This produced a long debate, at the cloſe of which it was agreed, that the three charges ſhould be ſucceſſively read, beginning with that againſt the Earl of Briſtol. The articles exhibited by the Crown againſt him were in ſubſtance as follows: That he had, contrary to his knowledge, given information to the Court of England, that the King of Spain did really intend to conclude the marriage and make reſtitution of the Palatinate: that he had, contrary to inſtructions, continued the treaties on generalities: that he had terrified the late King from re-treating, by magnifying the power of Spain: that he had perſuaded the enlargement of Jeſuits and Romiſh Prieſts: that he had endeavoured traitorouſly to perſuade the Prince to change his Religion: that on the offer made by Spain of a marriage between the Palatine's eldeſt ſon and the Emperor's daughter, with the condition of his being brought up at the Emperor's Court, he had given it as his opinion, that the propoſition was reaſonable: that he had ſet a day for the delivery of the *deſpoſorios*, without treating of the things commanded to him as reſtrictions: that he had ſignified in confidence, that he cared not what the ſucceſs of the treaties might be, but was determined to make his fortune by the negotiation: that his intricate management had enforced the preſent King, when Prince, to the dangerous journey into Spain: and, laſtly, that he had offended in a high manner, by preferring a ſcandalous petition to the Houſe, to the diſhonour of his Majeſty, of bleſſed memory, deceaſed, and of his ſacred Majeſty that now is; offences no way ſufferable in a ſubject towards a Sovereign; and in one article of that petition, wherein he gives his now Majeſty the lie, in denying of that relation which his Majeſty affirmed (*o*). The heads of the charges brought againſt Buckingham by the Earl of Briſtol were, that the Duke did combine with the Conde Gondeſnar to carry his Majeſty, late Prince, into Spain, to procure his converſion: that when in Spain he laboured it; and by flattering the Spaniſh miniſtry on this point, he had cauſed them to recede from conditions which had been before propounded: that he had procured a letter to be written from his late Majeſty to the pope: that he had received a bull to encourage him in the perverſion of the Prince: that he had given ſcandal by his perſonal behaviour in Spain; and, having incenſed the King of Spain and his miniſters, he put in practice divers undue courſes to break the match: that he had been, in great part, the cauſe of the ruin and misfortune of the Prince Palatine and his eſtates, inaſmuch as thoſe affairs had relation to the kingdom of Spain: that he had abuſed the Parliament by his ſiniſter relation; and wronged the Earl of Briſtol in point of his honour, by many ſiniſter aſperſions he had laid upon him; and in point of his liberty, by many undue courſes, through his power and practices: and that he had vexed and preſſed his late Majeſty, for having ſent the Earl of Briſtol word that he would hear him againſt the Duke, as well as he had heard the Duke againſt him. Briſtol next produced his articles againſt the Lord Conway, which, in general, were, that that Lord had profeſſed himſelf ſo great a ſervant of the Duke's, that he had not ſtuck to declare, that if matters could not be accommodated between them, he muſt then adhere to the Duke; from which it was to be inferred, that Lord Conway was unfit to be a Judge in any thing which concerned the Duke or the Earl: that the Lord Conway, as a creature of the ſaid Duke, had, by various miſrepreſentations and undue means, not only obtained the Earl of Briſtol's reſtraint, and lengthened it, but during its continuation had perplexed him in his buſineſs and otherwiſe: that on the Earl of Briſtol's having fully anſwered twenty interrogatories, which had been made to him in his late Majeſty's name, the Lord Conway, being the Secretary to the Lords Commiſſioners who were appointed to ſearch into the proceedings of the ſaid Earl, perceiving that the ſaid Earl was likely to be cleared, never moved for a farther meeting, nor had the Lords Commiſſioners ever been permitted to meet to that day: that though the Lord Conway knew that the match of the King of Bohemia's eldeſt ſon with the Emperor's daughter, and his being bred in the Emperor's Court, was allowed and propounded by his late Majeſty, yet had he ſuffered it to be charged againſt the Earl of Briſtol, both in the interrogatories, and in his Majeſty's laſt letter: and that the Lord Conway had been the cauſe of all the Earl of Briſtol's troubles, by his dubious and entrapping diſpatches, and inferring that the ſaid Earl had failed in his directions, when it ſhould be made appear that his diſpatches contained no ſuch directions as he alleged were given.

(*o*) Parliamentary Hiſtory, Vol. VII. p. 1—22. Macaulay's Hiſtory of England, Vol. I. p. 309, 310.

After the reading of theſe different accuſations, the Houſe came to a reſolution that the Earl of Briſtol ſhould not be committed to the Tower, but remain, as before, in the cuſtody of the Gentleman Uſher of the Black Rod; and it was farther ordered, that the King's charge againſt him ſhould be firſt heard, and then the Earl's againſt the Duke; yet ſo that the Earl's teſtimony againſt the Duke ſhould not be prevented, prejudiced, or impeached. On the next day, the Lord Keeper delivered a meſſage from the King to the Houſe of Peers, in which his Majeſty took notice of the articles exhibited againſt the Duke of Buckingham, and declared that he found them to be ſuch, that he was able of his own knowledge to ſay more than any man of the Duke's ſincerity; and that one of

them, touching the narrative made in Parliament, trenched as far upon himſelf as upon the Duke (*p*). Thus injudiciouſly did Charles the Firſt run the riſque of incurring a public affront, by thruſting himſelf in, not only as an evidence, but as an acceſſary with his favourite. The Lords, who were ſenſible that his Majeſty's offering himſelf to be a principal witneſs againſt Briſtol, was contrived on purpoſe to reſtrain the freedom of their judgment, conſulted the Judges on the following points: "Whether in the caſe of "Treaſon or Felony, the King's teſtimony were to be admitted or not? Whether "words ſpoken to the Prince, who is after King, make an alteration in the caſe?" The Judges gave the Houſe to underſtand, that they had received an expreſs command not to deliver their opinion on theſe queſtions (*q*).

(*p*) Parliamentary Hiſt. ubi ſup. p. 12—21. Macaulay, ubi ſup. p. 310—314.

(*q*) Macaulay, ubi ſup.

On the ſixth of May, the Earl of Briſtol was again brought to the bar of the Houſe of Lords, when, the charge againſt him being read, he was permitted to ſpeak generally in his own defence, previouſly to the ſpecific anſwers he was afterwards to give to the diſtinct articles of his accuſation. As the ſpeech which he delivered on this occaſion, contains a variety of particulars relative to the treatment he met with at Court after his return from Spain, it ſhall be given in a note [*B*]. At the requeſt of the Earl, Counſel

[*B*] *It ſhall be given in a note.*] "I will not con-"teſt with the King, neither doth it beſeem me ſo "to do; neither eſteem I my life or my fortunes ſo "much as to ſave them by conteſting with my Sove-"reign; and therefore I would make no reply nor "anſwer, were it not that my honour and religion "were jointly queſtioned with my life; but they "being to deſcend to my poſterity, for their ſake I "am an humble ſuitor to his Majeſty, that he would "not take indignation at my own juſt defence; yet "I will be ready to make any humble ſubmiſſion to "his Majeſty; and I heartily deſire, that ſome means "may be made, that I may make it perſonally unto "himſelf, wherein I will ſubmit myſelf moſt willingly "to any act of humiliation and ſubmiſſion (not wrong-"ing my innocence) that ever ſubject did towards his "Sovereign: and I alſo deſire that his Majeſty would "be pleaſed to ſet himſelf here on his throne of juſtice, "and declare, that out of his Royal juſtice, he leaves "the Duke of Buckingham and me upon equal terms; "and that neither of our cauſes ſhould be advanced "before the other. Theſe my humble petitions, I "beſeech your Lordſhips to preſent unto his Majeſty, "on my behalf; and withal, what a diſſervice it will "be to his Majeſty hereafter, in ambaſſages, if my "accuſer ſhall be my judge, his own witneſs, and "have my confiſcation.

"As touching the charge itſelf, I have once "anſwered all (except that of my petition); and I "doubt not but to clear myſelf of every particular "thereof. I expected not to have heard of theſe "again. I expected a remonſtrance of ſome practice, "with Spain, againſt the State; or to be charged with "the receipt of ten or twenty thouſand pounds, for "the perſuading and procuring the delivering up of "ſome town, that the crown was in poſſeſſion of, as "might be the Brill or Fluſhing, or the like; or for "being the means of the delivery of the King's ſhips "to ſerve a foreign nation againſt thoſe of our own "religion; or for the revealing of his Majeſty's "higheſt ſecrets, which none but two or three did "know of; or for treating of the greateſt affairs, as "it were by my own authority, without formal in-"ſtructions in the point; or, as the law calls it, to "have committed ſome overt act of diſloyalty, and "not to be charged, after ſeven ambaſſages, with "diſcouragement and inferences.

"I deſire your Lordſhips that I may have a copy "of my charge in writing, and time for my anſwer, "and counſel aſſigned me.

"There is a great difference between the Duke of "Buckingham and me: the Duke is accuſed of trea-"ſon, and yet at large, and in the King's favour; "and I being accuſed but of that which I had long "ſince anſwered, am a Priſoner; and, therefore, I "beſeech your Lordſhips, that we may be put into "equal condition. And, foraſmuch as I have ex-"hibited articles againſt the Lord Conway; I humbly "deſire that his Lordſhip may not meddle in this "particular buſineſs, nor uſe the King's name againſt "me, *ex officio*, as Secretary of State; and that your "Lordſhips would be ſuitors unto his Majeſty on my "behalf, that all the particular diſpatches of my own "ambaſſages, and Sir Walter Aſton's, may be brought "hither, and I to make uſe of them for my defence "as my evidences.

"And ſince his late Majeſty hath heretofore, in the "preſence of my Lords here preſent, affirmed, that "I had neither committed treaſon nor felony in my "late ambaſſages, and permitted divers of his ſervants "to come unto me; and his Majeſty that now is then "ſaid, that he thought me an honeſt man; and hath "lately ſaid, that my faults were little criminal, in the "preſence of divers of your Lordſhips and others; "and that the Lord Conway did lately offer me to "come to my trial, but he thought the coronation-"pardon would free me; and yet now my offences "are made high treaſon; and for that when I ſaw "I could get no redreſs from his Majeſty, by means "of the Duke of Buckingham, I did addreſs my "Petition unto this Houſe concerning his (the Duke's) "cunning, who hath made the King a party againſt "me: and for my accuſation of him I am made a "traitor, and he a judge to vote againſt me. I do "therefore humbly beſeech your Lordſhips to diſtin-"guiſh of this. And although I have been too "tedious already, to ſuffer me to proceed and preſent "my caſe unto you."

This being granted, he went on thus:

"At the Prince's coming out of Spain I was in "favour with his Highneſs, and with the late King "alſo at his return into England. But I having "acquainted the Prince (at his being in Spain) with "my letters which I wrote unto the late King, of "the Duke's unfaithful dealing, which letter his "Highneſs forbade me to ſend; and the Duke, at his "return, having got a ſight of thoſe letters (*hinc illæ "lachrymæ*), he laboured with the Duke of Richmond, "and the Marquis of Hamilton, for my commitment "to the Tower, ſo ſoon as I ſhould return into Eng-"land; and he moved the Marquis to deal with my "Lord Chamberlain for my commitment, though but "for a time, until things were ſettled, leſt my "coming to the King ſhould diſturb all. I deſire "the Lord Chamberlain, who is here preſent, to "deliver his knowledge herein.

"Then the Duke accuſed me in the Parliament, "of the Prince's dangerous journey into Spain, "which I will prove to have been plotted by the Duke "himſelf aforehand, with Conde de Gondomar the "Spaniſh Ambaſſador. And I will alſo make it "appear unto your Lordſhips, that there are very "many contrarieties in the Duke's relation to both "houſes. I hearing of this, and the many dangers "threatened me, offered to come home preſently, "but my letters were anſwered that I might ſtay and "come at leiſure; yet I came with as much ſpeed as "conveniently I could, conſidering my long journey, "and that I brought up my wife and family with "me; and, being at Calais with above forty pounds "worth of the King's jewels, I could not procure "ſhipping from thence to paſs me over, but was en-"forced to enter in a boat with ſix oars, I making "haſte to come before the Parliament ſhould end; "and the Duke uſing all the means he could to put "off my coming until the Parliament was ended.

"At my coming to land a ſingle letter was ſent of "ſome ſix lines, from the Lord Conway, of his

ſel was allowed him to plead his cauſe; which was ſo diſagreeable to the King that he expreſſed his diſapprobation of it by a meſſage to the Houſe. The Peers, however, perſiſted in an adherence to their own determination, and, at length, his Majeſty thought proper to withdraw his objection (*r*). From an apprehenſion that the temper of the Houſe was too favourable to the Earl of Briſtol, an attempt was made by the Crown to carry the proſecution into the King's Bench; but without effect. It was vigorouſly oppoſed by the Lords for the following ſubſtantial reaſons: Becauſe, in that caſe, the Earl could have no Counſel: becauſe he could uſe no Witneſs againſt the King: becauſe he would not know what would be the evidence againſt him time enough to prepare for his defence: becauſe it would not be in the power of the Houſe to keep him from arraignment, and thus he might be diſabled from making good his charge againſt the Duke: becauſe, for the ſpace of two years, he had not ſo much as been queſtioned for matter of treaſon; and though he had been examined on twenty interrogatories, the Commiſſioners were ſatisfied that his anſwers would admit of no reply: becauſe the Lord Conway, in ſeveral letters, had intimated, that there was nothing againſt him, but what was pardoned by the Parliament's pardon of the twenty-firſt of James; and had ſignified his Majeſty's pleaſure, that he might reſt in that ſecurity: and becauſe his Majeſty had often declared, both to the Counteſs of Briſtol and others, that there was neither felony nor treaſon againſt her Lord, nor aught elſe but what a ſmall acknowledgment would expiate (*s*).

(*r*) Parl. Hiſt. ubi ſup. p. 28, 29. 180, 181.

(*s*) Macaulay's Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. I. p. 314, 315.

" Majeſty's pleaſure not to come to the Court, but to " remain in my own lodgings. Being there, I petitioned " the King that I might anſwer in the Parliament, " and his Majeſty ſaid that the Parliament was ſo in- " cenſed againſt me, that it was not ſafe for me to " be brought thither, but in a few days I ſhould have " an end of my troubles.

" At laſt I had articles ſent me, by Commiſſioners " appointed to enquire into my proceedings, which " articles contained the ſubſtance of this charge, and " I fully anſwered them in writing; and the late " King read them all, and was ſo well ſatisfied there- " with, that he ſent me word that he would ſee me; " whereupon the Duke of Buckingham deſired his " Majeſty that I might firſt anſwer ſome four other " queſtions; which being delayed, and I petitioning " the King for them to be ſent me, his Majeſty gave " orders to have them preſently ſent; yet they came " not: divers days were fought, and at laſt the Lord " Conway wrote me a letter, that they were ready, " but he thought it better I did accommodate the " buſineſs.

" Though I often ſolicited the Lord Conway, yet " his Lordſhip, perceiving I ſhould be cleared by the " Commiſſioners, would never ſend thoſe queſtions, " nor ſuffer the Commiſſioners once to meet; and at " laſt anſwered, " he had no more to do with me."

" Then the late King ſent me a meſſage, to write " but a fair letter unto Buckingham for a reconcili- " ation, and that I ſhould leave the reſt unto him: " the Duke hereupon ſent one Mr. Clarke unto me: " what fair propoſitions I ſhould make were theſe, " only to retire into the country and not come to the " Court, but permit his Grace to diſpoſe of the Vice- " Chamberlain's place. And I ſhewing Mr. Clarke, " by way of private conference, what papers I had to " produce againſt the Duke, his Grace then required " a retraction, which I denied: and ſo all reconcile- " ment broke off. Afterwards the Duke ſent me " certain propoſitions in a letter, which I ſhould ac- " knowledge; and the preface of that propoſition " ſaith, it is not granted that the Earl of Briſtol hath " by his anſwer ſatisfied either the King, the Prince, " or me, of his innocency (a ſtrange conjunction " of a ſubject); and the Duke would not be ſatisfied " with leſs than a direct acknowledgement.

" Upon this I petitioned the late King, that I " might be at liberty to follow my affairs freely, " which his Majeſty condeſcended unto, and ſignified " his pleaſure by the Duke, that he was ſatisfied, and " that therefore I had my freedom: but when I had " an intent to come to my lodging at Whitehall, and " made the Duke acquainted therewith, he ſeemed " much diſpleaſed thereat, and moved his Majeſty, " that I might firſt make an acknowledgment of my " fault, which his Majeſty refuſed to compel me " unto; ſaying, he might then be thought a tyrant " to force a man to acknowledge that which he was " not guilty of. And his Majeſty ſent me word, " that I ſhould make no acknowledgment unleſs I " would freely confeſs myſelf guilty. Yet the Duke " cauſed a meſſage to be ſent me, that his Majeſty ex- " pected that I ſhould make the acknowledgment and " confeſs myſelf guilty. And thus it ſtood with me " when the late King (my bleſſed maſter) ſickened " and died.

" When his Majeſty that now is came to the " crown, he was pleaſed to ſend me a gracious " meſſage upon the occaſion of a great ſickneſs I had, " and my writ of Parliament was freely ſent me; but, " out of reſpect, I deſired to know what would beſt " pleaſe the King, my coming or my ſtay from the " Parliament; and the Duke of Buckingham did write " unto me, that his Majeſty took that reſpect very " well at my hands, but would have me excuſe my " coming; for which I craved a letter of licence from " the Parliament, inſtead whereof I received from " the Lord Conway a letter of prohibition, and re- " ſtraint, and confinement, under the King's own " hand, whereas before I was reſtrained only by the " Lord Conway.

" After this I continued quiet almoſt a year in the " country until the coronation, and then I wrote a " moſt humble letter unto his Majeſty, and to the " Duke of Buckingham; but received a letter from " his Majeſty, written in a great Roman hand, in- " cloſed in one from the Duke, ſo differing from " thoſe gracious meſſages his Majeſty had made to " my wife and others, that I knew not what judg- " ment to make of the ſaid letters; and divers copies " of them were divulged abroad.

" Then, my writ of Parliament being denied, I " ſeveral times cauſed the Lord Keeper to be moved " for it, but could procure no redreſs; and when I " petitioned the Houſe for my writ, the Duke there- " upon took occaſion (to my great diſgrace) to read " the above ſpecified letter in the open Houſe; and " a letter of prohibition was ſent me (with my writ) " to ſtay me from the Parliament. Upon this I peti- " tioned the Houſe for redreſs againſt the Duke of " Buckingham's wrongs unto me, and accuſed him " of divers crimes. And ſince the Houſe was poſſeſſed " of this my petition, I have been chargedwith treaſon, " having been offered from his Majeſty, but few days " before, to reſt in ſecurity, and not to be queſtioned: " but I thinking it fit, for the clearing of mine honour, " to have recourſe unto this Houſe, do find myſelf " a reſtrained man, and the Duke at liberty, ſitting " as one of my judges; which I hope your Lordſhips " will ſpeedily redreſs.

" I humbly deſire your Lordſhips to take my cauſe " into your Lordſhips conſideration, having put my- " ſelf wholly into your hands."

The Earl of Briſtol, on the nineteenth of May, was a third time brought to the bar of the Houſe of Lords, when he delivered his anſwer to the articles that had been alleged againſt him. As the anſwer is too long to be inſerted, and is even incapable of being abridged within any reaſonable compaſs, we ſhall refer ſuch of our Readers as may be deſirous of peruſing it to the Parliamentary Hiſtory (*t*). It may be ſufficient to obſerve, that the Earl made a very able, and, on the whole, a very ſatisfactory reply to the accuſations of his enemies. After ſome farther proceedings, on the eighth of June, of little conſequence, the buſineſs ended; for, in two weeks, the King diſſolved the Parliament, in reſentment of the tranſactions of the Houſe of Commons, with regard to the impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham. On the day of the diſſolution, the Earl of Briſtol was committed to the Tower by his Majeſty's order (*u*); but does not appear to have been long detained in confinement.

(*t*) Parl. Hiſt. Vol. VII. p. 183—232.

(*u*) Ibid. 273—276. 299.

That the proſecution of the Earl was the reſult of perſonal malignity, and that he was treated with great injuſtice and cruelty, cannot be denied by any one who reads the hiſtory of the affair with attention. But it does not hence follow, that his own character was perfectly free from reproach. Mrs. Macaulay has made ſome reflections upon it, which, we are afraid, are not entirely groundleſs. "It is very apparent," ſays this lady, "notwithſtanding the ſpeciouſneſs of Briſtol's defence, that his whole conduct had been "ſubſervient to the point of private advantage; that he had already obtained an opu"lent fortune by an exact conformity to the views of James; and that, from motives "of ſelfiſhneſs, he had put in practice every expedient to prevent the rupture of the "Spaniſh treaty. Nor was his preſent oppoſition excited by the principles of inde"pendence, or generous feelings, whilſt recriminating againſt Buckingham. He "meanly courted the Prince, who was exerciſing over him the moſt unjuſtifiable op"preſſion. On the merit of his management in the treaty with Spain, he had obtained, "and at this very time enjoyed, the ſpoils of a man whoſe unjuſt fate was yet freſh in the"memory of the Publick (*w*). To theſe circumſtances, ill-adapted to attract the eſteem "of the people, his avowed principles of religion were as extravagantly hierarchical as "were thoſe of the preſent miniſtry. The extreme odium, therefore, which his an"tagoniſt Buckingham had at this time incurred, and the oppreſſive treatment himſelf "had met with from the Crown, were the only cauſes which gained a popularity to his "ſide of the conteſt (*x*)."

(*w*) Sir Walter Raleigh.

(*x*) Macaulay, ſupra, p. 316—318.

From this time we hear little of the Earl of Briſtol till the year 1640. We are only told that he lived in the country in eaſe and plenty, and with great reputation among all who had not an implicit reverence for the Court. When the troubles began, he was again called into active life. In September, 1640, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners to treat with the Scots, in order to compoſe the differences that had ariſen between the two nations; and, in the November of the ſame year, he took his ſeat in the Long Parliament. Here it is aſſerted that he appeared at the head of all the diſcontented party (*y*); but the aſſertion is not true. No inſtance occurs, in the Parliamentary Hiſtory, of his having conducted himſelf with violence againſt the meaſures of the crown. On the contrary, he ſoon gave offence to the great leaders of oppoſition. A petition having been framed in Kent, very adverſe to the proceedings of Parliament, Lord Briſtol was accuſed of having taken a copy of it, without doing his duty in acquainting the Houſe of Lords with a Paper of ſuch dangerous conſequence; and for this, on the twenty-eighth of March, 1642, he was committed to the Tower for the preſent, until the buſineſs ſhould be farther examined (*z*). On the twentieth of May, he made a ſpeech in favour of a reconciliation with the King, the wiſdom and moderation of which entitle it to a place below [*C*]. Another ſpeech, delivered on the eleventh of June,

(*y*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. VIII. p. 251.

(*z*) Parl. Hiſt. Vol. X. p. 388. 399.

[*C*] *The wiſdom and moderation of which entitle it to a place below.*]

'My Lords,

'I have ſpoken ſo often upon the ſubject of accommodation, with ſo little acceptance, and with ſo ill ſucceſs, that it was in my intention not to have made any further eſſay in this kind; but my zeal to the peace and happineſs of this kingdom, and my apprehenſions of the near approach of unſpeakable miſeries and calamities, ſuffer me not to be maſter of mine own reſolution.

'Certainly this kingdom hath, at all times, many advantages over the other monarchies of Europe; as of ſituation, of plenty, of rich commodities; of power both by ſea and land; but more particularly at this time, when all our neighbouring States are, by their ſeveral intereſts, ſo involved in war, and with ſuch equality of power, that there is not much likelihood of their maſtering one another, nor of having their differences eaſily compounded; and thereby, we alone being admitted to trade to all places, wealth and plenty, which ever follow where trade flouriſheth, are in a manner caſt upon us.

'I ſhall not trouble your Lordſhips by putting you in mind of the great and noble undertaking of our anceſtors; nor ſhall I paſs higher than the times within mine own remembrance.

'Queen Elizabeth was a Princeſs diſadvantaged by her ſex, by her age, and chiefly by her want of iſſue; yet if we ſhall conſider the great effects wrought upon moſt of the States in Chriſtendom by this nation, under her prudent government (the growth of the monarchy of Spain chiefly by her impeached; the United Provinces by her protected; the French in their greateſt miſeries relieved; moſt of the Princes of Germany kept in high reſpect and reverence towards her and this kingdom; and the peace and tranquillity wherein this kingdom flouriſhed, and which hath been continued down unto us by the peaceable government of King James, of bleſſed memory, and of his now Majeſty, until

'theſe

(a) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. VII. Col. 164.

June, in vindication of the former, closed his Parliamentary attendance (a). He hastened to his Majesty at York, accompanied his Royal Master at Edgehill, and then followed him

'these late unhappy interruptions), we cannot but judge 'this nation equally capable, with any other, of 'honour, happiness, and plenty.

'Now if, instead of this happy condition, in 'which we have been, and might be, upon a sober 'and impartial inquiry, we shall find ourselves to have 'been, for some few years last past, involved in so 'many troubles and distractions, and at the present to 'be reduced to the very brink of miseries and calami-'ties; it is high time for us to consider by what 'means we have been brought into them, and by 'what means it is most probable we may be brought 'out of them.

'This kingdom never enjoyed so universal a peace, 'neither hath it any visible enemy in the whole world, 'either Infidel or Christian; our enemies are only of 'our own house, such as our own dissentions, jealousies, 'and distractions have raised up; and certainly where 'they are found, especially betwixt a King and his 'people, no other cause of the unhappiness and misery 'of a state need to be sought after: for civil discord 'is a plentiful source, from whence all miseries and 'mischiefs flow.

'The Scripture telleth us of the strength of a 'little City united, and of the instability of a King-'dom divided within itself: so that, upon a prudent 'enquiry, we may assign our own jealousies and dis-'cords for the chief cause of our past and present 'troubles, and of our future fears.

'It must be confessed, that by the counsel and 'conduct of evil ministers, the subjects had cause 'to think their just liberties invaded; and from 'thence have our former distempers grown: for it 'is in the body politic of a monarchy, as in the na-'tural body, the health whereof is defined to be, '*Partium Corporis æqua Temperies*, an equal temper 'of the parts: so likewise a State is well in health and 'well disposed, when Sovereign power and common 'right are equally balanced, and kept in even temper, 'by just and equitable rules.

'And truly, my Lords, by the goodness of his 'Majesty, and by the prudent endeavour of the Par-'liament, this State is almost reduced to that equal 'and even temper; and our sickness is rather con-'tinued out of fancy and conceit, (I mean fears and 'jealousies) than out of any real distempers.

'I well remember, that, before the beginning of 'this Parliament, some noble Lords presented a pe-'tition unto the King; and in that petition did set 'down all or most of the grievances and distempers of 'the kingdom which then occurred to them. To 'these, as I conceive, the Parliament have procured, 'from his Majesty, such redresses as are to their good 'satisfaction.

'Many other things for the ease, security, and 'comfort of the subject, have been, by their great 'industry, found and propounded; and, by his 'Majesty's goodness, condescended unto. And now 'we are come so near the happiness of being the 'most free and most settled nation in the Christian 'world, our dangers and miseries will grow, every 'day, greater and nearer, if not speedily prevented.

'The King, on his part, offereth to concur with 'us in the settling all the liberties and immunities, 'either for the property of our goods or liberty of 'our persons, which we have received from our an-'cestors, or which himself hath granted unto us; 'and as to what shall yet remain for the good and 'comfort of his subjects, he is willing to hearken to 'all our just and reasonable propositions; and for the 'establishing the true Protestant religion, he wooes 'us to it: and the wisdom and industry of the Par-'liament hath now put it in a hopeful way.

'The rule of his government, he professeth, shall 'be the laws of the kingdom; and, for the comfort-'ing and securing of us, he offereth a much more 'large and more general pardon than hath been 'granted by any of his predecessors. And truly, my 'Lords, this is all that ever was, or can be, pretended 'unto by us.

'We, on the other side, make profession, that we 'intend to make his Majesty a glorious King; to 'endeavour to support his dignity; and to pay unto 'him that duty and obedience, which, by our al-'legiance, several oaths, and late protestation, we 'owe unto him, and to maintain all his just regalities 'and prerogatives; which I conceive to be as much 'as his Majesty will expect from us.

'So that, my Lords, we being both, thus recipro-'cally, agreed of that which in general would make 'both King and people happy, shall be most unfor-'tunate, if we shall not bring both inclinations and 'endeavours so to propound and settle particulars, 'as both King and people may know what will give 'them mutual satisfaction: which certainly must be 'the first step towards the settling of a right under-'standing betwixt them. And in this I should not 'conceive any great difficulty, if it were once put 'into a way of preparation. But the greatest dif-'ficulty may seem to be, how that which may be 'settled and agreed upon may be secured. This is 'commonly the last point in treaties betwixt Princes, 'and of the greatest niceness; but much more betwixt 'a King and his Subjects, where that confidence and 'belief which should be betwixt them is once lost: 'and, to speak clearly, I fear that this may be our 'case; and herein may consist the chiefest difficulty 'of accommodation; for it is much easier to compose 'differences arising from reason, yea, even from 'wrongs, than it is to satisfy jealousies; which, 'arising out of diffidence and distrust, grow and are 'varied upon every occasion.

'But, my Lords, if there be no endeavours to 'allay and remove them, they will every day in-'crease and gather strength; nay, they are already 'grown to that height, and the mutual replies to 'those direct terms of opposition, that if we make 'not a present stop, it is to be feared it will speedily 'pass farther than verbal contestations.

'I observe, in some of his Majesty's answers, a 'Civil War spoken of: I confess it is a word of 'horror to me, who have been an eye-witness of 'those inexpressible calamities that, in a short time, 'the most plentiful and flourishing countries of Europe 'have been brought into by an intestine war.

'I further observe, "that his Majesty protesteth 'against the miseries that may ensue by a war, and 'that he is clear of them." It is true that a protesta-'tion of that kind is no actual denouncing of war, 'but it is the very next degree to it; *ultima admoni-'tio*, as the civilians term it, the last admonition: 'so that we are upon the very brink of our miseries. 'It is better keeping out of them than getting out of 'them; and, in a State, the wisdom of prevention 'is infinitely beyond the wisdom of remedies. If, for 'the sins of this nation, these misunderstandings should 'produce the least act of hostility, it is not almost to 'be believed how impossible it were to put any stay 'to our miseries: for a Civil War admits of none of 'those conditions of quarter, by which cruelty and 'blood are, amongst other enemies, kept from ex-'tremities: nay, if it should but so happen, (which 'God of his goodness avert!) that, mutually, forces and 'armies should be raised, jealousies and fears would 'be so much increased thereby, that any accommoda-'tion would be rendered full of difficulty and length; 'and the very charge of maintaining them (whilst first a 'cessation of arms, and then a general accommodation 'were in treating) would consume the wealth of the 'kingdom.

'And of this we had lately a costly example: for 'in those unhappy times, betwixt us and Scotland, 'after there was a stop made to any further acts of 'hostility, and a desire of peace expressed on both 'sides, commissioners nominated, and all the ar-'ticles propounded; yet the keeping of the armies 'together for our several securities, whilst the cessa-'tion at Rippon and the peace at London were in 'treating, cost this kingdom not much less than a 'million of pounds. And if two armies be once on 'foot here in England, either a sudden encounter 'must destroy one of them, or the keeping of them 'both on foot must destroy the kingdom.

'I hope,

him to Oxford. The king had before reſtored him to his ſeat at the Council-Board, and appointed him of the Bedchamber. At the end of the war he retired to France, ſuffered the loſs of his eſtate, and died at Paris on the 16th of January, 1652-3. The place of his interment was the common burying ground of the Huguenots in that city (*b*).

(*b*) Dugd. Bar. Vol. II. p. 437.

The Earl of Briſtol married Beatrix daughter to Charles Walcott, Eſq. of Walcott, in Shropſhire, and widow of Sir John Dive of Bromham, in the county of Bedford, and had by her two ſons and two daughters. George, the eldeſt, will be the ſubject of the next article. John Digby, the ſecond ſon, was born in March, 1617-18; and, in the year 1634, was entered as a nobleman in Magdalen-College, Oxford. In the beginning of the civil war he ſided with the King's party, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in many encoun-

'I hope, therefore, we ſhall make it our endeavour, by moderation and calmneſs, yet to put a ſtay to our ſo near approaching miſeries; and that we ſhall hearken to the wiſe advice of our brethren of Scotland, in their late anſwer to the King and Parliament: wherein they earneſtly intreat us, "that all means may be forborne which may make the breach wider, and the wound deeper; and that no place be given to the evil ſpirit of diviſion, which at ſuch times worketh inceſſantly, and reſteth not; but that the faireſt, the moſt chriſtian, and compendious way may be taken by ſo wiſe a King and Parliament, as may, againſt all malice and oppoſition, make his Majeſty and poſterity more glorious, and his kingdoms more happy than ever." And, in another place, they ſay, "That ſince this Parliament hath thought meet to draw the practice of the Parliament of Scotland into example, in the point of their declaration, they are confident that the affection of this Parliament will lead them, alſo, to the practice of that kingdom in compoſing the unhappy differences betwixt his Majeſty and them; and (ſo far as may conſiſt with their religion, liberties, and laws) in giving his Majeſty all ſatisfaction, eſpecially in their tender care of his Royal perſon, of his princely greatneſs and authority, and the proſperity of the kingdom.

'Certainly, my Lords, this is wiſe and brotherly advice, and I doubt not but we are all deſirous to follow it. We muſt not then ſtill dwell upon generals, for generals produce nothing; but we muſt put this buſineſs into a certain way, whereby particulars may be deſcended unto; and the way that I ſhall offer, with all humility, is, that there may be a ſelect Committee of choice perſons of both Houſes, who may, in the firſt place, truly ſtate and ſet down all things in difference betwixt the King and the ſubject, with the moſt probable ways of reconciling them. Secondly, to deſcend unto the particulars which may be expected by each from other, either in point of our ſupporting of him, or his relieving of us. And, laſtly, how all theſe conditions, being agreed upon, may be ſo ſecured as may ſtand with the honour of his Majeſty and the ſatisfaction of the ſubject.

'When ſuch a Committee ſhall have drawn up the heads of the propoſitions, and the way of ſecuring them, they may be preſented unto the Houſes; and ſo offered unto his Majeſty, by ſuch a way as the Parliament ſhall judge moſt probable to produce an accommodation.

'My Lords, what I have yet ſaid unto you, hath been chiefly grounded upon the apprehenſions and fears of our future dangers. I ſhall ſay ſomething of the unhappineſs of our preſent State, which certainly ſtandeth in as much need of relief and remedy, as our fears do of prevention; for although the King and people were fully united, and that all men who now draw ſeveral ways, ſhould unanimouſly ſet their hand to the work, yet they would find it no eaſy taſk to reſtore this kingdom to a proſperous and comfortable condition: if we take into our conſideration the deplorable ſtate of Ireland, likely to drain this kingdom of men and treaſure; if we conſider the debts and neceſſity of the Crown, the engagements of the kingdom, and the great and unuſual contributions of the people; which laſt, although they may not be ſo much to their diſcontent, for that they have been legally raiſed, yet the burden hath not been much eaſed. Let us likewiſe conſider the diſtractions (I may almoſt call them confuſions) in point of religion; which, of all other diſtempers, are the moſt dangerous and deſtructive to the peace of a State.

'Beſide theſe publick calamities, let every particular man conſider the diſtracted and uncomfortable ſtate of his own condition. For mine own part, I muſt ingenuouſly profeſs unto your Lordſhips, that I cannot find out, under the different commands of the King and the Parliament, any ſuch courſe of caution and warineſs, by which I can promiſe to myſelf ſecurity or ſafety. I could give your Lordſhips many inſtances of the inconſiſtency and impoſſibility of obeying theſe commandments; but I ſhall trouble you only with one or two.

'The ordinance of Parliament, now in ſo great agitation, commandeth all perſons in authority to put it in execution, and all others to obey it according to the fundamental laws of the land; the King declareth it to be contrary to the fundamental laws, againſt the liberty of the ſubject and rights of Parliament; and commandeth all his ſubjects, of what degree ſoever, upon their allegiance, not to obey the ſaid ordinance, as they will anſwer the contrary at their perils.

'So likewiſe, in point of the King's commanding the attendance of divers of us upon his perſon, whereunto we are obliged by ſeveral relations of our ſervices and oaths: in caſe we comply not with his commands, we are liable to his diſpleaſure, and the loſs of thoſe places of honour and truſt which we hold under him: if we obey his commands without the leave of the Parliament, which hath not been always granted, we are liable to the cenſure of Parliament: and of both theſe we want not freſh examples; ſo that, certainly, this cannot but be acknowledged to be an unhappy and uncomfortable condition.

'I am ſure I bring with me a ready and obedient heart, to pay unto the King all thoſe duties of loyalty, allegiance, and obedience, which I owe unto him: and I ſhall never be wanting towards the Parliament, to pay unto it all thoſe due rights and that obedience which we all owe unto it; but, in contrary commands, a conformity of obedience to both is hardly to be lighted on. The reconciliation muſt be in the commanders and the commands, and not in the obedience or the perſon that is to obey: and therefore, until it ſhall pleaſe God to bleſs us with a right underſtanding betwixt the King and Parliament, and a conformity in their commands, neither the kingdom in public, nor particular men in private, can be reduced to a ſafe or comfortable condition.

'I have ſaid thus much to give occaſion to others to offer likewiſe their opinions; for if we ſhall ſit ſtill, and nothing tending to the ſtay of the unhappy miſunderſtanding betwixt the King and his people be propounded, it is to be feared that our miſeries will haſten ſo faſt upon us, that the ſeaſon and opportunity of applying remedies may be paſt.

'I have herein diſcharged my conſcience ſuitable to that duty which I owe to the King my ſovereign and maſter, and ſuitable to that zeal and affection which I ſhall ever pay to the happineſs and proſperity of the kingdom; towards which I ſhall ever faithfully contribute my humble prayers and honeſt endeavours; and I ſhall no way doubt, whatſoever ſucceſs this my propoſition may have, it will be accompanied with the good wiſhes of your Lordſhips, and of all peaceable and well-minded men (3).'

(3) Parl. Hiſt. Vol. XI. p. 52—61.

ters, and was raiſed to the rank of General of the Horſe, in the army of Ralph Lord Hopton. Upon the declenſion of the Royal Cauſe, he went into France, and was for ſome time a follower of the Court of Charles the Second; but at length he retired to Pontoiſe, entered himſelf among the Religious of that place, became a Secular Prieſt, ſaid maſs daily to the Engliſh nuns, and died there after the Reſtoration. Of the Earl of Briſtol's two daughters, the eldeſt, Mary, was married to Arthur, Earl of Donegal, and the ſecond, Abigail, to George the ſon and heir of John Freke, Eſq. of Shrowton, in Dorſetſhire. This Lady died young, and was buried at Sherborne (*c*).

(*c*) Athen. ubi ſupra, col. 165. Collins's Peerage, Vol. VIII. p. 152. Dugd. ubi ſupra.

Lord Briſtol has ſome title to notice as an author. In his youth he was a Poet; and, beſides his verſes on the death of Sir Henry Unton, wrote other Poems: one of which, an air for three voices, was ſet by Henry Lawes, and publiſhed in his "Ayres and "Dialogues," London, 1653, folio. The reſt of the Earl's works were as follows: A Tract wherein is ſet down thoſe motives and ties of religion, oaths, laws, loyalty, and gratitude, which obliged him to adhere unto the king in the late unhappy wars in England. A tract, wherein he vindicates his honour and innocency from having in any kind deſerved that injurious and mercileſs cenſure of being excepted from pardon or mercy, either in life or fortunes. Theſe two pieces have the general title of his "Apology." An Appendix to the firſt Tract, printed together with both pieces, and two of his ſpeeches, at Caen, 1647. thin folio. Reprinted in 1656, quarto. "Anſwer to the Declaration of the Houſe of Commons, February "11th, 1647, againſt making any more addreſſes to the King." Caen, 1648. quarto. "An Addition to the above." In manuſcript. "Several Letters in the Cabala, Cla- "rendon's State Papers, and the Parliamentary Hiſtory." "A Tranſlation of Peter Du "Moulin's Book, entituled, "A Defence of the Catholic Faith, contained in the Book "of King James againſt the Anſwer of N. Coeffeteau, &c." London, 1610." The Dedi- cation to his Majeſty is in the name of J. Sandford, the Earl's Chaplain (*d*).

(*d*) Walpole's Noble Authors, Vol. I. p. 222, 223.

Mr. Walpole's brief character of his Lordſhip is drawn up with elegance and ſpirit: "John "Digby, Earl of Briſtol, father of the celebrated Lord Digby, was by no means incon- "ſiderable himſelf, though checked by the circumſtances of the times from making ſo great "a figure in various lights as fortune and his own talents ſeemed to promiſe. Marked for a "ſeaſon as a favourite by King James, he was eclipſed by the predominant luſtre of the "Duke of Buckingham; and traverſed by the ſame impetuoſity in his Spaniſh negotia- "tions, to which his grave and ſtately temper had adapted him. Being attacked by tha "overbearing man, he repelled and worſted him; and ſhone greatly among the diſcon- "tented in Parliament. But the violences of that aſſembly ſoon diſguſted his ſolemn diſ- "poſition; for he that was not ſupple enough for a Court, was by far too haughty "for popularity. He would have been a ſuitable Miniſter for Auſtrian phlegm, or a "proper Patriot in a Diet, which would have been content to proceed by remonſtrance "and memorial. A mercurial favourite, and a military ſenate, overſet him (*e*)."

(*e*) Ibid. p. 221, 222.

Lord Clarendon informs us, that the Earl of Briſtol was a very handſome man; and that it was this circumſtance which firſt recommended him to the favour of King James. Beauty and dignity of perſon ſeem to have characterized the Digbies of the laſt century. The Noble Hiſtorian adds, that though Lord Briſtol was a man of great parts, and a wiſe man, yet, as he had been for the moſt part ſingle, and by himſelf, in buſineſs, and had lived little in conſort, he was paſſionate and ſupercilious in Council, and did not bear contradiction without much heat. He was, likewiſe, too voluminous in diſcourſe; ſo that he was not conſidered at the Board with that reſpect to which he was otherwiſe entitled (*f*).] K.

(*f*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 201, 202.

*** [DIGBY (GEORGE), the eldeſt ſon of the ſubject of the preceding article, and a Nobleman of very extraordinary abilities and character, was born at Madrid, in the month of October 1612, during his father's firſt embaſſy in Spain (*a*). In that kingdom, with the exception of a journey or two into England, he received his education, till he was thirteen years of age; the conſequence of which was, that he became ſuch a maſter of the Spaniſh language, that he could ever after ſpeak it as well as if he had been an original Spaniard. When, through the all-diſpoſing power of the Duke of Bucking- ham, the Earl of Briſtol was not only removed from Court, but committed to the Tower, our young Lord was ſent with a petition to the Houſe of Commons in his father's behalf, which he delivered at the bar, and accompanied it with a ſhort ſpeech of his own. The confidence with which he ſpoke it, in conjunction with his tender years, his delicate features, and a very graceful perſon, made a good impreſſion upon that body, and cauſed him to be looked upon as a youth of great expectation (*b*). After an excellent courſe of preparatory learning, he was ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford, and entered a Nobleman of Magdalen College, on the fifteenth of Auguſt, 1626. Here he derived conſiderable advantage from the directions and converſation of Peter Heylin, a Fellow of that Houſe (*c*). His reſidence at Oxford, where he continued ſome years, was diſtin- guiſhed by his remarkable improvement in all kinds of literature. On quitting the Univerſity,

(*a*) Athenæ Oxonienſes. Vol. II. col. 572.

(*b*) Supplement to the Clarendon State Papers. Vol. III. p. LI.

(*c*) Athenæ, ubi ſupra.

University, he travelled into France, in the language of which he was previouſly well verſed, and had been carefully inſtructed. From that kingdom he returned to his own country, and to his father's houſe, the moſt accompliſhed young man that the Engliſh nation, or, it may be, any other nation could at that time preſent to the world; to which the beauty, comelineſs, and gracefulneſs of his perſon added no ſmall degree of luſtre. The peculiar and retired ſituation of the Earl of Briſtol was of eminent advantage to Lord Digby. There being no footing for him at court, he was under a neceſſity of reſiding in the country, where, beſides the benefit of his father's information, and a very liberal converſation with men of the beſt quality and parts, who frequently reſorted to Sherborne Caſtle, he had leiſure enough to attend to his books, in which he took a wonderful delight. Such, indeed, was the progreſs which he made in his ſtudies that no branch of learning appears to have eſcaped his attention. He applied himſelf, in particular, to the moſt curious parts of philoſophy, and was excellently verſed in the Latin and Greek Fathers, and in thoſe controverſies in which their authority was in that age appealed to, by the contending religious ſects of every denomination. At this time he wrote a diſcourſe, addreſſed to his relation Sir Kenelme Digby, againſt the Catholic Religion, which he would never afterwards take upon him to anſwer, when he came to have a better opinion of that religion. It was not, however, to the abſtruſer parts of knowledge that Lord Digby's application was confined; for he was equally fond of whatever related to polite literature. With the poets, ancient and modern, he was intimately converſant; and from his pen proceeded not only ſerious compoſitions, of a theological and philoſophical nature, but copies of verſes in Latin or Engliſh, and pieces of wit and humour. In this happy retreat he acquired great reputation; his eminent abilities being ſedulouſly ſpread abroad, whilſt his infirmities, which were known but to very few perſons, were carefully concealed. At length, the impetuoſity of his paſſions brought him into more public notice. Having come up to the metropolis, he engaged in an amour, which he purſued with all the eagerneſs of his natural diſpoſition, and by which he got involved in a conteſt with an inſolent rival, with whom he fought, or rather whoſe cowardice was ſuch that he could only be ſaid to have chaſtiſed him. The tranſaction was in the vicinity of Whitehall, and Lord Digby's antagoniſt was an unworthy favourite at court. His Lordſhip, therefore, was firſt committed to priſon, and afterwards treated with a ſeverity very unuſual to perſons of his quality. This adventure forced him back again into the country, to which he carried his reſentments for the ill uſage he had received. His own wrongs being thus added to thoſe which his father had met with, he entered the more eagerly into the ſentiments of the diſcontented part of the nation, and was held in high reputation by all who oppoſed the meaſures of Government (*d*). On the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, 1636, probably before the event now related, he was created, in conjunction with many other Noblemen and Gentlemen, Maſter of Arts in the Univerſity of Oxford (*e*).

(*d*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. LI, LII.

(*e*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. Faſti. col. 269.

When the diſorders of Scotland obliged the King to call a Parliament, and which was ſummoned to meet on the thirteenth of April, 1640, Lord Digby, with the unanimous approbation of the Freeholders, was choſen one of the Knights of the Shire for Dorſetſhire, the county in which he lived. In this Parliament, his perſon, his parts, and the fame he had already acquired, cauſed him to be ſpeedily taken notice of; and his joining himſelf with thoſe who were determined to enquire into every thing that was amiſs, and who would not be ſatisfied with any ordinary application of remedies, made it eaſily be foreſeen what counſels he intended to follow. But this ſtage allowed ſo ſhort a time for action, that no poſſible concluſion could be made; for on the fifth of May the Parliament was diſſolved. This abrupt meaſure only involved the King in ſtill greater difficulties. In a few months, the diſcontents of the people were grown higher than ever, and the reverence to Government much impaired. Nevertheleſs, at this criſis, Charles the Firſt was again laid under the neceſſity of having recourſe to the parliamentary advice and aſſiſtance of his ſubjects. When the famous Long Parliament met on the third of November, 1640, Lord Digby took his ſeat in it as the ſecond time a repreſentative for the County of Dorſet, to which honour he had been elected as unanimouſly as before; and it was ſoon diſcerned that he meant to make himſelf of as much conſequence as he poſſibly could. If any thing was ſpoken too bluntly and rudely againſt the Government, he reſumed the argument and poliſhed it, rendered the edge more ſharp to wound, and dreſſed the general charge with ſuch lively inſtances, as added to the ſenſibility of the enormity deſcribed. All this, united with the moſt pleaſing manner of delivery and ſpeaking, and a perſon uncommonly beautiful and graceful, wonderfully reconciled him to his auditors. When any grievances in religion were touched upon, and the Government of the Church aſſaulted or reproached, he improved the diſcourſe with more bitterneſs and animoſity, treating of the things he would be thought to value gravely, and, as it ſeemed, with piety and devotion. With regard to the perſons againſt whom he found it acceptable to inveigh, he expoſed them wittily, pleaſantly, and ſcornfully; ſo that the Members of the Houſe who took the lead in oppoſition to the Hierarchy, believed that they had gotten a champion to their own deſire, who would be equal to their ſtouteſt

(*f*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

adverſaries, and even to the Biſhops themſelves (*f*). That this character of Lord Digby's eloquence is, in general, true, is evident from ſuch of his ſpeeches as are ſtill preſerved, and which have a perſpicuity and elegance of compoſition beyond the common ſtandard of the time. Accordingly, they will find a proper place in our notes. The firſt ſpeech that appears to have been delivered by him was on the ninth of November, when the Houſe of Commons reſumed the affair of grievances. Upon this occaſion he expreſſed himſelf as will be ſeen below [*A*]. The next ſpeech which we have upon record is in purſuance

[*A*] *Upon this occaſion he expreſſed himſelf as will be ſeen below.*]

'Mr. Speaker,

'YOU have received now a ſolemn account, 'from moſt of the Shires of England, of the ſeveral 'grievances and oppreſſions they ſuſtain; but nothing 'as yet from Dorſetſhire. Sir, I would not have you 'think that I ſerve for a land of Goſhen; that we live 'there in ſun-ſhine, whilſt darkneſs and plagues over-'ſpread the reſt of the land. As little would I have 'you think, that, being under the ſame ſharp meaſure 'as the reſt, we are either inſenſible or benumbed, 'or that that Shire wanteth a ſervant to repreſent its 'ſufferings boldly.

'It is true, Mr. Speaker, the County of Dorſet 'hath not digeſted its complaints into that formal 'way of petition, which others, I ſee, have done; 'but have intruſted them to my partner's, and my 'delivery of them, by word of mouth, to this honour-'able Houſe. And there was given unto us, in 'the County-Court, the day of our election, a ſhort 'memorial of the heads of them, which was read in 'the hearing of the Free-holders there preſent, who 'all unanimouſly, with one voice, ſignified upon 'each particular, that it was their deſire that we ſhould 'repreſent them to the Parliament; which, with 'your leave, I ſhall do, and theſe they are:

*Firſt*, 'The great and intolerable burden of Ship-'Money, touching the legality whereof they are 'unſatisfied.

*Secondly*, 'The many great abuſes in preſſing of 'ſoldiers, and raiſing monies concerning the ſame.

*Thirdly*, 'The Multitude of Monopolies.

*Fourthly*, 'The new canons, and the oath to be 'taken by Lawyers, Divines, &c.

*Fifthly*, 'The oath required to be taken by Church-'officers, to preſent according to articles new and 'unuſual.

'Beſides this, there was likewiſe preſented to us, 'by a very conſiderable part of the Clergy of that 'county, a note of remembrance containing theſe 'two particulars:

*Firſt*, 'The impoſition of the new oath required 'to be taken by all Miniſters and others; which they 'conceive to be illegal, and ſuch as they cannot take 'with a good conſcience.

'*Secondly*, 'The requiring of a pretended bene-'volence, but, in effect, a ſubſidy, under the penalty 'of ſuſpenſion, excommunication, and deprivation, 'and all benefit of appeal excluded.

"This is all we had particularly in charge; but, 'that I may not appear a remiſs ſervant of my Coun-'try and of this Houſe, give me leave to add ſome-'what of my own ſenſe.

'Truly, Mr. Speaker, the injurious ſufferings of 'ſome worthy Members of this Houſe, ſince the diſ-'ſolution of the two laſt Parliaments, are ſo freſh in 'my memory, that I was reſolved not to open my 'mouth in any buſineſs, wherein freedom and plain 'dealing were requiſite, untill ſuch time as the breach 'of our privileges were vindicated, and ſafety of 'ſpeech ſettled.

'But ſince ſuch excellent Members of our Houſe 'thought fit, the other day, to lay aſide that caution, 'and to diſcharge their ſouls ſo freely in the way of 'zeal to his Majeſty's ſervice, and their Country's 'good, I ſhall interpret that confidence of theirs for a 'lucky omen to this Parliament; and, with your per-'miſſion, licenſe my thoughts too a little.

'Mr. Speaker, under thoſe heads which I pro-'poſed to you, as the grievances of Dorſetſhire, I 'ſuppoſe are comprized the greateſt part of the miſ-'chiefs which have, of late years, laid battery either 'to our eſtates or conſciences.

'Sir, I do not conceive this the fit ſeaſon to ſearch 'and ventilate particulars; yet, I profeſs, I cannot 'forbear to add ſomewhat to what was ſaid, the laſt 'day, by a learned gentleman of the long robe, con-'cerning the acts of that reverend new ſynod, made 'out of an old convocation. Doth not every Par-'liament-man's heart riſe to ſee the Prelates thus uſurp 'to themſelves the grand pre-eminence of Parliament? 'The granting of ſubſidies, and that under ſo pre-'poſterous a name as of a benevolence, for that which 'is a malevolence indeed: a malevolence, I am con-'fident, in thoſe that granted it, againſt Parliaments; 'and a malevolence ſurely in thoſe that refuſe it, 'againſt thoſe that granted it; (for how can it incite 'leſs, when they ſee wreſted from them what they 'are not willing to part with, under no leſs a penalty 'than the loſs both of heaven and earth; of heaven, 'by excommunication; and of the earth, by depriva-'tion; and this without redemption by appeal?) what 'good Chriſtian can think with patience on ſuch an 'enſnaring oath, as that which is, by the new canons, 'enjoined to be taken by all Miniſters, Lawyers, Phy-'ſicians, and Graduates in the Univerſities? Where, 'beſides ſwearing ſuch an impertinence, as that 'things neceſſary to ſalvation are contained in diſci-'pline; beſides ſwearing thoſe to be of divine right, 'which, amongſt the learned, never pretended to it, 'as the arch things in our hierarchy; beſides ſwear-'ing not to conſent to the change of that, which the 'State may, upon great reaſon, think fit to alter; 'beſides the bottomleſs perjury of an *Etcætera*; beſides 'all this, Mr. Speaker, men muſt ſwear that they 'ſwear freely and voluntarily what they are compelled 'unto; and laſtly, that they take that oath in the 'literal ſenſe, whereof no two of the makers them-'ſelves, that I have heard of, could ever agree in the 'underſtanding.

'In a word, Mr. Speaker, to tell you my opinion 'of this oath, it is a covenant againſt the King, for 'Biſhops and Hierarchy, as the Scots covenant is 'againſt them; only ſo much worſe than that of the 'Scots, as they admit not of the ſupremacy in eccle-'ſiaſtical affairs, and we are ſworn unto it.

'Now, Mr. Speaker, for thoſe particular heads 'of grievances whereby our eſtates and properties 'are ſo radically invaded; I ſuppoſe, as I ſaid before, 'that it is no ſeaſon now to enter into a ſtrict diſcuſ-'ſion of them: only thus much I ſhall ſay of them 'with application to the county for which I ſerve, 'that none can more juſtly complain; ſince none can 'more juſtly challenge exemption from ſuch burdens 'than Dorſetſhire, whether you conſider it as a county 'ſubſiſting much by trade, or none of the moſt popu-'lous, or expoſed as much as any to foreign invaſion.

'But, alas! Mr. Speaker, particular lamentations 'are hardly diſtinguiſhable in univerſal groans.

'Mr. Speaker, it hath been a metaphor frequently 'in Parliament; and, if my memory fail me not, 'was made uſe of in the Lord-Keeper's ſpeech at the 'opening of the laſt, "That what money Kings 'raiſed from their ſubjects, it was but as vapours 'drawn up from the earth by the ſun, to be diſtilled 'upon it again in fructifying ſhowers." The com-'pariſon, Mr. Speaker, hath held of late years, in 'this kingdom, too unluckily. What hath been 'raiſed from the ſubject by thoſe violent attractions 'hath been formed, it is true, into clouds; but how? 'To darken the ſun's own luſtre; and hath fallen 'again upon the land, only in hailſtones and mildews, 'to batter and proſtrate ſtill more and more our 'liberties, and to blaſt and wither our affections, had 'not the latter of theſe been ſtill kept alive by our 'King's own perſonal virtues; which will ever pre-'ſerve him, in ſpight of all ill counſellors, a ſacred 'object both of our admiration and our love.

Mr. Speaker, it hath been often ſaid in this 'Houſe, and, I think, can never be too often repeated, 'that

pursuance of the same subject [*B*]. On the 19th of January, 1640-41, he was called forth to display his eloquence on a very important topic. This was the bill for preventing

'that 'the Kings of England can do no wrong:' but 'though they could, Mr. Speaker, yet Princes have 'no part in the ill of those actions which their judges 'assure them to be just; their counsellors, that they 'are prudent; and their divines, that they are con-'scientious.

'This consideration, Mr. Speaker, leadeth me 'to that which is much more necessary, at this sea-'son, than any farther laying open of our miseries; 'that is, the way to the remedy, by seeking to re-'move from our Sovereign such unjust judges, such 'pernicious counsellors, and such disconscientious di-'vines, as have, of late years, by their wicked prac-'tices, provoked aspersions upon the government of 'the most gracious and best of Kings.

'Mr. Speaker, let me not be misunderstood; I 'level at no man with a fore-laid design; let the 'faults, and those well proved, lead us to the men; 'it is the only true parliamentary method, and the 'only fit one to incline our Sovereign: for it can no 'more consist with a gracious and righteous Prince, 'to expose his servants upon irregular prejudices, 'than with a wise Prince to with-hold malefactors, 'how great soever, from the course of orderly justice.

'Let me acquaint you, Mr. Speaker, with an 'aphorism in Hippocrates, no less authentic, I think, 'in the body politic than in the natural: this it is, 'Mr. Speaker: bodies, to be thoroughly and effec-'tually purged, must have their humours first made 'fluid and moveable. The humours, that I under-'stand to have caused all the desperate maladies of 'this nation, are the ill ministers: to purge them 'away clearly, they must be first loosened, unsettled, 'and extenuated; which can no way be effected with 'a gracious master, but by truly representing them 'unworthy of his protection. And this leadeth me 'to my motion, which is, that a select Committee 'may be appointed to draw, out of all that hath here 'been represented, such a remonstrance as may be a 'faithful and lively representation unto his Majesty 'of the deplorable estate of this his kingdom; and 'such as may happily point out unto his clear and 'excellent judgment, the pernicious authors of it: 'and that this remonstrance being drawn, we may, 'with all speed, repair to the Lords, and desire them 'to join with us in it. And this is my humble 'motion (1).'

(1) Parl. Hist. Vol. IX. p. 119—124.

[*B*] *The next speech which we have upon record is in pursuance of the same subject.*]

'Mr. Speaker,

'This happy meeting is to bemoan and redress 'the unhappy state of this commonwealth. Let 'me have, I beseech you, your leave to give you, in 'a word, a short view of our griefs; then see whence 'they flow. Our laws, our liberties, our lives, and, 'which is the life of all, our religion, all which have 'been, by the endeavours of so many ages, secured, 'and made so much our own, can scarcely now be 'called ours. Our laws, the only sinews and liga-'ments of our estates, which should run in an even 'stream, are now made to disdain their banks, and to 'overflow and drown those fields, which they should 'gently refresh; our liberties, the very spirit and 'essence of our weal, which should differ us from 'slaves, and speak us Englishmen, are torn away by 'them, who, even while they take them from us, 'cannot but confess they are our proper dues. Are 'not our lives in danger, when a provoked enemy, 'disguised like a friend, is, as it were, suffered (because 'indirectly and in vain resisted) to come almost into 'our bosom; to rifle some of their goods, others of 'their loyalty, which perhaps they could not, neither 'would have touched, might we, with united force, 'have resisted? And, lastly, which is the soul of all 'our grievances, our Religion, which should have 'been our cordial in all our distempers, like a forced 'virgin, ever laments that her pure innocency is taken 'from her. And surely all these effects must have 'their causes.

'That we have just and wise laws, we may thank 'those Kings that made them; the settled exposition 'of just circumscribed laws, to bind and defend the 'subject, we owe to the judges of former times, and 'that they are so well framed and useful, as to con-'tain enough to make a good King and people per-'fectly safe and happy.

'What do we not owe to those grave counsellors, 'who sat here before us, and that outlive the malice 'of some unbounded spirits? We are beholden to 'them for retrieving our laws from ruin, with their 'lives and fortunes; we call them ours, because we 'are freely born to them, as to the air we breathe in; 'we claim them, and should possess them under the 'protection of our gracious King, who is their great 'patron, and disposes them not inconsiderately, but 'by the advice of those learned expositors of them, 'the judges, and those whom he trusts to be his great 'and faithful counsellors. If these prevert the ground 'and meaning of the law, and contract the power of 'it, or make it speak louder or softer, as they them-'selves are tuned for it, the blame should deservedly 'fall on those misttrusted ministers, who are the base 'betrayers of his Majesty's honour, and his people's 'rights; to vindicate which, necessity hath here 'assembled you.

'Mr. Speaker, is not his offence and malice as 'great who should undermine my tenure, and sur-'reptitiously deprive me of my evidence by which I 'hold my inheritance, as he who, by violence, should 'wrest it from me? The Scots we have heard branded 'as traitors, because they have, contrary to the law of 'nations and their loyalty, invaded our kingdom in 'arms; what other title have they merited, who have 'invaded our laws and liberties, the precious evi-'dence by which we should freely enjoy ourselves and 'our estates? The first we may resist and drive forth 'by united force; and it will be called piety to our 'King and Country; if force be laid against the other, 'it will be stiled rebellion.

'What now remains but that we should use the 'law; which, because it hath been invented and 'turned against us, contrary to its own natural and 'plain disposition, should now right us and itself against 'our adversaries? Surely the law is not so weak and 'improvident, to take care for others, and never pro-'vide for its own defence against those (be they Peers 'or People) that have abused it. If we examine the 'law well, it will tell us what hath been the reward 'of such ambitious men as have monopolized and 'abused the King's authority; what hath been the 'punishment of such as have betrayed the well-mean-'ing subject to the King's displeasure, and his Prince's 'counsel to his enemies; what they deserve, who 'have raised mountains of monopolies, heaps of im-'positions, oceans of grievances; what hath been 'the punishment of such as belied justice and their 'conscience, and have made truth and honesty out of 'fashion.

'And, lastly, if no penalty be found for these, surely 'there is some for such as have so disguised religion 'in fantastic dresses, that Heaven and Earth cannot but 'be angry to see it; and, in their politic pride, have 'been so long moulding a-new both State and Church 'for their own advantage, till they have, by their 'too much order, put all out of frame; and made 'us objects of pity, and themselves of hate. What if, 'for these innovations, we innovate an exemplary 'punishment? These are the ground-work of our 'miseries: and surely, Mr. Speaker, there are too 'many of all these sorts, which, like envious clouds, 'hinder us from the gracious shine our sun intends us; 'therefore for his greater lustre, and our more assured 'comfort, let us endeavour to remove these inter-'posers; that he may freely see into his people's 'bosoms, and read, in their hearts, firm characters 'of loyalty and glad obedience; which the practices 'of these latter times have endeavoured to obliterate, 'but in vain.

'I shall not dare to borrow one minute more; but 'now make an end, though I have but new begun.

'If we consider the just extent of our grievances, 'the deep search of this wound I leave to better 'abilities:

venting inconveniences which happen by long intermiſſion of Parliaments. The ſentiments advanced by him, in favour of frequent Parliaments, are ſo truly patriotic, and ſo congenial, we doubt not, to the feelings of moſt of our Readers, that they will peruſe them with peculiar pleaſure [C].

One

' abilities: I beſeech you think not that I ſigh out
' theſe complaints, undertaking to inſtruct the grave
' council of this Great Aſſembly; my infant-advice
' preſumes not to reach ſo high: it is but to let you
' ſee how much the ſlighteſt parts of this abuſed com-
' monwealth are not only made ſenſible of our
' wrongs, but that what we feel is far exceeded by
' the numberleſs number of our juſt fears; which
' would, before this time, have utterly diſtracted us,
' had not our Great Phyſician now, at length, applied
' his ſovereign remedy to keep up our fainting hopes;
' by which we muſt either ſtand or fall (2).'

(2) Ibid. p. 139—142.

[C] *That they will peruſe them with peculiar pleaſure.*]

' Mr. Speaker,

' I riſe not now, with an intent to ſpeak to the
' frame and ſtructure of this bill, nor much by way
' of anſwer to objections that may be made; I hope
' there will be no occaſion for this, but that we ſhall
' concur, all unanimouſly, in what concerneth all ſo
' univerſally.

' Only, Sir, by way of preparation, to the end that
' we may not be diſcouraged in this great work by
' difficulties that may appear in the way of it, I ſhall
' deliver unto you my apprehenſions in general of
' the vaſt importance and neceſſity that we ſhould go
' through with it.

' The reſult of my ſenſe is, in ſhort, this; that,
' unleſs there be ſome ſuch courſe ſettled for the fre-
' quent convening of Parliaments, as may not be
' eluded, neither the people can be proſperous and
' ſecure, nor the King himſelf ſolidly happy. I take
' this to be the *unum neceſſarium*: let us procure this,
' and all our other deſires will effect themſelves. If
' this bill miſcarry, I ſhall have no public hopes left
' me; and, once paſt, I ſhall be freed of all public
' fears.

' The eſſentialneſs, Sir, of frequent Parliaments to
' the happineſs of this kingdom might be inferred
' unto you by the reaſon of contraries, and from the
' woful experience which former times have had of the
' miſchievous effects of any long intermiſſion of them.

' But, Mr. Speaker, why ſhould we climb higher
' than the level we are on; or think further than our
' horizon; or have recourſe for examples in this
' buſineſs to any other promptuary than our own
' memories, nay, than the experience almoſt of the
' youngeſt here?

' The reflection, backward, on the diſtractions of
' former times upon intermiſſion of Parliaments, and
' the conſideration, forward, of the miſchiefs likely
' ſtill to grow from the ſame cauſe, if not removed,
' doubtleſſly gave firſt life and being to thoſe two dor-
' mant ſtatutes of Edward III. for the yearly holding
' of a Parliament; and ſhall not the freſh and bleeding
' experience, in the preſent age of miſeries from the
' ſame ſpring, not to be paralleled in any other,
' obtain a wakening, a reſurrection of them?

' The inteſtine diſtempers, Sir, of former ages
' upon the want of Parliaments, may appear to have
' had ſome other co-operative cauſes; as, ſometimes,
' unſucceſsful wars abroad; ſometimes, the abſence
' of the Prince; ſometimes, competitions of titles to
' the Crown; ſometimes, perhaps, the vices of the
' King himſelf.

' Let us only conſider the poſture, the aſpect of
' this State, both toward itſelf and the reſt of the
' world; the perſon of our Sovereign, and the nature
' of our ſuffering, ſince the third of his reign: and
' there can be no cauſe, colourably inventible, where-
' unto to attribute them, but the intermiſſion, or,
' which is worſe, the undue fruſtration of Parliaments,
' by the unlucky uſe, if not abuſe, of prerogative in
' diſſolving them.

' Take into your view, Mr. Speaker, a kingdom
' in a ſtate of the greateſt quiet and ſecurity that can
' be fancied; not only enjoying the calmeſt peace
' itſelf, but to improve and ſecure its happy condi-
' tion, all the reſt of the world at the ſame time in
' tempeſts, in combuſtions, in uncompoſable wars.

' Take into your view, Sir, a King, Sovereign of
' three kingdoms, by a concentring of all the Royal
' lines in his perſon, as indiſputably as any mathema-
' tical ones in Euclid; a King firm and knowing in
' his religion, eminent in virtue; a King, that hath,
' in his own time, given all the rights and liberties
' of his ſubjects a more clear and ample confirmation,
' freely and graciouſly (I mean in the petition of right)
' than any of his predeceſſors, (when the people had
' them at advantage), extortedly.——This is one map
' of England, Mr. Speaker.

' A man, Sir, that ſhould preſent unto you, now,
' a kingdom, groaning under that ſupreme law which
' *ſalus populi periclitata* would enact; the liberty, the
' property, of the ſubject fundamentally ſubverted,
' raviſhed away by the violence of a pretended neceſ-
' ſity; a triple Crown ſhaken with diſtempers; men
' of the beſt conſcience ready to fly into the wilder-
' neſs for religion! would not one ſwear that this
' were the antipodes to the other?—And yet, let me
' tell you, Mr. Speaker, this is a map of England
' too, and both at the ſame time but too true.

' As it cannot be denied, Mr. Speaker, that, ſince
' the Conqueſt, there hath not been in this kingdom
' a fuller concurrence of all circumſtances in the for-
' mer character, to have made a kingdom happy,
' than for theſe twelve years laſt paſt; ſo it is moſt
' certain, that there hath not been, in all that deduc-
' tion of ages, ſuch a conſpiracy, if one may ſo ſay,
' of all the elements of miſchief in the ſecond character,
' to bring a flouriſhing kingdom, if it were poſſible,
' to ſwift ruin and deſolation.

' I will be bold to ſay Mr. Speaker (and I thank
' God, we have ſo good a King, under whom we
' may ſpeak boldly of the abuſe of his power by ill
' miniſters, without reflection upon his perſon), that
' an accumulation of all the public grievances ſince
' *magna charta*, one upon another, into an act of
' Parliament, would not amount to ſo oppreſſive, I
' am ſure not to ſo deſtructive, a height and magni-
' tude to the rights and property of the ſubject, as
' one branch of our beſlaving ſince the Petition of
' Right! The branch I mean is the judgment concern-
' ing ſhip-money.

' This being a true repreſentation of England, in
' both aſpects, let him, Mr. Speaker, that (for the
' unmatched oppreſſion and enthralling of free ſubjects,
' in a time of the beſt King's reign, and in memory
' of the beſt laws enacted in favour of ſubjects liberty,)
' can find a truer cauſe than the ruptures and inter-
' miſſion of Parliaments; let him, I ſay, and him
' alone, be againſt the ſettling of this inevitable way
' for the frequent holding of them.

' 'Tis true, Sir, wicked miniſters have been the
' proximate cauſes of our miſeries; but the want of
' Parliaments the primary, the efficient cauſes: ill
' miniſters have made ill times; but that, Sir, hath
' made ill miniſters.

' I have read, among the laws of the Athenians,
' a form of recourſe, in their oaths and vows of their
' greateſt and public concernment, to a three-fold deity,
' *ſupplicium exauditori, purgatori, malorum depulſori.*
' I doubt not but we, here aſſembled for the common-
' wealth in this Parliament, ſhall meet with all theſe
' attributes in our Sovereign. I make no queſtion
' but he will graciouſly hear our ſupplications, purge
' away our grievances, and expel malefactors; that
' is, remove ill miniſters, and put good in their
' places.—No leſs can be expected from his wiſdom
' and goodneſs.

' But let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, if we partake
' not of one attribute more in him; if we addreſs not
' ourſelves unto that, I mean *bonorum conſervatori*, we
' can have no ſolid, no durable comfort in all the
' reſt: for let his Majeſty hear our complaints never
' ſo compaſſionately; let him purge away our griev-

One of the prime objects to which the first operations of the Long Parliament were directed, was the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford; into which business Lord Digby entered with distinguished ardour. He represented the Earl as the chief author of all that was grievous in England, and inveighed against him with such strength and severity as induced many, who might not otherwise have done it, to unite in the resolution of charging Strafford with high treason. By this conduct he gained the entire confidence

'ances never so efficaciously; let him punish and dispel 'ill ministers never so exemplarily; let him make 'choice of good ones never so exactly: yet if there be 'not a way settled to preserve and keep them good, 'the mischiefs and they will all grow again like Simp-'son's locks, and pull down the house upon our heads— 'believe it, Mr. Speaker, they will.

'It hath been a maxim among the wisest legislators, 'that whosoever means to settle good laws must pro-'ceed in them with a sinister opinion of all mankind; 'and suppose that whosoever is not wicked, it is for 'want only of the opportunity.

'It is that opportunity of being ill, Mr. Speaker, 'that we must take away, if ever we mean to be 'happy; which can never be done, but by the fre-'quency of Parliaments.

'No State can wisely be confident of any public 'minister's continuing good, longer than the rod is 'over him.

'Let me appeal to all those that were present in 'this House, at the agitation of the Petition of Right: 'and let them tell us truly, of whose promotion to 'the management of affairs do they think the gene-'rality would, at that time, have had better hopes 'than of the late Mr. Noy and Sir Thomas Went-'worth; both being at that time, and in that busines, 'as I have heard, most keen and active patriots; and 'the latter of them (to the eternal aggravation of his 'infamous treachery to the commonwealth be it 'spoken) the first mover and insister to have this 'clause added to the Petition of Right, "That, for 'the comfort and safety of his Majesty's subjects, he 'would be pleased to declare his will and pleasure, 'that all his ministers should serve him according to 'the laws and statutes of the realm."

'And yet, Mr. Speaker, to whom now can all the 'inundations upon our liberties, under pretence of 'law, and the late shipwreck, at once, of all our 'property, be attributed more than to Noy; and 'those, and all other mischiefs whereby this monarchy 'hath been brought almost to the brink of destruc-'tion, so much to any as to that grand apostate to the commonwealth, the now Lieutenant of Ireland?

'The first, I hope, God hath forgiven in the other world; and the latter must not hope to be pardoned 'in this, till he be dispatched to the other.

'Let every man but consider those men as once 'they were,—the excellent law for the security of 'the subject, enacted immediately before their coming 'into employment, in the contriving whereof them-'selves were principal actors;—the goodness and vir-'tue of the King they served,—and yet the high and 'public oppressions that, in his time, they have 'wrought;—and surely there is no man but will con-'clude with me, that, as the deficience of Parliaments 'hath been the *causa causarum* of all the mischiefs and 'distempers of the present times; so the frequency of 'them is the sole Catholic antidote that can preserve 'and secure the future from the like.

'Mr. Speaker, let me yet draw my discourse a 'little nearer to his Majesty himself, and tell you, 'that the frequency of Parliaments is most essentially 'necessary to the power, the security, the glory of 'the King.

'There are two ways, Mr. Speaker, of powerful 'rule, either by fear, or love; but only one of happy 'and safe rule, that is, by love; that *firmissimum im-'perium quo obedientes gaudent:*——To this *Camillus* 'advised the *Romans:* Let a Prince consider what 'it is that moves a people, principally, to affection 'and dearness towards their Sovereign, he shall see 'that there needs no other artifice in it than to let 'them enjoy, unmolestedly, what belongs unto them 'of right: if that hath been invaded and violated in 'any kind, whereby affections are alienated, the next 'consideration for a wise Prince, that would be happy, 'is how to regain them; to which three things are 'equally necessary,

'Re-instating them in their former liberty.

'Avenging them of the authors of those violations. And,

'Securing them from apprehensions of the like 'again.

'The *first*, God be thanked, we are in a good 'way of.

'The *second*, in warm pursuit of.

'But the *third*, as essential as all the rest, 'till we 'be certain of triennial Parliaments, at the least, I 'profess I can have but cold hopes of.

'I beseech you then, since that security for the 'future is so necessary to that blessed union of affec-'tions, and this bill so necessary to that security; let 'us not be so wanting to ourselves, let us not be so 'wanting to our Sovereign, as to forbear to offer unto 'him this powerful, this everlasting philter, to charm 'unto him the hearts of his people, whose virtue 'can never evaporate.

'There is no man, Mr. Speaker, so secure of 'another's friendship, but will think frequent inter-'course and access very requisite to the support, to 'the confirmation of it: especially if ill offices have 'been done between them; if the raising of jealou-'sies hath been attempted.

'There is no friend but would be impatient to 'be debarred from giving his friend succour and relief 'in his necessities.

'Mr. Speaker, permit me the comparison of great 'things with little. What friendship, what union 'can there be so comfortable, so happy, as between a 'gracious Sovereign and his people? And what 'greater misfortune can there be to both, than to be 'kept from intercourse, from the means of clearing 'misunderstandings, from interchange of mutual 'benefits?

'The people of England, Sir, cannot open their 'ears, their hearts, their mouths, or their purses, 'to his Majesty, but in Parliament:—We can neither 'hear him, nor complain, nor acknowledge, nor give, 'but there.

'This bill, Sir, is the sole key that can open the 'way to a frequency of those reciprocal endearments, 'which must make and perpetuate the happiness of 'the King and kingdom.

'Let no man object any derogation from the King's 'prerogative by it. We do but present the bill, 'tis 'to be made a law by him. His honour, his power, 'will be as conspicuous in commanding at once that 'Parliaments shall assemble every third year, as in 'commanding a Parliament to be called this or that 'year. There is more of Majesty in ordaining pri-'mary and universal causes, than in the actuating 'particularly of subordinate effects.

'I doubt not but that glorious King, Edward III. 'when he made those laws for the yearly calling of 'Parliaments, did it with a right sense of his dignity 'and honour.

'The truth is, Sir, the Kings of England are never 'in their glory, in their splendor, in their Majestic 'sovereignty, but in Parliament.

'Where is the power of imposing taxes? Where 'is the power of restoring from incapacities? Where 'is the legislative authority? Why, marry, in the 'King, Mr. Speaker. But how? In the King cir-'cled in, fortified, and evirtuated by his Parliament.

'The King, out of Parliament, hath a limited, 'a circumscribed jurisdiction; but, waited on by his 'Parliament, no Monarch of the East is so absolute 'in dispelling grievances.

'Mr. Speaker, in chasing ill ministers, we do but 'dissipate clouds that may gather again; but, in 'voting this bill, we shall contribute, as much as in 'us lies, to the perpetuating our sun, our Sovereign, 'in his vertical, in his noon-day, lustre (3).'

(3) Ibid. p. 197—204.

of

of the grand leaders of the impeachment, and was admitted into all their ſecrets. Beſides being fixed upon to prepare part of the charge againſt the Earl of Strafford, the whole courſe of the intended proceedings, and the obſtructions that were moſt apprehended were as clearly underſtood by Lord Digby as by Mr. Pym and Mr. Hampden themſelves. Having thus gotten himſelf to the top of the pinnacle, he began to look about him, and to take the full proſpect of all that was to be ſeen. It is poſſible, perhaps probable, that, upon ſerious reflection, he might be conſcientiouſly diſſatisfied with the lengths to which the proſecution againſt Strafford was deſigned to be carried. Whatever might be his motives, he reſolved to ſteer another courſe, and, with a dexterity in which he eminently excelled, he contrived to make the Court acquainted with his intentions, and to raiſe a high opinion of the merit of his future ſervices. His overtures, as may reaſonably be imagined, were very cordially accepted. In conformity to his new views, he became more moderate in his parliamentary language, and ſhewed, in ſeveral inſtances, that he was not diſpoſed to embark wholly on the bottom of the party with which he had hitherto acted. He ſtill, however, continued his connection with the proſecutors of the Lord Strafford, and took his part in the management of the evidence againſt him; but with ſuch a temper, as ſufficiently manifeſted that he neither brought the ſpirit, nor would bring the teſtimony that had been expected from him by his coadjutors in the impeachment (*g*).

(*g*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra. P. LII. LIII.

At this time a circumſtance occurred of a ſingular nature. A paper of great conſequence to the trial was miſſing in the cloſe Committee of the Houſe of Commons; and by the Earl of Strafford's anſwer it was ſuppoſed that he had ſeen it, and that it had been conveyed to him by ſome one of the Committee. Mr. Whitelock, who was in the chair, and who had the charge and cuſtody of all the papers, was ſuſpected more than any other perſon to have been guilty of this piece of treachery. Strict ſearch was made for the paper; but it could not then be found. Mr. Whitelock alledged, in his own vindication, that amongſt ſuch a multitude of papers as he had in his cuſtody, it was not eaſy to ſee that he had them all again, when they were brought forth, or any of them called for. He added, that he never ſhewed the paper to any but the Committee; that he knew not who had it, or what was become of it; that he did not convey it away himſelf, and was totally ignorant by whom it had been conveyed. This apology did not give full ſatisfaction. The Houſe was acquainted with the affair, and it was ordered, that every one of the Committee ſhould make a ſolemn proteſtation, that they did not convey away the paper in queſtion, nor know what was become of it. All of them made this proteſtation, and the Lord Digby with more earneſtneſs and deeper imprecations than any of the reſt. Nevertheleſs, when, at the battle of Naſeby, the King's cabinet was taken, a copy of this individual paper was found in it, written in his Lordſhip's own hand. Thus was Mr. Whitelock cleared, and the conveyer of the paper to his Majeſty, and from him to the Earl of Strafford, fully diſcovered (*b*). Lord Clarendon ſeems unwilling to credit the truth of this ſtory; but it appears to reſt on a foundation too ſtrong to be eaſily ſhaken. What his Lordſhip obſerves is, that it may be preſumed, that a man who had gotten a paper in ſuch a manner, would, at leaſt, after ſuch an enquiry was made upon it, have caſt it into the fire (*i*). The Earl of Clarendon, who is otherwiſe miſtaken in his relation of the affair, ſhould have recollected, that it was not in Lord Digby's power to deſtroy his copy of the paper, after he had conveyed it to the King.

(*b*) Whitelock's Memorials. p. 43. 44. Parl. Hiſt. Vol. IX. p. 248, 249.

(*i*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

As ſoon as the trial of the Earl of Strafford was ended, and it was diſcerned that the Houſe of Peers would not paſs upon him a judgment of high-treaſon, the Commons determined to proceed againſt him by bill of attainder. Upon this occaſion it was that Lord Digby publicly avowed the change of his ſentiments. At the third reading of the Bill, on the 21ſt of April, 1641, he oppoſed the paſſing of it in a ſpeech full of energy and ſpirit [*D*]. Great offence was taken by the predominant party at his Lordſhip's

[*D*] *He oppoſed the paſſing of it, in a ſpeech full of energy and ſpirit.*]

'Mr. Speaker,

'We are now upon the point of giving (as much 'as in us lies) the final ſentence unto death or life 'on a great miniſter of State, and peer of this king-'dom, Thomas Earl of Strafford; a name of hatred 'in the preſent age by his practices, and fit to be 'made a terror to future ages by his puniſhment.

'I have had the honour to be employed by the 'Houſe in this great buſineſs from the firſt hour that 'it was taken into conſideration. It was a matter of 'great truſt; and I will ſay, with confidence, that I 'have ſerved the Houſe in it, not only with induſtry, 'according to my abilities, but with moſt exact faith-'fulneſs and juſtice.

'And as I have hitherto diſcharged my duty to 'this Houſe and to my Country, in the progreſs of 'this great cauſe, ſo I truſt I ſhall do now in the laſt 'period of it to God and to a good conſcience. I 'do wiſh the peace of that unto myſelf, and the 'bleſſings of Almighty God to me and my poſterity, 'according as my judgment on the life of this man 'ſhall be conſonant with my heart, and the beſt of 'my underſtanding in all integrity.

'I know well, Mr. Speaker, that by ſome things 'I have ſaid of late, whilſt this bill was in agitation, 'I have raiſed ſome prejudices upon me in the cauſe. 'Yea, ſome (I thank them for their plain dealing) 'have been ſo free as to tell me, that I have ſuffered 'much by the backwardneſs I have ſhewn in the bill 'of attainder of the Earl of Strafford, againſt whom 'I have formerly been ſo keen, ſo active.

'I beg of you, and the reſt, but a ſuſpenſion of 'judgment concerning me, till I have opened my 'heart

ſhip's conduct. A motion was immediately made that, on the next day, he ſhould explain himſelf, with regard to ſome things that had occurred in his ſpeech. This he accordingly

'heart unto you, clearly and freely, in this buſineſs. Truly, Sir, I am ſtill the ſame in my opinions and affections as to the Earl of Strafford: I confidently believe him to be the moſt dangerous miniſter, the moſt inſupportable to free ſubjects, that can be charactered. I believe his practices in themſelves as high, as tyrannical, as any ſubject ever ventured on; and the malignity of them hugely aggravated by thoſe rare abilities of his, whereof God hath given him the uſe, but the devil the application. In a word, I believe him to be ſtill that grand apoſtate to the commonwealth, who muſt not expect to be pardoned in this world, till he be diſpatched to the other. And yet, let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my hand muſt not be to that diſpatch: I proteſt, as my conſcience ſtands informed, I had rather it were off.

'Let me unfold to you the myſtery, Mr. Speaker: I will not dwell much upon juſtifying unto you my ſeeming variance at this time from what I was formerly, by putting you in mind of the difference between proſecutors and judges, how miſbecoming that fervour would be in a judge, which, perhaps, was commendable in a proſecutor. Judges we are now, and muſt put on another perſonage. It is honeſt and noble to be earneſt, in order to the diſcovery of truth; but when that hath been brought ſo far as it can to light, our judgment thereupon ought to be calm and cautious. In proſecution upon probable grounds, we are accountable only for our induſtry or remiſſneſs; but in judgment we are deeply reſponſible to God Almighty for its rectitude or obliquity. In caſes of life, the judge is God's ſteward of the party's blood, and muſt give a ſtrict account for every drop.

'But, as I told you, Mr. Speaker, I will not inſiſt long upon this ground of difference in me now from what I was formerly.

'The truth of it is, Sir, the ſame ground whereupon I, with the reſt of the few to whom you firſt committed the conſideration of my Lord Strafford, brought down our opinion, that it was fit he ſhould be accuſed of treaſon: upon the ſame ground I was engaged, with earneſtneſs, in his proſecution; and had the ſame ground remained in that force of belief with me, which till very lately it did, I ſhould not have been tender in his condemnation: but truly, Sir, to deal plainly with you, that ground of our accuſation, that ſpur to our proſecution, and that which ſhould be the baſis of my judgment of the Earl of Strafford, as to treaſon, is, to my underſtanding, quite vaniſhed away.

'This it was, Mr. Speaker: his adviſing the King to employ the army in Ireland to reduce England. This I was aſſured would be proved, before I gave my conſent to his accuſation. I was confirmed in the ſame belief during the proſecution; and fortified moſt of all in it, ſince Sir Henry Vane's preparatory examination, by aſſurances which that worthy member, Mr. Pymme, gave me, that his teſtimony would be made convincing by ſome notes of what paſſed at the junćto, concurrent with it; which I ever underſtanding to be of ſome other Counſellor, you ſee now prove but a copy of the ſame Secretary's notes, diſcovered and produced in the manner you have heard; and thoſe ſuch diſjointed fragments of the venomous part of diſcourſes: no reſults, no concluſions of Councils, which are the only things that Secretaries ſhould regiſter; there being no uſe of the other, but to accuſe and bring men into danger.

'But, Sir, this is not that which overthrows the evidence with me concerning the army in Ireland; nor yet, that all the reſt of the junćto remember nothing of it; but this, Sir, which I ſhall tell you, is that which works with me, under favour, to an utter overthrow of his evidence, as unto that of the army of Ireland: before, whilſt I was proſecutor, and under tye of ſecrecy, I might not diſcover any weakneſs of the cauſe, which now, as a judge, I muſt. Mr. Secretary was examined thrice upon oath, at the preparatory Committee. The firſt time he was queſtioned to all the interrogatories; and to that part of the ſeventh, which concerns the army in Ireland, he ſaid poſitively theſe words, 'I cannot charge him with that;' but, for the reſt, he deſired time to recollect himſelf; which was granted him.

'Some days after he was examined a ſecond time, and then depoſed theſe words concerning the King's being abſolved from rules of Government, and ſo forth, very clearly. But being preſſed to that part concerning the Iriſh army again, he ſaid, he could ſay nothing to that.

'Here we thought we had done with him; till, divers weeks after, my Lord of Northumberland, and all others of the junćto, denying to have heard any thing concerning thoſe words, of reducing England by the Iriſh army, it was thought fit to examine the Secretary once more; and then he depoſed theſe words to have been ſpoken by the Earl of Strafford to his Majeſty, 'you have an army in Ireland, which you may employ here to reduce (or ſome words to that ſenſe) this kingdom.'

'Mr. Speaker, theſe are the circumſtances which, I confeſs with my conſcience, thruſt quite out of doors that grand article of our charge, concerning his deſperate advice to the King, of employing the Iriſh army here.

'Let not this, I beſeech you, be driven to an aſperſion upon Mr. Secretary, as if he ſhould have ſworn otherwiſe than he knew or believed; he is too worthy to do that; only let thus much be inferred from it, that he who twice upon oath, with time of recollection, could not remember any thing of ſuch a buſineſs, might well a third time miſremember ſomewhat: and in this buſineſs the difference of one word, here for there, or that for this, quite alters the caſe; the latter alſo being the more probable, ſince it is confeſſed on all hands, that the debate then was concerning a war with Scotland; and you may remember that, at the bar, he once ſaid 'to employ there.' And thus, Mr. Speaker, have I faithfully given you an account what it is that hath blunted the edge of the hatchet, or bill, with me, towards my Lord Strafford.

'This was that whereupon I accuſed him with a free heart, proſecuted him with earneſtneſs; and had it, to my underſtanding, been proved, ſhould have condemned him with innocence; whereas, now, I cannot ſatisfy my conſcience to do it. I profeſs, I can have no notion of any body's intent to ſubvert the laws, treaſonably, but by force; and this deſign of force not appearing, all his other wicked practices cannot amount ſo high with me.

'I can find a more eaſy and more natural ſpring from whence to derive all his other crimes, than from an intent to bring in tyranny, and to make his own poſterity, as well as us, ſlaves; as, from revenge, from pride, from avarice, from paſſion, and from inſolence of nature.

'But had this of the Iriſh army been proved, it would have diffuſed a complexion of treaſon over all; it would have been a withe indeed—to bind all thoſe other ſcattered and leſſer branches, as it were, into a faggot of treaſon.

'I do not ſay but the reſt may repreſent him a man as worthy to die, and perhaps worthier, than many a traitor. I do not ſay but they may juſtly direct us to enact, that they ſhall be treaſon for the future.

'But God keep me from giving judgment of death on any man, and of ruin to his innocent poſterity, upon a law made *à poſteriori*.

'Let the mark be ſet on the door where the plague is, and then let him that will enter die.

'I know, Mr. Speaker, there is in Parliament a double power of life and death by bill, a judicial power, and a legiſlative: the meaſure of the one is, what is legally juſt; of the other, what is prudentially and politickly fit for the good and preſervation

cordingly did, and here the matter reſted for the preſent; but future opportunities were embraced of diſplaying the reſentment which was conceived againſt him (*k*).

(*k*) Parliamentary Hiſtory. Vol. IX. p. 262.

From this time Lord Digby was looked upon as at leaſt the deſerter, if not the betrayer, of his political friends: and he who at Chriſtmas was the object, not only of the higheſt eſteem, but almoſt even of adoration; before Eaſter was fallen ſo low in the opinion of thoſe who were devoted to the rights of the people, that they thought no reproach equal to his demerit. Indeed, through the whole courſe of his life he had a wonderful facility of arriving ſooner to a high pitch of eſtimation and affection than any man who in that age was known, and then of making the greateſt haſte to fall into a gulph of prejudice and deteſtation. The effect of this was, that he had ſcarcely ever a notable enemy with whom he had not been connected in the cloſeſt friendſhip, or at leaſt to whom he had not profeſſed ſuch an inclination as in any other caſe would have amounted to friendſhip. At the ſame time he bore both theſe extremes with perfect unconcern, imputing the eſteem and regard he was held in to his own virtue and tranſcendant parts, and his dexterity in the management of mankind; and aſcribing the enmity that followed to the unſteadineſs and inconſtancy of men's humours, and to their envy and jealouſy of his ſuperior faculties (*l*).

(*l*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra P. LIV.

As Lord Digby was now become very obnoxious to the majority of the Houſe of Commons, and could not be of any ſervice to the King in that Houſe, it was thought proper to raiſe him to the Peerage. The writ for that purpoſe bore date on the ninth of June; and the next day he took his ſeat among the Lords. Dr. Nalſon and Anthony Wood aſſert, that the very ſame day in which he was introduced into the Houſe of Peers he was expelled the Houſe of Commons. But there does not appear to be any ſufficient foundation for this aſſertion. No ſuch circumſtance is found in Ruſhworth, Whitelock, or Clarendon; and what is more to the purpoſe there is no entry of that kind in the Journals. The whole of what we find there, is, an order for the iſſuing out a writ for the electing a Knight for Dorſetſhire in his room, without the leaſt mention whether the vacancy was occaſioned by expulſion or promotion. Immediately on his admiſſion among the Peers, it was ordered that his name ſhould be added to all their ſtanding Committees (*m*).

(*m*) Athenæ. Oxonienſes. Vol. II. col. 579. Parl. Hiſt. ubi ſupra. P. 379.

Though Lord Digby was thus preferred out of the way of the Commons, their reſentment purſued him in a very ſevere and unjuſtifiable manner; and in a manner totally contrary to thoſe principles of liberty which they profeſſed to act upon, and which in many reſpects they maintained. On the thirteenth of July, an order was made that the ſpeech which he had delivered in the caſe of the Earl of Strafford, and which had been printed and publiſhed, ſhould be burnt by the hands of the common hangman; and this order was followed by a reſolution to move the Peers to join in a petition to his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to forbear to confer any honour or employment upon the perſon of Lord Digby, who had deſerved ſo ill of the Parliament (*n*). A fuller account of this tranſaction, together with ſome of his Lordſhip's juſt reflections upon the occaſion will be ſeen below [*E*].

(*n*) Parl. Hiſt. ubi ſupra. p. 487, 488.

In

' of the whole? but theſe two, under favour, are ' not to be confounded in judgment. We muſt not ' piece up want of legality with matter of convenience, ' nor the defailance of prudential fitneſs with a pre- ' tence of legal juſtice.

' To condemn my Lord of Strafford judicially, as ' for treaſon, my conſcience is not aſſured that the ' matter will bear it: and to do it by the legiſlative ' power, my reaſon, conſultively, cannot agree to ' that; ſince I am perſuaded neither the Lord nor the ' King will paſs this bill; and conſequently, that our ' paſſing it will be a cauſe of great diviſions and con- ' buſtions in the State.

' Therefore my humble advice is, that, laying ' aſide this bill of attainder, we may think of another, ' ſaving only life, ſuch as may ſecure the State from ' my Lord of Strafford, without endangering it as ' much by diviſion concerning his puniſhment, as he ' hath endangered it by his practices.

' If this may not be hearkened unto, let me con- ' clude in ſaying that to you all which I have tho- ' roughly inculcated in mine own conſcience upon this ' occaſion. Let every man lay his hand upon his ' own heart, and ſeriouſly conſider what we are going ' to do with a breath, either juſtice or murder; juſtice ' on the one ſide, or murder heightened and aggra- ' vated to its ſupremeſt extent on the other: for, as ' the caſuiſts ſay, he who lies with his ſiſter commits ' inceſt, but he that marries his ſiſter ſins higher, ' by applying God's Ordinance to his crime; ſo, ' doubtleſs, he that commits murder with the ſword ' of juſtice, heightens that crime to the utmoſt.

' The danger being ſo great, and the caſe ſo doubt- ' ful, that I ſee the beſt lawyers in diametrical oppo- ' ſition concerning it, let every man wipe his heart, ' as he does his eyes, when he would judge of a nice ' and ſubtle object. The eye, if it be pretincted ' with any colour, is vitiated in its diſcerning. Let ' us take heed of a blood-ſhotten eye in judgment.

' Let every man purge his heart clear of all paſſions. ' I know this great and wiſe body politic can have ' none; but I ſpeak to individuals from the weak- ' neſs which I find in myſelf. Away with perſonal ' animoſities; away with all flatteries to the people, ' in being the ſharper againſt him, becauſe he is ' odious to them; away with all fears, leſt by ' the ſparing his blood they may be incenſed; ' away with all ſuch conſiderations, as that it is ' not fit for a Parliament that one accuſed by it ' of treaſon ſhould eſcape with life. Let not former ' vehemence of any againſt him, nor fear from thence ' that he cannot be ſafe while that man lives, be an ' ingredient in the ſentence of any one of us.

' Of all theſe corruptives of judgment, Mr. Speaker, ' I do, before God, diſcharge myſelf, to the utmoſt ' of my power; and do, with a clear conſcience, waſh ' my hands of this man's blood, by this ſolemn pro- ' teſtation, that my vote goes not to the taking of the ' Earl of Stafford's life (4).'

(4) Parliamentary Hiſtory. Vol. IX. p. 256—262.

[*E*] *A fuller account, &c. will be ſeen below.*] The Commons had ſome time before, appointed a Committee to conſider about the printing and publiſhing a ſpeech made by the Lord Digby on the bill of

In the melancholy and declining ſtate of the Court party, the acceſſion of ſuch a man as Lord Digby was deemed a matter of no ſmall conſequence. Great things were expected from the quickneſs of his conceptions, the vigour of his underſtanding, and the fearleſſneſs of his courage. Indeed,

" Si duo præterea tales Idæa tuliſſet
" Terra viros,"

it is impoſſible to ſay what might, or might not have reſulted from the boldneſs of his temper. The effect might have been uſeful, or it might have been hurtful, in the higheſt degree. By the introduction of Lord Digby into the Houſe of Peers life and ſpirit were added to the proceedings of that Houſe. The majority of the Lords retained a ſtrong affection to the King, to the Church, and to Government; and conſequently were well inclined to follow his Lordſhip's example, and to be ſwayed by his arguments, which were always delivered by him with peculiar advantages of gracefulneſs and elocution. He was known to be confided in, and to be acquainted with the views of the Court, where he was looked upon, not as having deſerted his principles or his party, but as having receded from the leaders of oppoſition, becauſe they harboured exorbitant deſigns under fair pretenſions, and becauſe he would not part from his integrity. Perhaps if the too great activity and reſtleſſneſs of his nature would have permitted him to have ſitten ſtill, calmly to have waited the courſe of events, and prudently to have improved the incidents of the times, he might, in conjunction with wiſe, ſober, and moderate men, have contributed to prevent the calamities that enſued. But his diſpoſition was impatient of repoſe, and he always embraced the boldeſt and moſt hazardous counſels, which he thought would give a greater luſtre to his wit and conduct. This unhappy infirmity and vanity made him reſerved to thoſe whom he moſt intimately conſulted, and without whoſe concurrence he pretended to reſolve nothing. In any determination that was agreed upon between them, he always kept to himſelf ſome important particular, which would in truth have changed the whole counſel, and have cauſed them all to proteſt againſt that which he reſolved to have done as if it had been a matter mutually adjuſted between them. Nor did he act thus from jealouſy or diſtruſt of thoſe with whom he was connected, or from a contradiction to their opinions and judgment, with which he was moſt ready to comply. Indeed, upon any debate, he was more eaſily perſuaded to depart from his own inclinations than almoſt any man that was ever known who poſſeſſed ſuch an extent of underſtanding. The reſervation proceeded only from an opinion, that his concealing ſomething which was unthought of by the reſt would, in the ſequel, add greatly to his own credit and reputation. By this unfortunate turn of diſpoſition he involved both himſelf and his Royal Maſter in many inconveniences. Such accidents, however, were ſo far from making an impreſſion upon him, that he was the more ready

of attainder againſt the Earl of Strafford; and on the thirteenth of July, it was reſolved, upon the queſtion, "That Sir Lewis Dives, and John Moor, as "alſo Thomas Parſlow, printer of the ſaid ſpeech, "are delinquents, in printing and publiſhing thereof; and that this book, thus printed, deſerves the "brand of this houſe." After this the following order was made: "Whereas on the twenty-firſt of "April laſt paſt, there was a ſpeech ſpoken, at the "Houſe of Commons, at the paſſing of the bill of "attainder, againſt Thomas Earl of Strafford, by "the Lord Digby, then a member of the ſaid Houſe; "the which ſpeech contained in it matters untrue "and ſcandalous, as they have reference to the proceedings of the Committees of both Houſes, and "to the evidence of the witneſſes produced in that "cauſe; and whereas the ſaid ſpeech was publiſhed "by the Lord Digby, after the bill of attainder "was paſſed by vote in this Houſe, and after great "offence had been taken to the ſpeech, and the ſame "queſtioned in the Houſe; to the ſcandal of the "proceedings of this Houſe, and to thoſe of his "Majeſty and both Houſes of Parliament, it is therefore ordered, that the ſaid books ſhall be publickly burnt, part of them in the New Palace Yard, "Weſtminſter, others in Cheapſide, London, and "the reſt in Smithfield, by the hands of the common "hangman." The Sheriffs of London and Middleſex were to take care to ſee this order executed.

In Lord Digby's Apology, which appeared in January, 1641-2, he gives the following account of the printing and publiſhing of his ſpeech. "I did "not only," ſays he, "find that it was unfaithfully "reported, and uncharitably repreſented, but was "informed, that copies went abroad of it, ſo falſely "and maliciouſly collected, as made the whole ſpeech "a juſtification of my Lord of Strafford's innocence; "and Sir Lewes Dives having heard of ſuch a copy in "the houſe of a citizen of good quality, where he "heard me mentioned as a perſon fit to have his "name fixed upon poſts that it might be torn in "pieces by the people; upon that reaſon, earneſtly "deſired me to give him a true copy of what I had "ſaid in that argument, which I did; and he forthwith gave direction for the printing it, without "any privity of mine: yet, if I had conſented to it, "and directed it, I profeſs I ſhould little have imagined, that (at a time when there was ſuch an "unwarrantable licence taken to print every thing, "of how great irreverence ſoever, either to Church "or State, with impunity,) the ſpeech made in the "Houſe of Commons, a ſpeech ſo narrowly and ſo "ſeverely ſifted and examined there, and yet let "paſs without the leaſt cenſure, either on the ſpeech "itſelf or the author: that the printing, I ſay, of "ſuch a ſpeech ſhould riſe to ſo high a nature, as to "make me for ever incapable of any honour or employment in the commonwealth, I profeſs could "hardly have fallen within my reaſon or fears to "ſuſpect. And yet, three months after the fact "committed; after the printing of a hundred ſpeeches "more by other men; after my having ſeveral "times ſued and preſſed for a hearing, whilſt I was "a member of the Houſe of Commons; after, by "his Majeſty's favour, I had ſat ſix or ſeven weeks "a member of the Houſe of Peers; after all this, "no leſs a judgment, as far as the vote of the Houſe "of Commons could contribute to it, paſſed upon "me unheard; over and above the ſhame of having "the ſpeech itſelf burnt by the hands of the common hangman (5)."

(5) Parl. Hiſt. ubi ſupra p. 487, 488.

to

to embrace any new enterprize when the old miſcarried; and, notwithſtanding his incomparable parts, he never was the wiſer from the diſappointments or misfortunes that befell him, but was as eager as before to take the ſame meaſures, to purſue the ſame expedients, and even to employ the ſame perſons. What rendered his preſumption the longer from being diſcovered, or taken notice of, was the depth of his diſſimulation. When any thing was done by the Court that happened to be notoriouſly diſliked, he appeared to be more offended and enraged at it than every other perſon, and bitterly inveighed againſt the authors of ſuch evil counſel, though it had been contrived by himſelf alone, and to the execution of it no one elſe had been privy. Thus, when the King had been prevailed upon to cauſe the ſix members to be accuſed (*o*), Lord Digby, on finding that the meaſure was generally diſapproved and condemned in the Houſe of Peers, ſtood up and ſpake againſt it, and whiſpered the Lord Mandeville in the ear, that his Majeſty would be undone if he did not publicly diſcover thoſe who had given him that advice. At the ſame time he declared, that he would go immediately to Court, and endeavour to prevail upon the King to reveal the propoſers of the accuſation. And yet he alone was the man, who, without communicating it to any other, had adviſed the proſecution, had named all the perſons, and had promiſed his Majeſty to bring an ample teſtimony and evidence againſt them. All this, too, was done by him at a ſeaſon when the royal affairs were in ſo good a poſture, that there was no need of ſuch a deſperate remedy. In fact, no expedient could have been contrived that more effectually tended to raiſe the ability and credit of the parliamentary leaders; and it was therefore deteſted by the ſober friends of Government, as one of the moſt viſible introductions to all the miſeries that afterwards befel the nation. Nevertheleſs, ſo far was the great ſpirit of Lord Digby from ſinking, that, when he ſaw the whole city upon the matter in arms to defend the accuſed members, knowing in what houſe they were together, he offered the King, with a ſelect number of a dozen gentlemen, who he preſumed would ſtick by him, to ſeize upon the perſons of Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Holles, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, Sir Arthur Haſlerigge, and Mr. Strode; and to bring them, dead or alive, wherever it ſhould be ordered. Nor is there any doubt but that he would have executed this purpoſe, which muſt have been productive of extraordinary commotions, had not the advice been prudently rejected (*p*).

(*o*) Lord Kimbolton, of the Houſe of Peers, and Mr. Holles, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, Sir Arthur Haſlerigge, and Mr. Strode, of the Houſe of Commons.

(*p*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra. P. LV, LVI.

In the mean while, Lord Digby continued to be expoſed to the reſentment of the Commons. On the twenty-ninth of December, 1641, Sir Philip Stapylton was ſent with a meſſage to the Peers, to the following purport: "That the Houſe of Commons "find, by common fame, that it was ſaid in the Houſe of Lords, by the Lord Digby, "and offered to be juſtified by him, *That the Houſe of Commons had invaded the Pri-* "*vileges of the Houſe of Lords, and the Liberty of the Subject*; and that he did likewiſe "ſay, *That this was no Free Parliament.*" It was therefore deſired by the Commons, that right might be done to them againſt the Lord Digby; and that, if no ſuch words were ſpoken by him, a declaration ſhould be ſet forth by their Lordſhips, to quit the Houſe of Commons of the ſcandal. The anſwer returned was, that the Lords would take the meſſage into conſideration; and, in the mean time, the words complained of were referred to the Committee for keeping a good correſpondency between the two Houſes. This tranſaction was ſucceeded, on the thirty-firſt of the month, by a warm ſpeech of Mr. Pym, on the ſame ſubject. It was delivered at a conference with the Lords, in which he repreſented, with his uſual energy, that the expreſſions uſed by Lord Digby were of the moſt dangerous conſequence. The words, which his Lordſhip was charged to have ſpoken, had, it ſeems, a reference to the excluſion of the Biſhops from the Upper Houſe. According to Mr. Pym, Lord Digby had ſaid, "That "the preſent Parliament was a forced one; and that the acts, votes, and laws, that "ſhould be enacted therein, without the votes and aſſents of the Biſhops, are void, and "of none effect, and not binding to the ſubject." It does not appear, by the Journals of either Houſe, whether any cenſure was paſſed upon his Lordſhip (*q*).

(*q*) Parl. Hiſt. Vol. X p. 136. 151—155.

Another event ſoon happened, which excited no ſmall degree of alarm. In the beginning of January, 1641-2, Lord Digby was ſent by his Majeſty to Kingſton-upon-Thames, either on a meſſage to ſome gentlemen at that place, or to viſit Colonel Lunſford. As Anthony Wood has deſcribed the matter, he went in a coach with ſix horſes, and no other equipage with him, ſaving only a ſervant riding behind him, and a companion in a coach. But a very different account of the expedition was communicated to Parliament. The intelligence there received was, that his Lordſhip, together with Colonel Lunsford, had collected ſome troops of horſe, and had appeared in arms. Upon this it was ordered, that the ſheriffs and juſtices of the peace, in the different counties of the kingdom, ſhould, with the aſſiſtance of the trained bands, ſuppreſs all unlawful aſſemblies, and ſecure the magazines. A ſevere ſpeech on account of the Kingſton buſineſs, againſt Lord Digby and Colonel Lunsford, was delivered by Sir Thomas Stapylton; and the reſult of the affair was, that his Lordſhip was commanded to attend his place, as a Peer of the Realm, to anſwer for himſelf; and the Colonel was committed

mitted to the Tower. There muſt certainly have been much more in the enterprize than Wood and other Writers have repreſented; for if Lord Digby's going to Kingſton had been a mere private journey, it is not likely that the Houſe of Commons ſhould have been ſeized with ſuch alarm, or have proceeded with ſuch vehemence againſt him. That he himſelf regarded the parliamentary proſecution in a ſerious light, is evident from his not complying with the order of the Lords, to appear in his own juſtification, but thinking proper to depart out of the kingdom (*r*).

(*r*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. Col. 579. Whitelock's Memorials p. 54. Parliamentary Hiſt. ubi ſupra. p. 206, 207.

Whilſt Lord Digby was abroad, in Holland, to which country he had retreated, he ſent a packet of letters to England, under direction to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, which happened to be intercepted. Among theſe was one addreſſed to the Queen, the manner of treating which occaſioned no ſmall difficulty. The Lords diſputed the propriety of opening it, and ſent to know the opinion of the Houſe of Commons upon the matter. The Commons returned for anſwer, that they had voted it ſhould be opened. The Peers, however, conceiving the affair to be of great conſequence, deſired a conference; the report of which was, "That the Commons ſaid, they ſaw no reaſon to alter their vote, "1ſt, Becauſe it concerned the ſafety of the Kingdom; for, by this means the evil ſpirit "and counſels of the Lord Digby might be diſcovered and prevented. 2dly, If this "letter ſhould be delivered to the Queen unopened, the Parliament might be put to a "deal of trouble to diſcover what is preſented to her Majeſty in theſe letters. 3dly, "Since, of late, they had very good reaſon to ſuſpect the Lord Digby as an ill inſtru-"ment, they conceived they ought not to loſe ſo happy an occaſion offered to do the State "ſervice; which, if they neglected, they ſhould not be able to anſwer." On this a warm debate aroſe in the Lords; but, at laſt, it was ordered that the letter ſhould be opened. This affair produced a meſſage from the King to the following effect: that the Queen requeſted to have a tranſcript of the letter ſpeedily ſent to her; and that, if the Parliament deſired to be further ſatisfied from her, of any particulars mentioned in that letter, or any circumſtances concerning the ſame, ſo far forth as might any way relate unto or reflect upon her Perſon, or any whatſoever concerning her, ſhe was ready, and very willing, to give due ſatisfaction therein (*s*). No diſcovery appears to have been the reſult of theſe proceedings of the Commons; and we muſt confeſs that their treatment of the Queen does not accord with our feelings. The beſt thing that can be ſaid in their favour is, that in a ſeaſon of general apprehenſions, jealouſies, and reſentments, the moſt trivial matters are often deemed of great importance.

(*s*) Ibidem. p. 293, 294, 296.

On the twenty-ſixth of February, 1641-42, the Houſe of Commons impeached Lord Digby of high-treaſon. The charge was exhibited at a conference with the Lords, and ſent up by Sir John Evelyn, who made a ſpeech in its ſupport. It conſiſted of three articles, to the following purport: "1ſt, That, in or about the month of January preceding, he had maliciouſly and traiterouſly endeavoured to perſuade the King to levy forces againſt his liege ſubjects within this kingdom; and that he did actually levy forces within the realm, to the terror of his Majeſty's ſubjects. 2dly, That he had falſely, maliciouſly, and traiterouſly, laboured to raiſe a jealouſy and diſſention betwen the King and his People, and to poſſeſs his Majeſty that he could not live with ſafety of his Perſon among them; and did thereupon endeavour to perſuade his Majeſty to betake himſelf to ſome place of ſtrength for his defence. 3dly, That he had endeavoured to ſtir up jealouſies and diſſentions between the King and Parliament; and, to that end and purpoſe, did wickedly adviſe the framing certain falſe and ſcandalous articles of high-treaſon againſt the Lord Kimbolton, Denzill Holles, Eſq. &c. and did perſuade his Majeſty, accompanied with divers ſoldiers, and others in warlike manner, to come in perſon into the Houſe of Commons, and demand the ſaid Members of the ſaid Houſe then ſitting; to the apparent danger of his Majeſty's perſon, and in high violation of the privileges and being of Parliaments (*t*)." However true, in general, were theſe accuſations of Lord Digby, it would not have been eaſy, at that time, to have eſtabliſhed the whole of them upon full proof; and it would have been ſtill more difficult to have made them amount, in the ſtrict and legal ſenſe, to a juſt conviction of treaſon. It would have been a greater inſtance of wiſdom, as well as of moderation, to have impeached him only of high crimes and miſdemeanors. But there was a violence in all the proceedings of the Commons againſt him, which cannot be reconciled with the calm and ſober dignity of genuine patriotiſm. His deſertion of them in the caſe of the Earl of Strafford, and his ſpeech on the bill of attainder, were offences never to be forgiven. On the twenty-ninth of April, 1642, a meſſage was ſent from the Commons to the Lords, deſiring that a day might be aſſigned for them to come up, and demand juſtice againſt Lord Digby. The anſwer returned was, that a day ſhould ſhortly be appointed for that purpoſe, and that notice ſhould be given of it; but the ſubſequent confuſions of the time prevented any farther proſecution of the buſineſs. The Commons had been ſtimulated, in this laſt meaſure, by an apprehenſion that the Lord Digby, in his letters to the Queen, had adviſed the attempt which the King had lately made to obtain an admiſſion into the town of Hull (*u*).

(*t*) Parl. Hiſt. ubi ſup. p. 314—316.

(*u*) Ibid, p. 467.

It was not poſſible for a perſon of Lord Digby's diſpoſition long to continue quietly in his foreign retreat. He contrived to tranſport himſelf to York, where he ſtayed ſome days in diſguiſe, being known to very few friends, and ſpeaking with the King in ſo ſecret a manner in the night, that no notice was taken of his being there. Finding his Majeſty's affairs not to be in ſo proſperous a ſituation as he had expected, and conceiving that it was not yet proper for him to appear, he determined to return again to Holland, and to haſten a proviſion of arms and ammunition for the Royal Cauſe. He embarked in the ſame veſſel which had brought him to England; but the ſhip being purſued, he was taken in the fly-boat belonging to it, and was carried into Hull. So effectually had he diſguiſed himſelf, that his neareſt friends could not eaſily have known him. He pretended to be a Frenchman, the language of which country he ſpoke excellently; and he appeared to be ſo ſea-ſick, that he kept himſelf in the hole of the bark, till it arrived at the landing-place; and, in that time, he diſpoſed of ſuch papers as were not fit to be peruſed. When he came on ſhore, he ſo well counterfeited ſickneſs and want of health, that he obtained leave to be ſent, under a guard, to ſome obſcure corner, for repoſe. In this confinement he began ſeriouſly to reflect on the deſperateneſs of his condition. He did not think it poſſible for him to continue long concealed; and, if he ſhould be diſcovered, he knew that he was ſo odious, above all other men, to the Parliament, that his life would be in the greateſt danger. At the ſame time, he was ſenſible that Sir John Hotham, the Governor of Hull, was his enemy, and that he was a man of a covetous, rough, and unfeeling diſpoſition. Nevertheleſs, he reſolved to diſcover himſelf to him. Accordingly, Lord Digby, in broken Engliſh, which might well have become any Frenchman, found means to make one of his guard underſtand, that he deſired to ſpeak privately with the Governor; and that he would reveal ſome ſecrets of the King's and Queen's to him, that would highly advance the public ſervice. Upon being introduced to Sir John Hotham, and taken to a private part of the room, he aſked, in Engliſh, "Whether he knew him?" The other, ſurprized at the queſtion, told him, "No." "Then," ſaid Lord Digby, "I ſhall try whether I know Sir John Hotham, "and whether he be in truth, the ſame man of honour I have always taken him to be." Upon this he informed the Governor who he was, and that he hoped he was too much of a Gentleman to deliver him up a ſacrifice to thoſe who were his implacable enemies. Sir John Hotham was ſo ſtruck with Lord Digby's greatneſs of mind, and with the compliment paid to himſelf, that, contrary to what might have been expected, both from his own nature, and the moſt powerful motives of intereſt and ambition, he told his Lordſhip, that ſince he had placed ſuch a confidence in him, he would not deceive his truſt; and wiſhed him to conſider in what way, and under what pretence, he ſhould be ſet at liberty. At length it was agreed, that the Frenchman ſhould be openly ſent to York, as going upon a political buſineſs, with an aſſurance that he would return to Hull. In the converſations which, at this time, Lord Digby had with the Governor, he uſed every argument to perſuade him to engage in the King's ſervice; and it was upon ſome encouragement of that kind, that an expedition which his Majeſty ſhortly after made to Beverley, was founded. To forward the deſign, our enterprizing Nobleman returned to Hull in his old diſguiſe: but all his efforts to prevail upon Sir John Hotham to ſurrender the town were in vain. Sir John's ſon, and the principal officers, were devoted to Parliament, and new ſupplies of men were ſent into the place; ſo that the Governor either wanted the courage or the power to execute what he deſired (*w*).

(*w*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion. Vol. I. p. 704—711.

Affairs now drawing to an extremity, Lord Digby openly appeared with the King at York; and when the civil war broke out, he raiſed a regiment of horſe, and charged at the head of it in the battle of Edge-Hill, with as much courage as any man in the army. He afterwards marched with Prince Rupert towards the North, and, in the way, finding the cloſe in the city of Lichfield garriſoned by the Parliament's forces, and ſecured by a ſtrong wall and a mote, and the Prince reſolving to reduce it, the foot were ordered to ſtorm it; but not being ſufficient in number for ſuch a general aſſault as was neceſſary, they were beaten off. Lord Digby, therefore, to encourage the officers of the horſe to make an attempt in another place, offered to go himſelf at the head of them; and accordingly, led them through the mote to a different part of the wall, which was thought to be weaker. By this diverſion, the garriſon within being divided into ſeveral quarters, the foot entered the place, and made themſelves maſters of it, though with great difficulty and with great loſs. Many of the horſe officers, likewiſe, who had paſſed through the mote were killed, and the reſt repulſed. Lord Digby himſelf, being in the mud up to the middle, was ſhot through the thigh with a muſquet-bullet, and brought off with extraordinary hazard. In no long time he recovered of his wounds (*x*).

(*x*) Clarendon's State Papers. Vol. III. Appendix P. LVI.

Soon after this action, Lord Digby, not being treated with that reſpect by Prince Rupert which he promiſed himſelf, and which he thought was due to his merit, gave up his regiment of horſe, and retired to the Court, were he was ſure of meeting with a very gracious reception. In the negotiations for a treaty of peace between the King and the Parliament, which were carried on at Oxford, in the beginning of the Year

1643, his Lordſhip was excepted from pardon. Conſidering his influence with his Majeſty, this circumſtance may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, among other things, to have contributed to the unſucceſsfulneſs of the pacification. Though Lord Digby quitted his regular connection with the royal army, his ardent ſpirit would not permit him totally to abſtain from military action. When the ſiege of Glouceſter had been raiſed, he joined the forces that were following the Earl of Eſſex, and was in an engagement at Auburne, where, in conſequence of the powder of a piſtol being ſhot in his face, it was apprehended that he would have loſt both his eyes. He eſcaped the more immediate danger of the bullet, by its paſſing by, or dropping on the ground. On the next day, being the twentieth of September, 1643, was fought the battle of Newbury, in which Lord Falkland, one of the Secretaries of State, was ſlain; and, in a little time, Lord Digby was appointed the ſucceſſor to that office. He brought with him to it abilities ſuperior to thoſe of his predeceſſor; but not, we are afraid, the ſame purity and virtue. This appointment was ſpeedily followed by his having the honour of being elected High Steward of the Univerſity of Oxford, in the room of William Lord Say, who was diſplaced on account of his adherence to the Parliament (*y*). Though Lord Digby exerted himſelf with great diligence in his new office, and was full of ſchemes for his Majeſty's ſervice; he was not ſo happy as to be ſucceſsful in any of his enterprizes. In December, 1643, he engaged in a project for a treaty between the King and the City of London; but a letter which he wrote to Sir Baſil Brooke on the ſubject was intercepted (*z*); and, indeed, conſidering the temper of the metropolis, the whole ſcheme was viſionary and groundleſs. Next year his Lordſhip was equally unſucceſsful in another of his attempts, which was to prevail upon Major General Brown to betray Abingdon; a ſervice that, from the vicinity of the town to Oxford, would have been highly acceptable to the Royal Party. The negotiation was carried on, by meſſengers and letters, for ten weeks together; and great offers of preferment and reward were made to the General, if he would give up the place. By the advice of a friend, whom he conſulted, and whoſe advice was agreeable to his own opinion, Brown entertained the treaty, ſhewed a ſtrong diſpoſition to comply with Digby's propoſal, and, in the mean time, took care to get the works about the town put into a poſture of defence. So delighted was Lord Digby with the proſpect before him, that he boaſted, that by his wit and eloquence he had prevailed over the *Woodmonger*, as he ſtiled the General. When, however, he inſiſted upon Abingdon's being ſurrendered on a particular day, Brown, having completed his works, gave his Lordſhip a poſitive denial; by which he was much diſappointed and enraged (*a*). When, in the year 1645, the Marquis of Montroſe had obtained his ſplendid victories in Scotland, Lord Digby conceived the deſign of detaching the Scottiſh army in England from the parliamentary cauſe, and of engaging it to join with the King and the Marquis in ſuch a ſettlement of the national differences as ſhould be mutually agreed upon. For this purpoſe, he wrote, in the moſt earneſt manner, to the Earls of Leven and Calandar, and the other Commanders of the Scotch forces, urging every conſideration, with which his great abilities could ſupply him, to prevail upon them to concur in his ſcheme. Among other things, he promiſed an abſolute ſecurity to Scotland in the matter of Religion. The principal letter never came to hand; but another, to the ſame effect, was tranſmitted by the Earl of Leven to the Parliament (*b*). A little before this tranſaction, which took place in the beginning of October, Lord Digby was conſtituted Lieutenant General of all the King's forces North of Trent; in which capacity he ſurprized, in the ſame month, near Ferry-bridge in Yorkſhire, four hundred of the parliamentary party, with their arms, and diſcomfited a regiment of horſe. This good fortune was of very ſhort duration. In a day or two the royal forces under his Lordſhip's command were defeated; and the Colonels Cornaby and Hutton, ſeveral officers, and forty others, were ſlain. The number of the priſoners was ſtill greater; conſiſting of four Colonels, many inferior officers and private gentlemen, and between three and four hundred troopers. Lord Digby's coach, in which were the Counteſs of Nitheſdale and the King's Surgeon, was likewiſe taken; and in it were found various letters and papers, and, among the reſt, a letter to a Member of the Houſe of Commons, which occaſioned his expulſion. So important was this action deemed by the Parliament, that the meſſenger who brought the good news of it was rewarded with a preſent of forty pounds (*c*). What added to Lord Digby's diſtreſs was, an irreconcileable difference between him and the greateſt part of the officers of the army. In ſhort, he had been ſo unfortunate, both in his political and military enterprizes, that, with the full approbation and conſent of his Royal Maſter, he was obliged to retire from his Majeſty's immediate ſervice, though without giving up his office, as one of the Secretaries of State. Upon this occaſion, he went over to Ireland, where the firſt thing he did was, to commit the Earl of Glamorgan to priſon. His reaſons for this meaſure were explained at large, in a letter which he wrote to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, and which being intercepted was laid before Parliament. From the letter it appears, that high as Lord Digby ſtood in his Majeſty's confidence, he had not been privy to the King's ſecret tranſactions with Glamorgan (*d*).

(*y*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra. Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*z*) Parl. Hiſt. Vol. XIII. p. 12—14.

(*a*) Whitelock's Memorials. p. 120, 121.

(*b*) Clarendon's State Papers. Vol II. p. 189—192. Parl. Hiſt. Vol. XIV. p. 74, 75.

(*c*) Collins's Peerage. Vol. VIII. p. 253. Whitelock's Memorials. p. 177.

(*d*) Clarendon's State Papers. Vol. III. Appendix. P. LVI. Parl. Hiſt. Vol XIV. p. 218—223.

A new

A new ſcene now opened upon Lord Digby. No ſooner was he arrived in Ireland than his former diſappointments and misfortunes were forgotten, and he believed that he was upon a ſtage where he ſhould act wonders, and unite all the divided affections, and all the diſtinct intereſts, in ſuch a manner as to render the whole of them ſubſervient to the King's ſervice. This, too, was at a time when the affairs of the Iriſh rebels, under the direction of the Popiſh Nuncio, were in a very flouriſhing ſituation, and the Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of Ormond, was almoſt entirely confined to the city of Dublin. The Prince of Wales had lately taken refuge in the iſle of Scilly, which he found in a much weaker condition than he had apprehended. He applied, therefore, to the Marquis of Ormond, requeſting that a hundred men, with good officers, might be ſent to him as a guard to his perſon. Lord Digby immediately conceived, that the Prince's preſence in Ireland would compoſe all the factions there, reduce the kingdom to his Majeſty's ſervice, and oblige the Pope's Nuncio, who was an enemy to the peace, to quit his ambitious deſigns. Nor was the Lord Lieutenant wholly averſe to the ſcheme; but being ſenſible of the difficulties in which it was involved, he declined giving his poſitive advice upon the ſubject. Lord Digby, however, who always concluded that that was fit to be done which his firſt thoughts ſuggeſted, and who never doubted about the execution of any thing which he once looked upon as proper to be attempted, embarked for Scilly, with two frigates, which had been ſent with the ſupply of officers and men that had been deſired; and he went with a full aſſurance that, by the ſtrength of his own reaſon alone, he ſhould be able to prevail upon the Prince of Wales, and the Council which attended him, to repair to Dublin. But when the veſſels arrived at Scilly, the Prince had tranſported himſelf to Jerſey, as a place of greater ſecurity and accommodation. To this iſland, therefore, Lord Digby ſailed as ſpeedily as poſſible, and loſt no time in acquainting his Highneſs with the happy ſtate and condition of Ireland. The peace, he ſaid, was concluded, and twelve thouſand men were ready to embark for England; and ſuch were the zeal and affection of the Lord Lieutenant, that, on the Prince's repairing to Ireland, he would find the whole kingdom devoted to his ſervice. On theſe conſiderations, Lord Digby urged his Highneſs, without farther deliberation, to put himſelf on board the frigates, which, he ſaid were excellent ſailers, and fit for his ſecure tranſportation. The Prince replied, that the propoſal was of too important a nature to admit of ſo haſty a reſolution; that the Queen had required him to retire to Paris; and that, though he had ſent to excuſe his not giving a ready obedience to her commands, it would be unbecoming in him to remove from Jerſey without waiting for the return of the meſſengers; beſide which, it would be highly proper to defer the matter till ſome accounts were received from the King. This reaſonable anſwer was not at all ſatisfactory to Lord Digby, who was ſo ardent in the proſecution of his ſcheme, that he endeavoured to perſuade one of the Prince's privy-council, with whom he had a particular friendſhip, to join with him in carrying his Highneſs to Ireland, even without and againſt his conſent. Having failed in this attempt, he immediately formed another determination, which was to go over to France. He did not in the leaſt queſtion but that he ſhould convert the Queen from the deſign of ſending for her ſon to Paris, and eaſily obtain her approbation of his repairing to Ireland. His Lordſhip was equally confident, that with her Majeſty's aſſiſtance, and, by his own dexterity, he ſhould be able to procure ſuch a ſupply of money from the French Government, as would add greatly to his own reputation, and render him the moſt welcome man alive to the Marquis of Ormond. Tranſported with this imagination, he departed from Jerſey, leaving at the ſame time his two ſhips and his ſoldiers, together with half a dozen gentlemen of quality, who, truſting to his promiſes, had accompanied him from Ireland, without one penny of money to ſubſiſt upon during his abſence (*e*).

(*e*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra. P. LVI—LIX.

As ſoon as Lord Digby came to Paris, and had viſited the Queen, whom he found reſolutely bent to have the Prince her ſon immediately with her, he waited upon Cardinal Mazarine. The Cardinal, who was no ſtranger to his Lordſhip's diſpoſition and character, treated him with every poſſible demonſtration of reſpect; paid the higheſt compliments to his abilities and actions; enlarged upon the inclination of the French Government to aſſiſt the King of England, eſpecially with regard to Ireland; promiſed a ſupply of money for that purpoſe; and repreſented, that, as France was going to take ſo decided a part in favour of the Engliſh and Iriſh Royaliſts, it was neceſſary that the Prince of Wales ſhould reſide in that kingdom. To this opinion Lord Digby became an immediate convert, and, with his uſual alacrity, engaged to bring over the whole council at Jerſey to the ſame opinion. Before he went to that iſland, he obtained from the Cardinal ſix thouſand piſtoles, which, though it was a ſum of money far inferior to what he expected, provided well for his own occaſions. By the time that he had paſſed through Jerſey, and landed at Dublin, the piſtoles were ſo much reduced, that the Lord Lieutenant never received one thouſand of them towards the ſupport of his Majeſty's affairs.

When Lord Digby came to Ireland, he found the whole treaty of peace diſavowed and broken by the Iriſh rebels under the Nuncio, who had been declared both their General

General at land, and their Admiral at ſea. Here was a new field for action, into which Lord Digby entered with an ardour not attended with diſcretion. Upon very little encouragement, or ſecurity for his own perſon, he made a journey to the Nuncio, by whom he was received and entertained with rudeneſs. It was with difficulty and hazard that he made his way back again to Dublin, where he amuſed himſelf, for a time, with many ſchemes for uniting parties, and dividing the Iriſh among themſelves. At laſt he plainly diſcovered that there was no way left to preſerve Ireland from being irrecoverably loſt to the Crown, but by putting it into the hands of the Parliament. When, therefore, the parliamentary Commiſſioners arrived to receive it, Lord Digby tranſported himſelf to France, where he immediately got involved in ſeveral quarrels with his countrymen, upon the account of what had formerly paſſed in England. In every diſpute he was ready, without ſcruple, to anſwer with his ſword in his hand; for his courage always faithfully ſeconded him in all his deſigns. Theſe conteſts being ended, he repaired again to his new friend the Cardinal, who did not receive him with the ſame marks of regard and eſteem which he had formerly done; but treated him as a man who propoſed to live upon the country. Nevertheleſs, the Cardinal gave him very good words, promiſed him ſome command in the army, and furniſhed him with a ſmall ſupply for his preſent ſubſiſtence. Nor did Lord Digby find a better reception from thoſe of whom he expected to be admitted as a full ſharer in all they enjoyed. Theſe mortifications would have broken moſt other men's ſpirits; but in his Lordſhip they only excited ſome temporary fits of indignation, without working in the leaſt degree upon the vigour of his mind (*f*). The ſeveral circumſtances which we have now recorded, without an exact ſpecification of their dates, occurred in the years 1646, 1647, 1648. When the melancholy cataſtrophe of the death of King Charles the Firſt took place, Lord Digby wrote a letter to Charles the Second, which every reader will pronounce to be admirable in point of compoſition. It was as follows:

(*f*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. lix—lxi.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

"I ſhall not preſume to ſay any thing to you by way of conſolation in the deplor-
" able ſubject of your deceaſed Royal Father, my gracious Maſter; being perſuaded,
" that when it pleaſes GOD to viſit Kings and Princes with afflictions of ſo high and ex-
" traordinary a nature, he doth at the ſame time adminiſter unto them ſentiments and
" conſiderations for the noble and virtuous ſupporting them, beyond what vulgar thoughts
" can comprehend, much leſs ſuggeſt. I ſhall only here by this letter (ſince I am diſ-
" abled to do it perſonally) caſt myſelf at your Majeſty's feet, with the faithful tender
" of my moſt humble duty and ſervice, in the ſame zeal, fidelity, and affection, where-
" with I have continued to ſerve your Royal Father, improved, if it be poſſible, not
" only by a greater deteſtation of your enemies, but alſo by the love and veneration
" which I have to your Majeſty's Perſon; for having transferred all the devotion I had
" to him to your Majeſty, as his Succeſſor, and equally my Sovereign, I find great
" matter of improvement to it from your Majeſty's perſonal and princely virtues.

" SIR, I have no deſign nor pretenſion but to ſerve you in what ſphere you ſhall
" think me capable of doing it; and if in none, then ſtill with my prayers. In the
" mean time, till your Majeſty's commands ſhall direct me otherwiſe, I do apply myſelf
" in this ſtate to thoſe ways that I hope may lay ſome ſolid foundation for your ſervice
" hereafter; it being impoſſible to ſink into my thoughts, that the incomparable paſſion
" I have for your ſervice and intereſt can always continue effectleſs; but that GOD will
" one day bleſs me with ſome means of expreſſing to your Majeſty more conſiderably
" than by proteſtations, the inviolable devotion wherewith I am,

" Your Majeſty's moſt humble,

" St. Germains,
" March $\frac{2}{12}$, 1648-9. " and moſt faithful ſubject and ſervant (*g*)."

(*g*) Clarendon's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 471.

At this time thoſe civil commotions ſubſiſted in France to which the name hath uſually been given of The War of the Frondeurs; and Lord Digby ſought an occaſion from them of raiſing himſelf to a higher degree of conſideration than that with which he had lately been treated. Having with difficulty procured a horſe, he entered as a volunteer among the King's forces; and on that very day, when the contending armies were drawn up at a ſmall diſtance from each other, a perſon from the oppoſite ſide advanced out of his ranks in a bravado, to exchange a piſtol (as the phraſe is) with any ſingle man who ſhould be willing to encounter him. Upon this his Lordſhip, without ſpeaking a word, moved his horſe leiſurely towards the champion, who ſeemed to ſtand ſtill and expect him; but who, in fact, dexterouſly retired ſo near to his troops, that before Lord Digby could advance to the attack, the whole front of the ſquadron diſcharged all their carbines upon him, whilſt the other retreated to his place. By this diſhonourable proceeding his Lordſhip received a ſhot in the thigh with a brace of bullets; and, though he ſtill kept his ſeat, it was with difficulty that he got back to his own ſide. An action ſo

gallant, and which was performed in the preſence of the King of France, the Cardinal Mazarine, and the Prince of Condé, occaſioned all men to enquire who the Gentleman was; and few knew more than that he was an Engliſhman. His name, however, was quickly publiſhed, and directions were given for his accommodation and recovery, and for his being treated with every degree of reſpect and regard. By this accident Lord Digby made another glorious flight into the world; for as ſoon as he was recovered of his wounds, and went to make his acknowledgments to the King and the Cardinal, he met with a moſt gracious reception, and was ſpeedily poſſeſſed of an honourable command of horſe, with ſuch liberal appointments as rendered his ſituation not only eaſy but affluent. The Cardinal took all occaſions to do him honour, and he well underſtood how to cultivate his Eminency's favourable inclinations (*b*).

(*b*) Clarendon's State Papers, Vol. III. Apdendix, p. lxi.

If Lord Digby had been born to be happy, or if he had been of a diſpoſition wiſely to improve the approaches of good fortune, nothing could have obſtructed his aſcent to any height which he could reaſonably propoſe. He was the diſcourſe of the whole Court, and had drawn the eyes of all men upon him. His quality, his education, the handſomeneſs of his perſon, the beauty of his countenance, his alacrity and courage in action againſt the enemy, the ſoftneſs and civility of his manners, his profound knowledge in all kinds of learning, and in all languages, in the manifeſtation of which he enlarged or reſtrained himſelf as circumſtances directed, rendered him univerſally acceptable. The firſt troop of horſe, which he commanded, conſiſted moſtly of Engliſh, who reſorted to him in as great numbers as he could wiſh, and who thought that by their dependence upon him their fortunes were made. This expectation was encouraged by him without any meaſure of diſcretion. Hence they congratulated themſelves on the great bleſſing that had befallen them, in having committed their fate into the hands of a perſon who could ſo eaſily provide for them, and who was reſolved to do it in the moſt ample manner; and they celebrated him in all places as the wonder of the world. Lord Digby, on his part, was equally extravagant in their praiſe. He repreſented them as brave men, and excellent officers, who, though they had the choice of all places and preferments, had determined, out of the mere love and eſteem for his perſon, to grow up alone under his ſhadow, and to wait with patience and induſtry for the opportunities of promotion. But patience and induſtry were virtues with which neither of them were acquainted. They had ſuch confidence in his promiſes, as to expect the moſt ſpeedy accompliſhment of them; and in that expectation they ran into expences by which they were greatly embarraſſed. He, on the other hand, had ſuppoſed that they would never be weary of preſerving a diſintereſted attachment to him. In a little time, all this union was broken. The Engliſh Gentlemen abandoned him, as a perſon who promiſed largely, lightly, and unreaſonably, and who, even if it had been in his power, would not have performed his engagements; and he was ſo far from being mortified at their forſaking him, that he felicitated himſelf on being delivered from a ſet of importunate and inſatiable dependents who only obſtructed the progreſs of his own good fortune.

When Lord Digby made his firſt cornet for his troop, his impreſs was an oſtrich, which was his own creſt, and in its mouth was a piece of iron, under which were theſe words, *Ferro vivendum eſt tibi, quid Præſtantia Plumæ?* Herein he alluded to what was ſuppoſed to be the nature of the oſtrich, to live upon iron, without any benefit from the beauty of her feathers; and he meant to expreſs, that he was now obliged to have recourſe to the ſword for his ſubſiſtence, without depending upon the excellence of his pen. The ingenuity and acuteneſs of this device added to his reputation, even when his reputation was at the higheſt (*i*).

(*i*) Ibid. p. lxi, lxii.

Whilſt the civil wars of France continued, Lord Digby grew into ſuch credit, both with the French King and the Cardinal, that he was admitted into their moſt ſecret confidence. At the ſame time, he was ready for the boldeſt undertakings; in which, if he ſucceeded, he never forgot his ſucceſs; and if he failed, he never remembered his failure; but was always prepared for any new enterprize. Indeed, the changes he met with, and the happy termination of ſome of his actions, were ſufficient to have worked upon a leſs ſanguine diſpoſition.

So long as Charles the Firſt lived, Lord Digby continued to ſuſtain the character of Secretary of State, though from the year 1645 little or no duty had been attached to the office. Upon the deceaſe of that Monarch, ſeveral of Charles the Second's Counſellors wiſhed that his Lordſhip might be treated with particular reſpect, as a man who had behaved himſelf faithfully and ſignally in the ſervice of his Majeſty's father, and who likewiſe was of ſuch rank and quality as had ſeldom received diminution upon the ſucceſſion of the Crown. But to this the young King was extremely averſe. Some of the inferior people about him had made it their buſineſs to give him a bad impreſſion of Lord Digby, and had repreſented, that, as he was the moſt obnoxious perſon in England, his Majeſty could not do a more unpopular thing than to treat him with attention and regard. Such was the effect of theſe inſinuations, that Charles had conceived a ſtrong averſion to his Lordſhip; ſo that when he attended to pay his duty to his new Sovereign,

he

he was received with no degree of grace, and admitted to no kind of conſultation. He retired, therefore, to his command in the army; and though he felt with indignation the treatment he had met with, he ſpeedily conſoled himſelf with the reflection, that he had diſcharged his obligations by making an overture of his ſervice; and that the rejection of it was advantageous to him, as he could now proſecute his fortune in a way that was far more likely to be accompanied with ſucceſs. However, in the courſe of two or three years, by his own pure addreſs and dexterity, he recovered ſo much credit with Charles the Second as to be greatly in his favour; one ſtrong evidence of which was his being created Knight of the Garter, upon the deceaſe of his father the Earl of Briſtol. This circumſtance, conſidering the exiled and low ſtate of the Engliſh monarch, might ſeem to be of little importance, but it had its weight in adding to his reputation at the French Court; nor was his new title, to which he regularly ſucceeded, wholly without its influence in a country, where, at that time, and long after, the higheſt regard was paid to the diſtinctions of Nobility.

The commands of the Earl of Briſtol in the army of France grew to be ſo conſiderable, not only in point of honour, but of profit, the paſſes and licences from the Rivers to Paris being under his control, that it was concluded by all men that he would raiſe a large eſtate to himſelf: and this was the more naturally to be expected, as he never diſpenſed with, or remitted the leaſt ſum which he could exact; never was at any expence in eating or drinking, or in the maintenance of an equipage; never exerciſed his bounty towards friend, ſervant, or dependant; and never diſplayed his charity towards perſons in diſtreſs. But, notwithſtanding all this, he was always without money. Nor was he merely without money: he was even without thoſe ſupplies of linen and cloaths which are uſually poſſeſſed by people of far inferior condition. There are two vices for the ſupport of which the largeſt wealth is often found unequal, and of theſe he was guilty; gaming and an attachment to women. He was particularly engaged in a conſtant ſucceſſion of amours. When he was in the purſuit of any lady, he would admire and extol her beyond what poetry had ever invented, and then would grieve and lament, and bewail his own want of merit, even in tears, at his miſtreſs's feet. To effect his deſign, he would make all the promiſes and vows imaginable, and would procure letters, giving an account that his wife was ſo deſperately ill that ſhe could not be cured, or ſurvive above two or three months; and upon the ſtrength of this pretended information, he would proceed to offers and promiſes of marriage with as much importunity as if the certainty of completing them were at hand. As ſoon as ſucceſs, or want of ſucceſs, had put an end to or allayed the fervour of his addreſſes, he was equally ardent in ſome new intrigue, and would act as extravagant exploits as are related in extravagant romances. One of his adventures excited the general laughter of the Court. Whilſt he was a votary to a Lady of noble extraction and incomparable beauty in Paris, it happened that a young Abbot frequented the ſame houſe, who, finding his preſence leſs agreeable than he had formerly thought it to have been, uſed ſome expreſſions by which ſhe was diſobliged, and of which ſhe complained to many perſons of quality who frequented her company. Lord Briſtol, having gained information of the place where the Abbot was, and of a journey which was intended by him, ordered an officer whom he could truſt to march with ſome horſe, and take him priſoner. This being done, his Lordſhip ſent the Abbot to the Lady with a letter, declaring, that if he did not make an entire and full ſatisfaction to her for his miſcarriage, he had appointed the guard to bring him back to him, and he ſhould thereupon do ſuch farther juſtice as was proper. The Lady was extremely ſurprized and offended at the reparation provided for her; cauſed the Abbot to be immediately diſmiſſed, without ſeeing him; and ſignified her deſire to the officer that his ſuperior would meddle no more with her intereſt, or concern himſelf in any thing that related to her reputation (*k*).

(*k*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra. P. LXII—LXIV.

The Earl of Briſtol was not ſo deeply involved in amorous intrigues as to be leſs awake than ever to the ſtimulations of ambition. When, in the protraction of the civil commotions of France, Cardinal Mazarine was obliged to quit the kingdom, and to retire to Cologn, he commended Lord Briſtol to the Queen, as a perſon in whom ſhe might confide, and who would be faithful to the Cardinal's intereſts. Even the ſagacity of an old ſtateſman was in this inſtance deceived. The Earl of Briſtol's bold imagination ſuggeſted to him the hopes of ſupplanting Mazarine, and of ſucceeding to the office of the premier miniſter in France. Accordingly, he was not only well ſatisfied with the clamour which was raiſed againſt the Cardinal's return to that country, but openly took upon himſelf to adviſe the Queen not to be ſolicitous for it, as being a meaſure which it was impoſſible for her to accompliſh, and the very deſiring of which would expoſe her own perſonal ſecurity to danger. Her Majeſty received the Earl of Briſtol's advice with ſeeming complacency, but took care to advertiſe Mazarine of his friend's conduct. When, therefore, the Cardinal was brought back to Paris, as he not long after was, in triumph, it was contrived to ſend Lord Briſtol to Italy, on an enterprize in which it was not meant that he ſhould be ſucceſsful. On his returning from the expedition, Mazarine treated him with many compliments, and gave him a ſupply of money, which, however, was

not equal to the juſt demands of his appointments. But at the ſame time, he was caſhiered from all his commands in the French ſervice, ordered to depart from the Kingdom, and forbidden to return thither again. The reputation he left behind him was that of being a very extraordinary perſon, who was wonderfully qualified for ſpeculation, but who was ſomewhat defective in reducing his ſpeculations into practice.

Magnis tamen excidit auſis (*l*).

(*l*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra. P. LXII—LXIV.

The Earl of Briſtol was now laid under the neceſſity of ſeeking his fortune in another quarter. The firſt thing which he did was to repair to Bruges, where Charles the Second then reſided. Here he declared that he had brought enough with him to ſupport him for a year; which was four times more wealth than any perſon about his Majeſty could pretend to poſſeſs. However, in leſs than ſix weeks he had ſpent all the money with which he had been provided, and therefore it was abſolutely neceſſary to beſtir himſelf for a ſpeedy ſupply. His only reſource was to enter into the ſervice of the King of Spain's army in the Netherlands, and to this there appeared to be many obſtructions. He was, indeed, perfect maſter of the Spaniſh language; but the gaiety of his diſpoſition and the freedom of his manners were very oppoſite to the gravity of that nation. Beſides this, Don Alonzo de Cardinas, who was in principal truſt about Don Juan, the chief Governor of the Low Countries, and who had reſided ſeveral years in England, was well acquainted with the mercurial temper and the unſteady conduct of the Earl of Briſtol. But what moſt of all ſeemed to militate againſt his promotion was, that, a year or two before, he had commanded a party of Horſe and Dragoons in a Winter expedition againſt Flanders, which, for plunder and every ſpecies of rapine, and for the unneceſſary conflagration of many Villages and Towns, had exceeded any enterprize that had been undertaken during the war, ſo that his name had been rendered peculiarly odious by lampoons and ſongs through the whole province. Nevertheleſs, theſe circumſtances, to which was added the extreme poverty of the Spaniſh Court and army at that time, wrought in him not the leaſt degree of diſcouragement. Without any advantage or credit but the ſtrength of his own genius, without carrying or deſiring a recommendation from Charles the Second, he directed his journey to the place where Don Juan lay with his forces. At firſt the Earl of Briſtol was received with coldneſs and reſerve, as a man againſt whom it behoved the Spaniards to be much upon their guard. In the mean time, with his accuſtomed vivacity, he entered into converſation with the principal officers of the army, and with the miniſters of ſtate, adapting his diſcourſe to them in the manner that was exactly ſuited to their different tempers and humours. So acceptable, in a few days, did he become to all kinds of perſons, that he was univerſally ſpoken of as a very fine gentleman, and a man of extraordinary parts. Nay, Don Juan himſelf was well pleaſed to ſee him frequently, and eſpecially at the ſeaſon of leiſure; at meals for inſtance, and in the hours of the evening. That Prince had fine natural parts, had been converſant in various branches of polite learning, and had a much larger acquaintance with books than was uſual with the grandees of his own nation. The people of quality about him were greatly inferior to him in theſe reſpects; ſo that he was highly delighted with the opportunity of exerciſing his talents in converſation with a perſon of ſuch univerſal literature as the Earl of Briſtol. Don Juan, while in Italy, had acquired a taſte for judicial aſtrology, and Lord Briſtol was an adept in the ſame ſcience; in which both of them placed a greater degree of credit than they would have been willing openly to acknowledge. By this conformity of taſtes in literary purſuits, the Earl grew every day more and more into the Prince's favour. When his Lordſhip had thus excited a high opinion of his abilities and talents, his next work was to diſplay his intereſt, and the power he had of rendering himſelf eminently uſeful to the Spaniards. There were many regiments in the French army, which conſiſted entirely, both officers and ſoldiers, of Iriſh; ſome of whom, during Charles the Second's reſidence at Paris, had withdrawn themſelves from the Spaniſh ſervice, declaring that they would always ſerve their own King, or in ſuch places as he ſhould require them. Theſe were now as ready to leave the crown of France, and to engage for the Spaniard in Flanders; and to this they were the more diſpoſed from a general and well-grounded rumour, that the Duke of York was going to quit the French dominions, and to repair to his royal brothers, the King and the Duke of Gloceſter, in the Netherlands. At this time the French were in poſſeſſion of a ſtrong garriſon at St. Gillen, a few miles from Bruſſels, under the command of Marſhal Schomberg, who had taken care to fortify the place in ſuch a manner that it was very difficult of attack; ſo that it was a thorn in the ſide of Flanders, and exceedingly diſcommoded all the Spaniſh affairs. It was of the utmoſt conſequence to Don Juan to reduce the Fort, and he had made ſeveral attempts to that purpoſe, but entirely without ſucceſs. Recourſe, therefore, was had to a private negotiation with the officers and ſoldiers of the garriſon, who were moſt of them Iriſh; and the Earl of Briſtol was the principal agent in conducting the buſineſs; in which he was ſo proſperous that Marſhal Schomberg was compelled, by the mutinous diſpoſition of his forces, to

treat with Don Juan for the ſurrender of the town; and conditions being agreed upon, he marched out with all thoſe who were inclined to follow him, much the larger part entering into the army of the Spaniards. By his dexterity in this affair Lord Briſtol acquired great reputation, and was very liberally rewarded. He now conſidered himſelf as ſettled in the ſervice of the Spaniſh crown, and in the particular affection of Don Juan, of which he made daily uſe. One purpoſe to which he applied it was to propoſe to Charles the Second his being reſtored to the character of Secretary of State; and Charles was induced, by the Earl of Briſtol's diſplay of the power which he ſhould have to ſerve him, to comply with his requeſt. The office was at this period altogether needleſs; Mr. Secretary Nicholas, who was then with the King, being equal, and more than equal, to all the buſineſs that was neceſſary to be tranſacted. Indeed, it was not intended that Lord Briſtol ſhould take an active part in the employment. He only wiſhed for the title, and it was no more than a title which he hoped to obtain; for he did not believe that it would ever come to be an office in England. At that time he deſpaired of the King's being ever reſtored to his dominions; and therefore he modeled all his deſigns to the view of living in a good condition abroad (*m*).

(*m*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. lxiv—lxviii.

Hitherto the Earl of Briſtol had adhered to the Proteſtant religion, and had ably reſiſted all the attempts which were made in France to convert him to the Catholic faith. But he now found that he muſt adapt his conduct to another meridian. The temper which had done him no harm in France would be prejudicial to him in Flanders. In that bigoted country it was not ſufficient for a man to be a Chriſtian, unleſs he was likewiſe a Catholic. Lord Briſtol had never entertained any ſtrong expectations of the King's Reſtoration; and at this time that event ſeemed to be rendered entirely hopeleſs by the defeat of Sir George Booth and his adherents. It was to the Spaniards, therefore, that his Lordſhip could now only look for ſupport and promotion; and, whilſt he continued a Proteſtant, he knew that many obſtructions would lie in the way of his advancement. It was his character through life never to be long in ſuſpence, either in forming his ſchemes, or in carrying them into execution. He had then a daughter reſiding at Ghent, with the Lady Abbeſs of the Engliſh monaſtery. To this place, therefore, he repaired, and, pretending to be taken extremely ill, ſent for Phyſicians, deſcribed his caſe to them, and begged them to apply the proper remedies. In the mean while, the Lady Abbeſs adminiſtered her ſpiritual conſolations; to perform which the more effectually, ſhe called in the aſſiſtance of Father Courtney, the Provincial of the Engliſh Jeſuits; and by their joint efforts the ſcruples of the Earl of Briſtol were removed, and he was reconciled to the Church of Rome. Courtney, indeed, was far inferior to the Earl in point of abilities; but his Lordſhip was apparently reduced to ſo low a ſtate by his diſorder, that he was not able to withſtand the arguments of the Provincial. When this farce, which was tranſacted in great ſecrecy, was over, the Earl of Briſtol ſent to the Marquis of Ormond and Sir Edward Hyde, the only two friends who had ſtill maintained their regard for him, earneſtly intreating them to pay him a viſit at Ghent, his health being ſtill very doubtful, and he having ſomething to impart to them of the laſt importance. It was only in the power of the former to take the journey. When the Marquis arrived at Ghent, Lord Briſtol expatiated at large on the riſe and progreſs of his diſeaſe, the religious doubts with which he had been previouſly diſturbed, the ſatisfaction he had received from the Jeſuit's reaſonings, and the tranquillity of mind that had ſucceeded his converſion. He added his deſire, that the whole affair might be candidly related to his Majeſty, and that a generous interpretation might be put upon his conduct. What he had principally in view, was to retain the character of Secretary of State. But to this the King, with the concurrence of his Council, would by no means agree. Sir Edward Hyde, who was more ſurprized at the Earl's change of Religion than any other perſon, was ordered to forbid his appearing for the future at the Board, and to demand from him the ſignet of his office; with which order he immediately complied.

It was with no ſmall degree of mortification that the Earl of Briſtol was obliged to give up his character as Secretary of State to Charles the Second. He did not think that the King, in the condition of dependence to which his Majeſty was reduced, would venture to diſmiſs him from his office becauſe he became a Catholic; and he imagined that he ſhould be the medium through which all favours to the Engliſh Royaliſts would be conveyed. In both reſpects he was diſappointed; and he was particularly diſappointed with regard to the good fruits of preferment which he expected from Spain, in conſequence of his converſion. After the firſt congratulations for his becoming a Chriſtian (as it was called), and which for a few days were liberally paid, he found no ſunſhine from the change of his climate. No proffer of place or of penſion came from Madrid; nor did the Pope, to whom he had made an early communication of his ſorrow for, and renunciation of his former hereſy, return him the high compliments he looked for; but only ſent him the cold and cuſtomary exhortation: *Tu converſus converte fratres tuos*: "Thou being converted, convert thy brethren." Even Don Juan's countenance was ſo far from being peculiarly gracious to him, that in truth it was more reſerved than before; to which the Marquis of Carracina, and eſpecially Don Alonzo de Cardinas

had contributed; for, from a jealouſy of the Earl of Briſtol's influence with the chief Governor, they had tranſmitted ſuch an unfavourable repreſentation of his Lordſhip to the Spaniſh Court, that the Prince received a reproof for the attention which he had ſhewn him. From another circumſtance it appeared with how little eſteem he was regarded at Madrid. When the treaty between the two Crowns of France and Spain was appointed to be held at Fontarabia, and was to be conducted by Don Louis de Haro on the one ſide, and Cardinal Mazarine on the other, Don Louis, who was well-diſpoſed to Charles the Second's intereſt, wiſhed his Majeſty to be preſent at the negotiation; but, at the ſame time, adviſed him to come with as ſmall a train as poſſible, and by no means to bring with him the Earl of Briſtol. The advice would probably have wholly been complied with, if the Cardinal would have granted to the King a ſafe conduct for his paſſing through France; but this he expreſsly refuſed, and as expreſsly diſſuaded his going to the treaty. Charles, however, being determined upon the journey, and being at the ſame time obliged to make it in the moſt ſecret manner, it became neceſſary to have the attendance of the Earl of Briſtol, on account of his being perfectly acquainted with the bye-roads of the country; nor was his Majeſty in himſelf diſpleaſed with having ſo pleaſant a companion.

During the courſe of the expedition, the King was contented to ſee as many conſiderable places as were within any diſtance of the ways through which he was to paſs; and the Earl, being ſole conductor, led him ſo far about, that the negotiations were nearly concluded, before he arrived at the borders. A general report was likewiſe ſpread, that the treaty was actually at an end, and that Don Louis de Haro had returned to Madrid. Upon the ſtrength of this intelligence, though the Marquis of Ormond had been ſent directly to Fontarabia to know the truth, Lord Briſtol perſuaded the King, without waiting for the Marquis's return, that he ought to make all poſſible haſte to Madrid, and ſo far prevailed, that they proceeded to Saragoſa, in the kingdom of Arragon. Here they received clear information that Don Louis was ſtill at the place of negotiation; and the next day an expreſs came from the Marquis of Ormond and Henry Bennet, urging his Majeſty to repair with the utmoſt ſpeed to Fontarabia, and repreſenting the injury which his affairs had ſuſtained by the delay that had hitherto occurred. As for the Earl of Briſtol, notwithſtanding the prejudice which Don Louis had conceived againſt him, he found means, by his dexterity and addreſs, to work himſelf into the good opinion and favour of that Stateſman, and had encouragement to go to Madrid, where he was well received by the Spaniſh Monarch, and ſupplied with at leaſt two or three thouſand pounds ſterling. Being thus liberally treated, he reſided in Spain till the great change of affairs took place in England (*n*).

(*n*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. lxxi, lxxii.

Upon the Reſtoration of King Charles the Second, the Earl of Briſtol returned to his own country; and, having been elected a Knight of the Garter at the time beforementioned, he was inſtalled, at Windſor, with various other noblemen, in April, 1661 (*o*). His Lordſhip now found the inconvenience ariſing from his having embraced the Roman Catholic Religion, which precluded him from being appointed of the Privy Council, or raiſed to any of the high Offices of State. Nevertheleſs, he flattered himſelf with the hopes of having a great ſhare in the management of foreign affairs, and that, upon account of his experience, he ſhould be conſulted in all matters of that kind. This not being the caſe, he was filled with indignation, and was particularly offended with the Earl of Clarendon, whom he conſidered as the principal obſtruction to his power and influence. A friendſhip had long ſubſiſted between them; but it had been interrupted by the Earl of Briſtol's converſion to Popery, and was never afterwards ſincerely renewed, though they continued to maintain the external offices of civility. The light in which Lotd Briſtol now choſe to be regarded was, that of being wholly devoted to the intereſt of Spain, and he entered into a very cloſe connection with Baron de Batteville, the Embaſſador from that country. When, therefore, he heard of the negotiations for the marriage of Charles the Second with the Infanta of Portugal, he united with the Embaſſador in uſing his utmoſt efforts to obſtruct the match. Accordingly, he repreſented to his Majeſty, that the Infanta was too old for him; that ſhe was deformed in her perſon; that ſhe had many diſeaſes; and that ſhe was incapable of bearing children. He added, that ſuch a cloſe alliance with Portugal might involve England in a war with Spain: and he expatiated largely on the beauty, accompliſhments, and perfection, of two Italian Ladies of the Houſe of Medici; with regard to each of whom, he ſaid the King might have his choice; together with a fortune from the Spaniſh monarch equal to his expectations from the other connection. Theſe repreſentations had ſuch an effect upon the mind of Charles the Second, that he immediately grew cold to the Portugueſe match. Nay, he went ſo far as to commiſſion the Earl of Briſtol to undertake a private journey to Italy, in order to judge concerning the perſons and merits of the ladies in queſtion (*p*), and to report which of them would be the moſt deſirable object of his Majeſty's choice. All this while the King had gone too far in the treaty with Portugal to retreat with honour. At the inſtance, therefore, of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and others of his Privy Counſellors, he gave up the Italian project, and concluded his marriage

(*o*) Athenæ Oxonienſes, Vol. II. col. 580. Collins's Peerage, Vol. VIII. p. 253.

(*p*) Anthony Wood ſays, that Lord Briſtol was ſent to negotiate a match with the Princeſs of Parma.

marriage with the Infanta. The Earl of Briſtol, having thus taken his journey in vain, and being totally diſappointed in his operations, was inflamed with ſo much reſentment againſt the Chancellor, that, from that time, he became his open and declared enemy (*q*).

(*q*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra. p. lxxiii. Clarendon's Continuation, Vol. II. p. 160—168. Wood's Athenæ, ubi ſupra.

Another circumſtance which ſtill farther added to the rupture between the Earls of Briſtol and Clarendon, was the conduct of the former with relation to the Bill for reſtoring the Biſhops to their ſeats in Parliament. This bill had originated in the Houſe of Commons. When, however, it was carried up to the Houſe of Peers, and all men expected that it would find a general concurrence, it met with ſome obſtruction; which produced the diſcovery of an intrigue, that had not been ſuſpected. The author of this intrigue was the Earl of Briſtol. He went to the King, and informed his Majeſty, "that if the Bill ſhould ſpeedily paſs, it would abſolutely deprive the Catho-"lics of all thoſe graces and indulgences which he intended to them; for that the Biſhops, "when they ſhould ſit in the Houſe, whatever their own opinions or inclinations were, "would find themſelves obliged, that they might preſerve their reputation with the "people, to contradict and oppoſe whatever ſhould look like favour and connivance "towards the Catholics: and therefore, if his Majeſty continued his former generous "inclinations towards the Roman Catholics he muſt put ſome ſtop (even for the Bi-"ſhops own ſakes) to the paſſing that bill, till the other ſhould be more advanced, "which he ſuppoſed might ſhortly be done;" there having already ſome overtures been made to that purpoſe, and a Committee appointed in the Houſe of Lords to take a view of all the ſanguinary laws in matters of religion, and to preſent them to the Houſe for farther conſideration. Though the King was ſurprized at this diſcourſe, from a man who had often told him the neceſſity of reſtoring the Biſhops, and that there could not be a perfect Parliament without their preſence; nevertheleſs, he thought that there was weight in the reaſon for the delay, and that the protraction of a few days could be attended with no prejudice to the matter itſelf. His Majeſty, therefore, was willing that the bill ſhould not be called for, and that when it was under commitment, it ſhould be detained there for ſome time: and the better to produce this delay, Lord Briſtol was permitted to acquaint ſeveral of his friends, "that the King "would be well pleaſed, that there ſhould not be overmuch haſte in the preſenting "of the bill for his Royal Aſſent." It ſoon began to be taken notice of in the Houſe of Peers, that, after the firſt reading of the bill, it had been put off for a ſecond reading longer than uſual; and that when it was under commitment, it was obſtructed there, notwithſtanding all the endeavours ſome Lords of the Committee could uſe for the diſpatch. The delay in the buſineſs appeared the more extraordinary, as the bill contained very few words, being only for the repeal of a former act, and as the expreſſions of it could ſcarcely admit of any debate. The Earl of Clarendon deſiring to know whence the obſtruction proceeded, was informed, by one of the Lords of the Committee, "that they were aſſured, that the King would have a ſtop put to the bill "till another bill ſhould be provided, which he expected." Hereupon the Chancellor applied to his Majeſty, who told him all the conference which the Earl of Briſtol had held with him, and what he had conſented ſhould be done. Upon this Clarendon replied, "that he was ſorry that his Majeſty had been prevailed upon to give any obſtruc-"tion to the bill, which every body knew his Majeſty's heart was ſo much ſet upon for "diſpatch; and that, if the reaſon were known, it would quickly put an end to all "the pretences of the Catholics; to which his Majeſty knew he was no enemy." With this anſwer the King was ſatisfied, and expreſſed his wiſh that the act might be diſpatched as ſpeedily as poſſible, in order to his paſſing it that ſeſſion, which he had appointed to make an end of within a few days. Accordingly, on the next day, the report was called for and made, and the bill ordered to be engroſſed againſt the following morning, the Earl of Briſtol not being at that time in the Houſe. But on the ſucceeding morning, when the Chancellor had the bill engroſſed in his hand to preſent it to the Houſe to be read a third time, Lord Briſtol came to him to the woolſack, and with great diſpleaſure and wrath in his countenance told him, "that if that bill were "read that day, he would ſpeak againſt it." The Chancellor, without being influenced by his Lordſhip's anger, perſevered in his purpoſe, and the act was paſſed that day (*r*).

(*r*) Continuation of the Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 262—265.

In the year 1663, an incident occurred which brought the Earl of Briſtol into an examination before the Houſe of Commons. On the thirteenth of June, Mr. Coventry acquainted the Houſe, from the King, "that a meſſage was delivered to his Ma-"jeſty, by a perſon of quality, from Sir Richard Temple, to the effect following; "viz. that Sir Richard Temple was ſorry his Majeſty was offended with him that he "could not go along with them that had undertaken his buſineſs in the Houſe of Com-"mons: but, if his Majeſty would take his advice, and intruſt him and his friends, "he would undertake his buſineſs ſhould be effected, and the revenue ſettled, better "than he could deſire, if the Courtiers did not hinder it (*s*)." A Committee being appointed to examine the matter, Sir Richard Temple, on the ſixteenth, informed the

(*s*) Journals of the Houſe of Commons, Vol. VIII. p. 502.

House, that, in pursuance of the leave granted him, he had petitioned the King for the name of the person who had given a representation of him to his Majesty, and that Mr. Secretary Morrice had told him that he should receive his answer in the House. Accordingly, the Secretary delivered, in Writing, a message from his Majesty; upon which it was resolved, that the said message should be referred to the Committee before appointed to consider, upon the present debate, how far the House is concerned in the case of Sir Richard Temple, and to report their opinion what is fit to be done in the business (*t*). On the twentieth of June, upon a report of the Committee, it was farther resolved, "That the King's Majesty be humbly desired, that he would be graciously "pleased to name the person who did deliver the message to his Majesty from Sir "Richard Temple." In consequence of this address, Mr. Secretary Morrice, on the twenty-sixth of the month, acquainted the House, that the Earl of Bristol was the person who had delivered the message from Sir Richard Temple to his Majesty. It was then resolved, that a copy of the King's first message to the House against Sir Richard Temple, should be sent to the Earl, and his answer be desired. In return, his Lordship rendered his most humble and hearty thanks to the House, that, in such an important matter, and so much concerning his honour, they did signify their desires to him in so obliging a manner: but in regard the thing was of so great consequence, partly relating to his Majesty, and also concerning his own honour, and the reputation of a member of the house, he could not entrust any other person to deliver his answer, for fear of mistakes, which might thereby happen, and because he might probably, if present, clear any matter which might farther accrue: and therefore, that he might give full satisfaction to so illustrious a representative of his country, he desired a day might be prefixed when he might be admitted to give an account to the House, in person, concerning the matter: and he concluded with declaring, that he would make his address to the Lords, that he might be permitted so to do. Wednesday, the first of July, being fixed upon for the Earl of Bristol's personal appearance; on that day, being placed in a chair set for him on purpose, on the left side of the House, within the bar, and the Speaker having opened the business, the Earl addressed himself to the Commons, in a speech admirable for its ingenuity and eloquence; which, therefore, and especially as it is little known, many of our Readers may wish to peruse [*F*]. In

(*t*) Journals of the House of Commons. Vol. VIII. p. 503.

[*F*] *Many of our Readers may wish to peruse.*] It is as follows:

'Mr. Speaker,

'Were I to be wrought upon by the arts and menaces of my enemies, or by the alarms of my friends 'on my behalf, contrary to the firmness and assurance which a clean heart and a good conscience 'does always uphold in a man of honour, I should 'have appeared in this place with such fear and trembling, as could not chuse but disorder any man's 'reason and elocution: the niceness of the subject 'upon which I am brought hither, were enough to 'discompose one; but over and above that, I am 'not ignorant what personal prejudices I am under, 'and how industriously they have been improved 'among you. But when I look round this illustrious 'assembly, and see three parts of it composed of 'men who wear, as I do, a sword by their sides, and 'who have drawn it so often for the King's service, 'Gentlemen of birth, integrity, fortune, all apprehensions vanish from a man, who hath served and 'suffered for the King as I have done. Mr. Speaker, 'I know the time of this House, upon whose prudent 'deliberations the happiness of the King and kingdom depend, is too precious to have any part of 'it spent in vindication of me: but, since not only 'the reputation and innocence of one of your members depends upon what I shall say, but even his 'Majesty's honour may in some sort be concerned 'in the right apprehension of it, I hope it will be 'thought no presumption in me to beg of you, as I 'do, in all humility, one quarter of an hour's patience and attention.——Mr. Speaker, I am here 'exposed as the bearer of a message to his Majesty 'from Sir Richard Temple, which he hath thought 'worthy to be complained of to this House, and 'which Sir Richard Temple affirms he never sent. 'Lay your hands upon your hearts, Gentlemen, and 'say truly, does not your innate candour pity my 'condition, brought into a streight in all appearance so inextricable? For, on the one side, if I 'avow to have carried from Sir Richard Temple the 'message, which his Majesty has been pleased to 'make so high and so unusual an expression of his 'being offended at, and which Sir Richard Temple 'denies to have sent, how can men of honour forgive me so ungentlemanly a proceeding towards a 'person who hath trusted me, as a friend, to do 'him (as he thought) a good office with his Majesty! 'On the other side, Mr. Speaker, should I disavow 'the having delivered the message from Sir Richard 'Temple, which his Majesty hath thought fit to affirm that he received from him and by me, what 'subject can be strong enough not to sink for ever 'under the weight of such a contradiction to his 'Sovereign! I ask you again, Gentlemen, does 'not the condition you see me brought into, by the 'arts of my enemies, move you at the same time to 'pity and indignation? Mr. Speaker, when David 'was put to his choice of one of the three calamities, 'he made election of the plague. And why; that he 'might fall into the hands of GOD, and not of men. 'In like manner, Mr. Speaker, if one of the two 'extremes with which I am threatened be, as it 'appears, unavoidable, let me fall into the hands 'of GOD's vicegerent, the King: the world will 'never pardon me an unworthy action; his goodness, 'I am sure, would in time pardon a generous fault. 'But when you have heard me out, Gentlemen, I 'am confident you will find, that I shall need neither 'the world's pardon nor the king's, but only yours. 'In the first place, Mr. Speaker, I am bound to clear 'Sir Richard Temple, which I here do upon my 'honour, that he never sent by me a message to the 'King, that had in it the least tincture of an undertaking of his; which I conceive could be the only 'part that could give offence to his Majesty, or be a 'ground for the complaint made against him.—— 'In the next place, if the King, who, the law says, 'can do no wrong, hath thought fit to affirm, that 'I brought him that undertaking message from Sir 'Richard Temple, it must needs be true, and I do 'with all submission avow whatever his Majesty is 'pleased to affirm of me. But, having discharged 'that duty towards my Sovereign, I hope I may be 'allowed to lay the fault home upon myself, and to 'tell you, that my tongue, I know not by what distemper, delivered that which, I protest to GOD, 'was never in my thoughts. I was so far from thinking to deliver such a message from Sir Richard 'Temple, that I did not think myself charged with

In conclusion it was resolved, first, that Sir Richard Temple had not broken any privilege of the House, in the matter in question concerning him: and, secondly, that the

'any thing by way of message. It is true, Mr. 'Speaker, that, being full of indignation at ill offices 'done him, I made a warm address to his Majesty in 'Sir Richard Temple's behalf, wherein I expressed 'his grief, that his Majesty should be offended with 'him; and having joined thereunto some reasonings 'of his to justify his conduct, in relation to his Ma'jesty's service, very agreeable to my own sentiments, 'I pursued his expressions with such of my own, as '(all circumstances considered) the most unattentive 'person, and the most biassed with passion against 'Sir Richard Temple, might have easily understood 'it to be no undertaking of his, but only a warm 'discourse, and confident undertaking of my own.— 'Sir Richard Temple being thus cleared, without 'the least contradiction to his Majesty, if to under'take for you, Gentlemen, be a guilt, it is only I 'that stand guilty before you. But you are too 'noble, I am sure, and too just, to condemn me in 'in your judgment, before you have heard the na'ture and circumstances of my undertaking; which, 'with your leave, I shall declare to the full, taking 'the matter (as I must needs, to be rightly under'stood) from an higher original. Mr. Speaker, 'having had the honour heretofore of discharging, 'with approbation, a place of so high trust as that 'of Secretary of State to his Majesty's Father, of 'blessed memory, and to himself; and since my 'quitting that place, being admitted so frequently to 'the happiness of his princely conversation; you can'not imagine but that sometimes he vouchsafed to 'speak to me of business, especially of Parliaments, 'where I have the honour at present to be a Peer, 'and have heretofore been as much versed as some of 'my cotemporaries in the proceedings of the Ho'nourable House of Commons. I confess, that before 'this last assembling he did it more than once and 'the opinion I most constantly delivered concerning 'this House was, that never King was so happy in 'a House of Commons as he was in you; a House 'composed of so many Gentlemen of birth and for'tune, eminent in their faithfulness to him, and 'such as could never be suspected of any sinister de'signs, or of any other dependence but upon the 'Crown, and upon the care of those that chose them, 'and such as in the last sessions had manifested their 'affections to him by such large aids and supplies; 'adding, that nothing could be more important to 'his service, than to make and preserve you still 'popular with those that sent you. To which end I 'took the liberty to tell him, that if the necessity of 'his affairs (of which I, having no part in his coun'cil, was no good judge) could admit of it, he 'ought not in prudence to let you give him any 'money this sitting, but rather to oblige you wholly 'to apply yourselves to the making of such laws as 'might endear both him and you to the People; by 'which means, at another meeting, he would be mas'ter of the hearts and purses of his subjects. But in 'case his necessities should urge him to press you, 'before the rising, for a new supply, that he ought, 'by all means, to let it be accompanied, if not pre'ceded, by some eminent acts for the reformation 'of former abuses, and for the securing his subjects 'from the like for the future.——I persisted, Mr. 'Speaker, in pressing, upon all occasions, this ad'vice to his Majesty, till within some few weeks 'after their meeting; when, finding myself (I know 'not by what misfortune) fallen under some preju'dice, I thought that a total forbearance from 'speaking to him of any business would be the best 'way of my serving him. And I protest unto you, 'Gentlemen, with all sincerity, that from that time, 'until that of his Majesty's expressing to me some dis'pleasure against Sir Richard Temple, I never once 'opened my lips to him of any public affair what'soever. It is true, Mr. Speaker, that a ground being 'given me to enter again with his Majesty upon a 'subject which my heart was still full of, I laid hold 'on the occasion, and, in pursuance of what I had 'said in behalf of Sir Richard Temple, told his Ma-

'jesty, perhaps with more freedom and fervour than 'did become me, that I found his courtiers gave 'him wrong measures, both of the temper of the 'House of Commons, and of the means to attain 'from them any new supplies, whether by way of 'present, gift, or of such establishments in his reve'nues, as might indeed put him out of necessity; 'since there could be no reasonable hopes of ob'taining from them any such assistance but by a 'concomitance, if not a precedence, of such acts as 'might be grateful and beneficial to his subjects, 'and secure them, that what shall be given here'after should be better managed for his Majesty's 'service than those vast sums that had been for'merly granted: that if his Majesty, in his princely 'wisdom, should think fit to drive on his business 'upon solid grounds, and not upon the false and 'self-interested measures of some courtiers, he 'had a House of Commons composed of Members 'so full of affection to his person, and zeal for his 'prosperity and glory, that not only Sir Richard 'Temple, but the most unprejudiced and wisest 'men of the kingdom, as well as myself, durst un'dertake for them. See here, Gentlemen, the bold 'undertaking that such a House of Commons would 'never let him want such present supplies as the 'true necessity of his affairs should require, nor such 'an established revenue as is fit to support the 'greatness and honour of his Crown. If this was a 'criminal undertaking, you have before you, Gen'tlemen, *confitentem reum*. But whilst I am endea'vouring to clear Sir Richard Temple, and to vindi'cate or arraign myself, according as you shall be 'pleased to understand it, by telling you what passed 'from me to his Majesty, I must not omit to give 'him the honour due to him for the kingly reply he 'made to me upon this occasion; which was, That he 'had a true sense of the merit of the House of Com'mons towards him, even far beyond what I had 'expressed; and this was the reason why, relying 'so entirely as he did upon the affections of that 'whole body, he was, and ever should be, offended 'at any proposition to carry on his business there by 'officious undertakings and cabals, either of his 'courtiers or others. An expression fit to be written 'with the rays of the sun, that all the world may 'read it; an expression which cannot chuse but in'flame the affections of all this noble assembly that 'hear me, and carry you to make good these happy 'impressions of you, which are so deeply stampt in 'his royal breast: such as I should think it a crime 'to doubt, but that all suspicions being now vanished 'of his Majesty's owing the supply desired to any 'acts or contrivances of others, your own zeal for 'his service will, even in the proportion and time'liness of that, exceed the vain proposals of all pick'thank undertakers. Mr. Speaker, I should have 'here put a period to your trouble of hearing me, 'did I not think I might incur the imputation of 'much weakness and supineness in my own highest 'concernments, if, valuing as I do, above all earth'ly concernments, the favour and the esteem of my 'country, of which you are the illustrious Repres'entatives, and knowing what industry has been used 'to blast me with you, I should not lay hold on this 'just occasion to remove from me some unjust pre'judices under which I have laboured. And this 'Mr. Speaker, I humbly beg leave to do in very few 'words. I appeal, Gentlemen, to numbers of you 'that hear me, whether I have not been represented 'unto you for the giver of advice of a far different 'tenor from what you have heard upon this occa'sion; whether I have not been painted out unto 'you as an inflamer of his Majesty against his Par'liament, for an enemy of the Church of England, 'and for a dangerous driver on of the Papistical in'terest. It is true, Mr. Speaker, I am a Catholick 'of the Church of Rome, but not of the Court of 'Rome; no negotiator there of Cardinals' caps for 'his Majesty's subjects and domestics; a true Roman 'Catholick as to the other world, but a true English

the Earl of Briſtol, in the account which he had given in the matter concerning Sir Richard Temple, had carried himſelf with all dutifulneſs towards his Majeſty; had cleared the Member of the Houſe; and that the Houſe was well ſatisfied with his reſpects to them (*r*).

(*r*) Commons Journals, ubi ſupra. p. 507, 511, 512, 514, 515

The Earl of Briſtol was at this time deeply embarraſſed in his affairs. His eſtate had been diſpoſed of and ſettled, by his own conſent, upon the marriage of his eldeſt ſon twice to great fortunes; ſo that when he returned to England after the Reſtoration, he had little more to ſubſiſt upon than the King's bounty, which was not poured upon him in the meaſure he wiſhed, though few perſons had larger experience of it than himſelf.

Charles the Second had been munificent to him in ſeveral reſpects, and had particularly given him at one time ten thouſand pounds in money, with which he had purchaſed Wimbledon of the Queen Dowager. Beſides this, his Majeſty had beſtowed upon him Aſh-down-Foreſt, and other lands in Suſſex. Still, however, he was poor; and with the diſpoſitions he was poſſeſſed of, he could not avoid continuing to be poor. He was not only, in general, improvident in his expences, but retained his paſſion for gaming, which had been ſo fatal to him through the whole courſe of his life; and inſtead of deriving the advantages that might have been obtained from his purchaſe at Wimbledon, he ſpent as much money in building and gardening as the land was worth.

To the diſtreſs of his mind, ariſing from the embarraſſment of his circumſtances, was added another mortification. Though he had always free acceſs to the King, and was conſulted by him on various occaſions, yet he had not that degree of favour and affection with his Majeſty, which he imagined to be due to his merit, and which he wiſhed that the world might believe him to poſſeſs. On account, indeed, of his religion, he

'man as to this: ſuch a one as, had we a King inclined to that profeſſion (as, on the contrary, we have one the moſt firm and conſtant to the Proteſtant Religion that ever ſat upon the throne), I would tell him as freely as the D. of Sully, being a Proteſtant, told his grandfather Henry IV. that if he meant to be a King he muſt be a conſtant profeſſor and maintainer of the religion eſtabliſhed in his dominions. Believe me, Gentlemen, Roman Catholick as I am, there is no man amongſt you all more thoroughly perſuaded than I am, that the true pillars that can uphold this Monarchy muſt ever be the maintenance of the ſubjects juſt rights and liberties, and the careful preſervation of that ſtate eccleſiaſtical whereof his Majeſty is the ſupreme Governour; and I do clearly profeſs, that ſhould the Pope himſelf invade that eccleſiaſtical right of his, I ſhould as readily draw my ſword againſt him as againſt the late uſurper. Mr. Speaker, one prejudice more I am under, which ought to have great weight indeed with this Honourable Houſe, if there were a real ground for it; and that is, that the Earl of Briſtol is one of thoſe who, by the vaſt grants that he hath got of the King, hath, in part, contributed to the groans of the people, to find their King ſtill in ſuch neceſſity, after ſuch unexampled charges laid upon the ſubjects for his ſupplies. It is true, Mr. Speaker, that though I have neither offices to keep, nor offices to ſell, his Majeſty's gifts to me have been great, in proportion to my merit, which is none; for in ſerving and ſuffering for him with faithfulneſs, I did but my duty, which carries a reward with itſelf enough to raiſe a comfort to me, from the very ruin of my fortune. It is alſo true, I have had the ſatisfaction from his Majeſty, that he never refuſed me any thing I aſked him for myſelf. But I hope I ſhall make it appear alſo, that I have not only been a very modeſt aſker, but alſo a moſt careful one, to aſk nothing conſiderable but what carried advantage with it, as well to his Majeſty's intereſt as my own. I know well, Mr. Speaker, that, with ſo kind and ſo generous a nature as our King's is, an ill proportion of bounty to merit, and conſequently the largeneſs and kindneſs of his Royal heart that way, may have contributed much to the preſent ſtreights he is in. Happy is the nation that hath nothing to fear for the publick, but from the virtues of their Prince. It is your proper work, Gentlemen, to reduce the effects of them to a right temperament, by your prudent inſpection; and may you begin it with all my concernments, which I moſt readily lay at your feet, humbly begging of you to appoint a time, when I may diſplay them all faithfully before you; in hopes that no man who hath been a partaker of his Majeſty's bounty will prove himſelf ſo unworthy of it as not to follow the example. Mr. Speaker, if having thus poured out my ſoul before you, I have been ſo happy as to have begot in this Honourable Houſe a right perſuaſion of the ſincerity of my heart, I expect and implore two gracious effects of it: The firſt, that you will be pleaſed to grant me your pardon, if the ſame zeal for his Majeſty's ſervice, and the good of my country, which made me preſume (being no counſellor) to preſs upon his Majeſty my opinion in matters of ſuch importance, has tranſported me alſo, at this time, in ſome ſort, ſo as to become your adviſer. You have heard, Gentlemen, of the dumb man whoſe tongue was ſet free by the imminent danger of his father's life: wonder not then, Gentlemen, that ſuch a lover of his King and Country as I am, having ſeen them, within theſe three years, in a proſpect of ſuch glory and happineſs, both at home and abroad, and finding to what a ſad condition things are now reduced (by what means it is more proper for you to enquire, and may heaven bleſs your inſpection!); wonder not, I ſay, Gentlemen, that a man ſo affected as I am, ſhould, by ſome eruptions of heart, let you ſee, that *periculum patriæ* ought to have a more powerful effect upon a man of public ſoul, than *periculum patris*, and is capable, if I were a mute, to make me become a counſellor. The next is, Mr. Speaker, that if (as I ſaid before) I have been ſo happy in what I expreſſed as to have raiſed in you ſome more favourable thoughts concerning me, you would vouchſafe me ſome demonſtration of it, whereby I may no more be made, by my enemies, ſuch a bugbear as I am: as if a gracious look of his Majeſty upon me, were enough to ruin all his affairs with you. I ſhall then continue the way I am in with comfort; but if I be ſo unfortunate, as that there ſtill remains in this incomparable repreſentative of my country any umbrage of danger to it by my acceſs to his Majeſty, as dear as the converſation of the amiableſt Prince that ever breathed is to me, I ſhall baniſh myſelf for ever from his ſight into the obſcureſt part of his dominions, rather than continue upon me the jealouſy of thoſe on whom his proſperity depends; or if this be not enough, I ſhall once more try my fortune abroad; where, I truſt, this ſword, this head, this heart, ſhall make me live as heretofore, in ſpite of my enemies, with luſtre to myſelf and ſome honour to my nation (5).'

(5) Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords. Vol. I. p. 68—73.

knew

knew that he could not be a member of the Privy Council, or occupy an oſtenſible Poſt in Government, but he ſtattered himſelf that he ſhould derive great conſequence from being the principal head of the Roman Catholics, and the prime conductor of all their affairs. However, he was even in this reſpect diſappointed. The Jeſuits, to whom he profeſſed a peculiar attachment, did not admit him to their moſt ſecret conſultations; and the reſt of the Catholic clergy were ſtill leſs diſpoſed to put themſelves under his direction.

A few days after the Earl of Briſtol's appearance before the Houſe of Commons, finding himſelf reduced to difficulties which it was neither in his power to bear nor to remove, his mind was thrown into ſuch agitation, that he was carried to a great pitch of extravagant behaviour in the preſence of the King. Having made a requeſt to his Majeſty which he did not think proper to grant, the Earl told him, that "he knew "well the cauſe of his withdrawing his favour from him; that it proceeded only from "the Chancellor, who governed him and managed all his affairs, whilſt himſelf ſpent "his time only in pleaſures and debauchery." In the heat of his paſſion, Lord Briſtol upbraided the King with many exceſſes, which, however true, ought to have been more modeſtly and decently mentioned. All this, too, was tranſacted in the preſence of Lord Aubigny, who was as much ſurprized as his Majeſty. In concluſion, the Earl declared, "that if the King did not give him ſatisfaction within ſuch a time," (the time allowed did not exceed four and twenty hours), "he would do ſomewhat that would awaken him "out of his ſlumber, and make him look better to his own buſineſs." He added, likewiſe, many threats againſt the Chancellor. It was a farther aggravation of Lord Briſtol's conduct upon this occaſion, that he had himſelf been no ſmall encourager of Charles the Second's irregularities. During the Earl's reproaches, the King ſtood in ſuch confuſion (though in his reply he uſed ſharper words than were cuſtomary with him) that he did not preſerve that dignity of behaviour which he ought to have done. He afterwards ſaid, that he ought preſently to have called for the Guard, it being in his own cloſet, and to have ſent Briſtol to the Tower (*s*).

(*s*) Continuation of the Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, Vol. II. p 395—397.

It ſpeedily appeared what was the revenge intended by the Earl of Briſtol. On the tenth of July, 1663, he exhibited, in the Houſe of Peers, a charge of High Treaſon againſt the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, the particulars of which will be ſeen below [G]. When

[G] *The particulars of which may be ſeen below.*]

'That being in place of higheſt truſt and confidence 'with his Majeſty, and having arrogated a ſupreme 'direction in all his Majeſty's affairs, both at home 'and abroad, he hath wickedly, and maliciouſly, and 'with a traiterous intent to draw ſcandal and con'tempt upon his Majeſty's perſon, and to alienate 'from him the affections of his ſubjects, abuſed the 'ſaid truſt in manner following, *viz.*

'That he had traiterouſly and maliciouſly endea'voured to alienate the hearts of his Majeſty's ſubjects 'from him by words of his own, and by artificial 'inſinuations of his creatures and dependances, that 'his Majeſty was inclined to Popery, and had a deſign 'to alter the religion eſtabliſhed in this kingdom.

'That, in purſuance of that traiterous intent, he 'hath to ſeveral perſons of his Majeſty's Privy-Coun'cil held diſcourſes to this effect, *viz.*

'That his Majeſty was dangerouſly corrupted in 'his religion, and inclined to Popery.

'That perſons of that religion had ſuch acceſs, and 'ſuch credit with him, that, unleſs there were a care'ful eye had unto it, the Proteſtant religion would be 'overthrown in this kingdom: and in purſuance of 'the ſaid wicked and traiterous intent, upon his Ma'jeſty's admitting Sir Henry Bennet to be principal 'Secretary of State, in the place of Mr. Secretary 'Nicholas, he hath ſaid theſe words, or words to 'this effect:

'That his Majeſty had given 10,000l. to remove a 'zealous Proteſtant, that he might bring into that 'place of truſt a concealed Papiſt, notwithſtanding 'that the ſaid Sir Henry Bennet is known to have ever 'been both in his profeſſion and practice conſtant to 'the Proteſtant religion.

'That, in purſuance of the ſame traiterous deſign, 'ſeveral near friends and known dependants of his 'have ſaid aloud, that, were it not for my Lord 'Chancellor's ſtanding in the gap, Popery would be 'introduced in this kingdom, or words to that effect.

'That, in purſuance of the aforeſaid traiterous 'deſign, he hath not only adviſed and perſuaded the 'King to do ſuch things contrary to his own reaſons 'and reſolutions, as might confirm and increaſe the 'ſcandal, which he had endeavoured to raiſe upon 'his Majeſty as aforeſaid, of his favour to Popery, but 'more particularly to allow his name to be uſed to the 'Pope and ſeveral Cardinals in the ſolicitation of a 'Cardinal's cap for the Lord Aubigny, one of his 'own ſubjects, and Great Almoner at preſent to his 'Royal Conſort the Queen.

'That, in purſuance of the ſame wicked and traite'rous deſign, he had recommended to be employed 'to the Pope one of his own domeſtics, Mr. Richard 'Bealing, a perſon (though an avowed Papiſt) known 'to be truſted and employed by him in diſpatches and 'negotiations concerning affairs of the greateſt con'cernment to the nation.

'That, in purſuance of the ſaid traiterous deſign, 'he being chief Miniſter of State, did himſelf write 'by the ſaid Mr. Richard Bealing, letters to ſeveral 'Cardinals, preſſing them in the King's name to in'duce the Pope to confer a Cardinal's cap on the ſaid 'Lord Aubigny, promiſing, in caſe it ſhould be at'tained, exemption to the Roman Catholicks of Eng'land from the penal laws in force againſt them; by 'which addreſs unto the Pope for that eccleſiaſtical 'dignity for one of his Majeſty's ſubjects and dome'ſtics, he hath, as far as from one action can be in'ferred, traiterouſly acknowledged the Pope's eccle'ſiaſtical ſovereignty, contrary to the known laws of 'this kingdom.

'That in purſuance of the ſame traiterous deſign, 'he has called unto him ſeveral Prieſts and Jeſuits, 'whom he knew to be ſuperiors of orders here in 'England, and deſired them to write to their Gene'rals at Rome, to give their help for the obtaining 'from the Pope the Cardinal's cap for the Lord 'Aubigny, as aforeſaid, promiſing great favour to 'Papiſts here, in caſe it ſhould be effected for him.

'That he hath promiſed to ſeveral Papiſts he would 'do his endeavour, and ſaid he hoped to compaſs the 'taking away all penal laws againſt them, which he 'did in purſuance of the traiterous deſign aforeſaid; 'to the end they may preſume and grow vain upon 'his patronage, and, by their publiſhing their hopes 'of a toleration, increaſed the ſcandal endeavoured by 'him, and by his emiſſaries, to be raiſed upon his 'Majeſty throughout the kingdom.

'That,

When the articles had been read, it was ordered by the Lords, that they ſhould be delivered to the Lord Chief Juſtice, who, with all the reſt of the Judges, was to conſider whether the charge had been brought in regularly and legally; whether it might be proceeded in; and whether there was any treaſon in it or not. Sir Robert Forſter, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, having on the thirteenth reported the opinion of the Judges, it was the ſame day reſolved by the Lords, agreeably to that opinion, "First, That a charge of high-treaſon cannot, by the laws and ſtatutes of this realm, "be originally exhibited by one Peer againſt another, unto the Houſe of Peers. "Secondly, That in theſe articles, if the matters alledged in them were admitted to be "true, there is no treaſon in them." It is remarkable that the Earl of Briſtol himſelf concurred in theſe reſolutions as freely as any other; and therefore it was by order entered that the votes were *nemine contradicente* (*t*). Such, however, was his averſion to the Earl of Clarendon, that he preferred, a ſecond time, his charge againſt him, but with no better ſucceſs than before. The Houſe of Lords immediately diſmiſſed the accuſation, as having no other ground than the ſpleen of an enraged and diſappointed enemy (*u*). Charles the Second was ſo much diſpleaſed with the Earl of Briſtol's conduct in the whole of the affair, that he gave warrants to a Serjeant at Arms to apprehend him; on which account he concealed himſelf in ſeveral places for the ſpace of nearly two years. During this interval, he ſometimes ſent letters and petitions by his wife to the King, who would not receive them. But, at length, through the influence of the favourite Lady (afterwards Ducheſs of Cleveland) and Lord Arlington, his Majeſty was prevailed with to ſee him in private; though ſtill he would not admit him to come openly to Court, or repeal the warrants for his apprehenſion. Accordingly, the Earl was obliged to abſtain from appearing in public till the time of the Chancellor's diſgrace; and then he came both to the Court and to the Parliament in great triumph, and diſplayed a higher degree of malevolence to the degraded ſtateſman than might have been expected from the ſtrength of his underſtanding, and the natural generoſity of his temper (*w*).

(*t*) Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, p. 55—64.

(*u*) Ibid, p. 68, 69.

(*w*) Continuation of the Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, p. 400, 401.

We hear little more of the Earl of Briſtol till the beginning of the year 1673, when he exhibited the laſt inſtance which we find upon record of the ſignal eccentricity of his

'That, in purſuance of the ſame traiterous deſign, 'being entruſted with the treaty betwixt his Majeſty, 'and his Royal Conſort the Queen, he concluded it 'upon articles ſcandalous and dangerous to the Pro'teſtant religion.

'That, in purſuance of the ſame traiterous deſign, 'he concluded the ſame marriage, and brought the 'King and Queen together, without any ſettled agree'ment in what manner the rites of marriage ſhould be 'performed, whereby the Queen refuſing to be married 'by a Proteſtant prieſt, in caſe of her being with 'child, either the ſucceſſion ſhould be made uncertain 'for want of the due rights of matrimony, or elſe his 'Majeſty to be expoſed to a ſuſpicion of having been 'married in his own dominions by a Romiſh prieſt, 'whereby all the former ſcandals endeavoured to be 'raiſed upon his Majeſty by the ſaid Earl, as to point 'of Popery, might be confirmed and heightened.

'That, having thus traiterouſly endeavoured to 'alienate the affections of his Majeſty's ſubjects from 'him upon the ſcore of religion, he hath endeavoured 'to make uſe of all the malicious ſcandals and jea'louſies, which he and his emiſſaries had raiſed in his 'Majeſty's ſubjects, to raiſe from them unto himſelf 'the popular applauſe of being the zealous upholder 'of the Proteſtant religion, and a promoter of new 'ſeverities againſt Papiſts.

'That he hath traiterouſly endeavoured to alienate 'the affections of his Majeſty's ſubjects from him, by 'venting in his own diſcourſe, and by the ſpeeches of 'his neareſt relations and emiſſaries, opprobrious 'ſcandals againſt his Majeſty's perſon and courſe of 'life, ſuch as are not fit to be mentioned, unleſs 'neceſſity in the way of proof ſhall require it.

'That he hath traiterouſly endeavoured to alienate 'the affections of his Highneſs the Duke of York 'from his Majeſty, by ſuggeſting unto him jealouſies 'as far as in him lay, and publiſhing abroad by his 'emiſſaries, that his Majeſty intended to legitimate 'the Duke of Monmouth.

'That he hath wickedly and maliciouſly, contrary 'to the duty of a Privy Counſellor of England, and 'contrary to the perpetual and moſt important intereſt 'of this nation, perſuaded his Majeſty, againſt the 'advice of the Lord General, to withdraw the Engliſh 'garriſons out of Scotland, and to demoliſh all the 'forts built there at ſo vaſt a charge to this kingdom.

'That his Majeſty having been graciouſly pleaſed 'to communicate the deſires of the Parliament of 'Scotland, for the removal of the ſaid garriſon to the 'Parliament of England, and to aſk their advice 'therein, the ſaid Earl of Clarendon, not only per'ſuaded his Majeſty actually to remove thoſe garriſons, 'without expecting the advice of his Parliament of 'England concerning it, but did, by menaces of his 'Majeſty's diſpleaſure, deter ſeveral Members of Par'liament from moving the Houſe, as they intended, 'to enter upon conſideration of that matter.

'That he had traiterouſly and maliciouſly endea'voured to alienate his Majeſty's affections and eſteem 'from his Parliament, by telling his Majeſty that there 'was never ſo weak and inconſiderable a Houſe of Lords, 'nor never ſo weak and ſo heady a Houſe of Commons, 'or words to that effect; and particularly, that it 'was better to ſell Dunkirk, than to be at their mercy 'for want of money, or words to that effect.

'That he hath wickedly and maliciouſly, contrary to 'his duty of Chancellor, and to a known law made laſt 'ſeſſions, by which money was given, and particularly 'applied, for the maintaining of Dunkirk, adviſed 'and effected the ſale of the ſame to the French King.

'That he hath, contrary to law, enriched himſelf 'and his treaſures by the ſale of offices.

'That, contrary to his duty, he hath wickedly and 'corruptly converted to his own uſe, great and vaſt 'ſums of public money raiſed in Ireland by way of 'ſubſidy, private and public benevolences, and other'wiſe given and intended to defray the charge of 'government in that kingdom. By which means a 'ſupernumerary and diſaffected army hath been kept 'up there, for want of money to pay them off, 'occaſioned, it ſeems to be, becauſe of the late and 'preſent diſtempers of that kingdom.

'That, having arrogated to himſelf a ſupreme 'direction of all his Majeſty's affairs, he hath, with a 'malicious and corrupt intention, prevailed to have 'his Majeſty's cuſtoms farmed at a far lower rate than 'others do offer, and that by perſons with ſome of 'whom he goes a ſhare in that and other parts of 'money reſulting from his Majeſty's revenue.

'July 10, 1663. 'BRISTOL (6).'

(6) Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. I. P. 55—59.

character. This was occaſioned by the paſſing of the famous Teſt Act, which, from that time to the preſent, has been ſo much the object of diſcuſſion and debate, of applauſe and cenſure. Though he was a profeſſed Roman Catholick, and was willing to be thought of great conſequence among that body, he ſpoke in favour of the bill. Some account of what he ſaid upon the ſubject will be ſeen in the note (*x*) [G].

(*x*) Hiſt. and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. I. p. 119—121.

The Earl of Briſtol departed this life on the twentieth of March, 1676-7, at Chelſea, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, and was buried at that place. He married the Lady Anne Ruſſel, ſecond daughter of Francis Earl of Bedford, and had by her Ladyſhip, who ſurvived him nearly twenty years, two ſons and two daughters. John, his eldeſt ſon, the third Earl of Briſtol, and a Nobleman of very reſpectable character, died on the eighteenth of September, 1698, and was interred at Sherborne in Dorſetſhire, where a ſumptuous monument is erected to his memory. Dying without iſſue, the honours of the family ceaſed on his death. Colonel Francis Digby, the ſecond ſon, was killed in the great naval engagement with the Dutch, on the twenty-eighth of May, 1672. He died likewiſe without iſſue. Lady Diana, the eldeſt daughter, was married to the Baron of Moll, in Flanders (*y*). This was an unfortunate match. The young Lady had been brought up by her mother in the ſtricteſt principles of the Proteſtant religion; but her father, having ſent for her into the Low Countries, where ſhe was addreſſed by the Baron, had ſuch a high opinion of the advantages that would accrue from the alliance, that he perſuaded her to become a convert to Popery. As for the Baron of Moll, he was a very weak man, and, at the ſame time, had not one twelfth part of the eſtate which the Earl of Briſtol's ſanguine imagination had ſuggeſted (*z*). Lady Anne, the Earl's ſecond daughter, was married to Robert Earl of Sunderland, by which connection ſhe became an anceſtor of the preſent Houſe of Marlborough (*a*).

(*y*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. VIII. p. 253, 254. fifth edit.

(*z*) Clarendon State Papers, Vol III. Suppl. p. lxviii, lxix.

(*a*) Collins, ubi ſupra.

[*H*] *Some account of what he ſaid upon the ſubject will be ſeen in the note.*]

Towards the beginning of his ſpeech he declared himſelf a Catholick of the Church of Rome, not a Catholick of the Court of Rome; a diſtinction he thought worthy of memory and reflection, whenever any ſevere proceedings againſt thoſe they called Papiſts ſhould come in queſtion, ſince thoſe of the Court of Rome did only deſerve the name. Therefore he inſiſted, that they ſhould not ſpeak here as Roman Catholicks, but as faithful members of a Proteſtant Parliament.

Coming to the bill itſelf, he proceeded thus: 'In the firſt place, my Lords, I beſeech you to conſider, that this bill for ſecuring of general fears is brought up to you from the Houſe of Commons, the great repreſentative of the people, and conſequently the beſt judges of the true temper of the nation: a Houſe of Commons ſurpaſſing all that ever have been, in the illuſtrious marks of their duty, loyalty and affection to their Sovereign, both in his perſon and government: ſuch a Houſe of Commons as his Majeſty ought to conſider, and cheriſh always, with ſuch a kind love as is due to a wife, never to be parted with unkindly, and as a miſtreſs to be turned off when our turn is ſerved by her. My Lords, this caſual mention of a wife ſuggeſts to my thoughts a purſuance of the compariſon. I have obſerved in the courſe of my life, that men, who have wives ſomewhat coquet, that is, a little ſubject to gallantries, live eaſier lives with them, and freer from troubleſome contentions, than thoſe who have wives of exact rigid virtue; and the reaſon is clear: for the more gameſome ladies, being conſcious of their failings in that eſſential part, are careful to diſguiſe and repair them by kind and tender compliances with their huſband's humours in all other things; whereas wives ſeverely punctual and exact in the chief matrimonial duty, expect, and even exact, far greater compliances from their huſbands; and think themſelves as it were privileged, by the rigidneſs of their virtue, to be ſometimes troubleſome in domeſtic affairs, eſpecially if there be any jealouſy in the caſe. In like manner, my Lords, it is not to be much wondered at, if this incomparable Houſe of Commons, tranſcending all that ever were in the grand eſſentials of duty, loyalty, and affection to their King, ſhould, at ſome times, be a little troubleſome to him in leſſer occurrences; eſpecially when once fears and jealouſies are on the wing. My Lords, I ſhall not pretend to determine whether there have been any juſt grounds given by any violent men, or by the unreaſonable ambition of any Roman Catholicks, for ſuch fears and jealouſies: it ſuffices to exact the neceſſity of a timely remedy, ſince they have indeed moſt violently ſeized, and diſtempered the minds of the major part of his Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects, which certainly no man converſant in the world can deny. Now, my Lords, in popular fears and apprehenſions, thoſe uſually prove moſt dangerous, that are raiſed upon grounds not well underſtood; and may rightly be reſembled to the fatal effects of panic fears in armies, where I have ſeldom ſeen great diſorders ariſe from intelligences brought in by parties and ſcouts, or by advertiſements to Generals, but from alarms upon groundleſs and capricious fears of danger, taken up we know not either how, or why. This no man, of moderate experience in military affairs, but hath found the dangerous effects of one time or other: in giving a ſtop to which miſchiefs, the ſkill of great commanders is beſt ſeen. In like manner, my Lords, this great and judicious aſſembly of the Houſe of Commons, rightly ſenſible of the dangerous effects which ſo general a diſturbance of men's minds in the concernments of religion (how groundleſs ſoever) might produce, have applied their care to obviate them by this bill; a bill, in my opinion, as full of moderation towards Catholicks, as of prudence and ſecurity towards the religion of the State. In this bill, my Lords, notwithſtanding all the alarms of the increaſe of Popery and deſigns of Papiſts, here is no mention of barring them from a private and modeſt exerciſe of their religion; no baniſhing them to ſuch a diſtance from Court; no putting in execution of penal laws in force againſt them. All their precautions are reduced to this one intent, natural to all ſocieties of men, of hindering a leſſer, oppoſite party from growing too ſtrong for the greater and more conſiderable one: and in this juſt way of prevention, is not the moderation of the Houſe of Commons to be admired, that they have reſtrained it to this ſole point, of debarring their adverſaries from offices and places, from acceſſion of wealth by favour of the ſovereign? And, after all, my Lords, how few do theſe ſharp trails, and teſt of this act regard! Only a few ſuch Roman Catholicks as would fain hold offices and places at the price of hypocriſy, and diſſimulation of their true ſentiments in religion. My Lords, however the ſentiments of a Catholick of the Church of Rome (I ſtill ſay not of the Court of Rome) may oblige me, upon ſcruple of conſcience, in ſome particulars of this bill, to give my negative to it, when it comes to paſſing; yet, as a member of the Proteſtant Parliament, my advice prudentially cannot but go along with the main ſcope of it, the preſent circumſtances of time and affairs conſidered, and the neceſſity of compoſing the diſturbed minds of the people (7).'

(7) Hiſt. and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. I. p. 119—121.

Lord Briſtol ranks among our noble authors. To this character he is juſtly entitled from his numerous ſpeeches and letters, which are ſcattered through various collections, and many of which were ſeparately printed. He was the author, likewiſe, of ſome other publications. Of the letters which paſſed between him and Sir Kenelme Digby, on the ſubject of religion, an account is given in the note [*D*] of the article concerning that gentleman. The Earl tranſlated from the French into Engliſh the three firſt books of the famous romance, "Caſſandra;" and he was the writer of a Comedy, called "Elvira, "or the worſt not always true," which occaſioned his being introduced into Sir John Suckling's Seſſion of Poets. Of this play we are told, that the ſcene lies in Valencia; that the plot is very intricate and buſy; and that from ſome part of it Mrs. Centlivre ſeems to have borrowed "The Wonder; or, A Woman keeps a Secret." Another publication, aſcribed to the Earl of Briſtol, but not certainly known to be written by him, was, "A True and Impartial Relation of the Battle between his Majeſty's Army "and that of the Rebels, near Ayleſbury, Bucks, September the twentieth, 1643." The following piece, though probably not of his writing, was publiſhed under his name, in 1655; "Lord Digby's Arcana Aulica; or, Walſingham's Manual of Prudential "Maxims for the Stateſman and the Courtier." His Lordſhip left in manuſcript, "Excerpta e diverſis Operibus Patrum Latinorum (*b*)."

(*b*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II Col. 580. 581. Walpole's Noble Authors, Vol. II. p. 26—28. Biog. Dram. Vol. II. p. 102.

On the character of the Earl of Briſtol it is not neceſſary farther to enlarge, ſince the whole article contains a diſplay of the extraordinary turn of his mind. One thing, however, it is proper to obſerve, which is, that, amidſt his numerous faults, he was diſtinguiſhed by a ſoftneſs and tenderneſs of diſpoſition that reſtrained him from unkind and ill-natured actions. When he had been treated with the greateſt harſhneſs, and had experienced the higheſt degrees of hoſtility, he was always readily inclined to forgiveneſs and reconciliation (*c*).'

(*c*) Clarendon State Papers, Vol. III. Suppl. p. lxxiii.

Upon the whole, the Earl of Briſtol hath afforded a ſtriking proof, that the brighteſt genius, the moſt ſplendid talents, the moſt extenſive knowledge, and the richeſt eloquence, are of little advantage to the poſſeſſor, and of little benefit to the world, unleſs they be accompanied with ſteadineſs of principle, and ſteadineſs of conduct.]

K.

DIGGES (LEONARD) Eſq. a conſiderable Mathematician in the XVIth century, was the ſecond ſon of James Digges, of Digges-Court in the pariſh of Berham in Kent, Eſq. [*A*] by Philippa his ſecond wife, daughter of John Engham, of Chartham in the ſame county. He was born at Digges-Court, and educated for ſome time in Univerſity-College in Oxford, where he laid a very good foundation of learning. Retiring from thence without a degree, he proſecuted his ſtudies, and became an excellent Mathematician, a ſkilful Architect (*a*), and a moſt expert Surveyor of land. He compoſed ſeveral books [*B*], and died about the year 1574 (*b*). By his wife Bridget, daughter of Thomas Wilford, Eſq. (*c*) and ſiſter to James and Thomas Wilford, two brave Knights, of Hartridge, in the pariſh of Cranbrook in Kent, he had a ſon, of whom we ſhall give ſome account in the next article.

(*a*) For all manner of buildings, for conveniency, pleaſure, ſtate, ſtrength; and excellent at fortifications. Fuller's Worthies of England, in Kent, p. 82.

(*b*) Wood's Athen. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 180, 181.

(*c*) Wood, ibid. calls her by miſtake *Sarah*. See note [*B*] of the article DIGGES (THOMAS).

[*A*] *Was the ſecond ſon of James Digges of Digges-Court in the pariſh of Berham in Kent, Eſq.*] That family was ancient and conſiderable, in the county of Kent. One of them, in the reign of King Richard I. had the aldermanry of Newingate in Canterbury, which was then an hereditary office. *John* Digges, Alderman of the ſame city, in 1258, was a great benefactor to the Franciſcans, then newly ſettled at Canterbury; and bought for them an iſland in that city called Binnewight. *Adomarus* Digges, of Digges-Court, was a Judge in King Edward IId's reign, and had much land about Rainham and Newington, where a marſh ſtill bears his name, being called Digges's Marſh. *Roger* Digges was one of the repreſentatives in Parliament for the city of Canterbury, in the 29th, 31ſt, and 34th years of the reign of King Edward III. *John* Digges, of Digges Court, was Sheriff of Kent in the 2d year of King Henry IV. and his grandſon *John*, in the 4th year of King Edward IV. and his *ſon* of the ſame name in the 11th year of King Henry VII. and his ſon *James* bore the ſame office in the 2d year of King Henry VIII. His eldeſt ſon, *Thomas*, ſold Digges-Court to Capt. Thomas Halſey of London (1). It was the chief ſeat of the Digges family for above two hundred years (2).

(1) *Villare Cantianum*, &c. by T. Philipot, Eſq. edit. 1664, fol. p. 60. and the Hiſt. of Kent, by J. Harris, D.D. fol. 1719. p. 35, 118, 427, 430, 431, 447.

(2) Ibid. p. 370.

[*B*] *He compoſed ſeveral books.*] Namely, I. "*Tectonicum*: Briefly ſhewing the exact meaſuring, and "ſpeedy reckoning of all manner of Lands, Squares, "Timber, Stones, Steeples,' &c. Lond. 1556, 4*to*. Augmented, and publiſhed again, by his ſon Thomas Digges. Lond. 1592, 4*to*. and reprinted there in 1647, 4*to*. II. "A Geometrical practical treatiſe, "named *Pantometria*, in three books." This he left in manuſcript: but, after his death, his ſon ſupplied ſuch parts of it as were obſcure and imperfect, and publiſhed it at London in 1591, fol. joining thereto, "A Diſcourſe Geometrical of the five regular and "Platonical Bodies, containing ſundry theoretical and "practical propoſitions ariſing by mutual conference "of theſe Solids, Inſcription, Circumſcription, and "Transformation." III. "Prognoſtication everlaſting "of right good Effect; or, Choice Rules to judge the "Weather by the Sun, Moon, and Stars, &c." Lond. "1555, 1556, and 1564, 4*to*, corrected, and augmented by his ſon, with divers general tables, and many compendious rules. Lond. 1592, 4*to* (3). M

(3) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 180, 181.

He died Wotton immediately after his father's death 1573.

DIGGES (THOMAS), after a liberal education even from his tendereſt years, went and ſtudied for ſome time at Oxford; and by the improvements he made there, and the ſubſequent inſtructions of his learned father (*a*), became one of the moſt excellent Mathematicians of his time; upon which account he was greatly eſteemed by Dr. John Dee, and other his learned contemporaries. When Queen Elizabeth ſent ſome of her forces to the aſſiſtance of the oppreſſed inhabitants of the Netherlands, Mr. Digges was appointed Muſter-Maſter-General of them (*b*); whereby he had an opportunity of becoming perfectly ſkilled in military affairs. He wrote and publiſhed ſeveral books [*A*]. But his moſt valuable character is, that his piety was as great as his learning. He died Auguſt 24, 1595, and was buried in the Church of St. Mary Aldermanbury, London (*c*); where a monument was erected to him [*B*]. If he was great in himſelf, he was greater in his ſon, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the enſuing article.

(*a*) See the preface to his *Stratioticos*.

(*b*) See Stratioticos, edit. 1590, p. 237.

(*c*) Wood, ibid. col. 278, 279.

[*A*] *He wrote and publiſhed ſeveral books.*] Namely, theſe: I. "*Alæ ſive Scalæ Mathematicæ*," i. e. "Mathematical Wings or Ladders." Lond. 1573, 4to. This book contains ſeveral demonſtrations for finding the parallaxis of any comet, or other cœleſtial body, with the correction of the errors in the uſe of the *Radius Aſtronomicus*. II. "An Arithmetical Military "Treatiſe, containing ſo much of Arithmetick as is "neceſſary towards Military Diſcipline." Lond. 1579, 4to. III. "Geometrical Treatiſe, named, *Stratioticos*; re"quiſite for the Perfection of Soldiers." Lond. 1579, 4to. This was begun by his father, but finiſhed by our author: they were both reprinted together in 1590, with ſeveral amendments and additions, under this title: "An Arithmetical Warlike Treatiſe, named *Stratioticos*, "compendiouſly teaching the Science of Numbers, as "well in Fractions as Integers; and ſo much of the "Rules and Æquations Algebraical, and Art of Num"bers Coſſical, as are requiſite for the Profeſſion of a "Soul'dier. Together with the Moderne Militare Diſ"cipline, Offices, Lawes, and Orders, in every well"governed Campe and Armie inviolably to be obſerved." Firſt publiſhed by Thomas Digges, Eſq. 1579, reviewed and corrected by the Author himſelf, and augmented with ſundry additions, Lond. 1590, 4to. in three books. At the end of it there is, "A brieſe and "true Report of the Proceedings of the Earle of Ley"ceſtre, for the Reliefe of the Towne of Sluce, from "his arrival at Vliſhing, about the end of June, 1587, "unſill the Surrendrie thereof 26 Julii next enſuing. "Whereby it ſhall plainelie appeare his Excellencie "was not in anie Fault for the Loſſe of that Towne." IV. "Perfect Deſcription of the Celeſtial Orbs, ac"cording to the moſt antient Doctrine of the Pythago"reans," &c. Lond. 1592, 4to. ſet at the end of his father's Prognoſtication. V. "Humble Motives for "Aſſociation to maintain the Religion eſtabliſhed." Printed in 1601, 8vo. To which is added, his Letter to the ſame Purpoſe, to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of England. VI. "England's Defence: A "Treatiſe concerning Invaſion; or, a brief Diſcourſe "of what Orders were beſt for repulſing of Foreign E"nemies, if at any time they ſhould invade us by Sea "in Kent, or elſewhere." Written in 1599, but not publiſhed till 1686, Lond. fol. in five ſheets. There was a tract of the ſame nature publiſhed at the end of his *Stratioticos*, edit. 1590, intituled, "A Brieſe Diſ"courſe what Orders were beſt for repulſing of For"raine Forces, if at any time they ſhould invade us by "Sea in Kent, or elſewhere." It contains only five leaves in 4to. VII. A Letter printed before Dr. John Dee's "Parallaticæ Commentationis, praxeoſque Nu"cleus quidam." Lond. 1573, 4to. Beſides theſe, and his "Nova Corpora," he had by him ſeveral Mathematical Treatiſes ready for the preſs; which, by reaſon of law-ſuits, and other avocations, he was hindered from publiſhing (1).

(1) Wood, ut ſupra, col. 278, 279. See Stratioticos, p. 359, 360.

[*B*] *Where a monument was erected to him.*] It was deſtroyed in the general conflagration of London, in 1666: but the inſcriptions on it are preſerved in J. Stow's Survey of London, with Mr. Strype's Additions (2), being as follows:

(2) Edit. 1720. Book iii. Vol. I. p. 71, 72.

"Thomas Digges, Eſquire, ſonne and heyre of "Leonard Digges, of Wotton, in the county of Kent, "Eſquire, and of Bridget his wife, daughter to Tho"mas Wilford, Eſquire; which Thomas deceaſed the "24 day of Auguſt, Ann. Dom. 1595.

"Agnes, wife to Thomas Digges, Eſq. Daughter of "Sir William Sentleiger, Knight, and of Urſula his "wife, daughter of George Nevil, Lord of Abergave"nny, by whom the ſaid Thomas had iſſue Dudley "his ſonne and heyre, Leonard his ſecond ſon; Mar"garet and Urſula now living; beſide William and "Mary, who died young.

"Deo Opt. Max. et Memoriæ.

"Hic reſurrectionem mortuorum expectat Thomas "Digſæus Armiger, ex antiquâ Digſæorum, in Can"tiâ, familiâ oriundus. Vir fide et pietate in Deum "ſingulari, rei militaris admodum peritus, optima"rum literarum ſtudioſus, et Scientiis Mathematicis "ad miraculum (ut ex libris editis conſtat) eruditiſſi"mus: Quem Deus in Cœleſtem Patriam, Anno Sa"lutis 1595, evocavit. Chariſſimo Marito Uxor "moeſtiſſima poſuit.

"Here lieth in aſſured hope to riſe in Chriſt, Tho"mas Digges, Eſquire, ſome time Muſter-Maſter of "the Engliſh Army in the Low Countries: A man "zealouſly affected to true Religion, wiſe, diſcreete, "courteous, faithful to his Friends, and of rare Know"ledge in Geometry, Aſtrologie, and other Mathe"maticall Sciences: who finiſhed this tranſitory Life "with an happy end, in Anno 1595.

"That the dead might live Chriſt died."

The Digges's coat was, Gules, on a Croſs argent, five Eagles diſplayed, ſable. M.

DIGGES (DUDLEY), the eldeſt ſon of Thomas mentioned in the laſt article, was born in the year 1583 (*a*), and entered a Gentleman-Commoner of Univerſity-College, Oxon. in 1598; where he very much improved himſelf in learning, under the tuition of Dr. George Abbot, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*b*). Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, on the firſt of July, 1601 (*c*), he went and ſtudied for ſome time at the Inns of Court; and then traveled beyond ſea, having before received the honour of knighthood. After much experience, and proper remarks on the laws, cuſtoms, and manners, of foreign nations, he returned home, excellently well qualified to ſerve his King and Country (*d*). But obſerving too many to juſtle for place, and croſs the public intereſt, if not joined with their own private gain; he was ſatisfied with the conſciouſneſs of his own merit, knowing good men only can deſerve honours, though the worſe might attain them. His moderate deſires, therefore, confined a long while his thoughts to the innocence of a retired life (*e*), till the year 1618, when he was ſent by King James I. Embaſſador to the Czar, or Emperor of Ruſſia. In 1620, he was commiſſioned, with Sir

(*a*) For Mr. Wood informs us, that he was fifteen years of age in 1598. Vol. I. col. 618.

(*b*) Wood, ibid.

(*c*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 160.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) From his monumental inſcription at Chilham, in Kent.

Sir Maurice Abbot, to go to Holland, in order to obtain the reſtitution of goods taken by the Dutch, from ſome Engliſhmen in the Eaſt-Indies [*A*]. He departed in November (*f*), but how long he ſtayed there doth not appear. He was a Member of the third Parliament of King James I. which met at Weſtminſter, January 30, 1620-1; and was ſo little compliant with the Court-meaſures, as to be among thoſe whom the King called *Ill-tempered Spirits*. And, therefore, ſoon after the diſſolution of that Parliament, he was, for a puniſhment, ſent into Ireland, upon a forced commiſſion with others under the Great Seal, for the enquiry of ſundry matters concerning his Majeſty's pretended ſervice (*g*). He was likewiſe a Member of the firſt Parliament of King Charles I. in 1626; and joined thoſe eminent patriots, who were for bringing George Villiers Duke of Buckingham, the King's great favourite and Prime Miniſter, to an account: and ſo earneſt did he prove in that affair, that he was one of the eight chief managers who carried up, on the 8th of May, a charge againſt him [*B*] to the Houſe of Lords (*h*); for which he was committed to the Tower (*i*). But ſo highly offended were the Commons at his impriſonment, that they reſolved to proceed to no other buſineſs till they were righted in their liberties (*k*). Whereupon one of the Courtiers, to excuſe that irregular ſtep, ſaid, That his Majeſty conceived, Sir Dudley went too far beyond his commiſſion, in that, ſpeaking of King James the Firſt's death, and the plaiſter applied to him by the Duke of Buckingham, he had ſaid, *That he did forbear to ſpeak further in regard of the King's honour*, or words to that effect; which his Majeſty conceived to be to his diſhonour, as if there had been any underhand dealing by him in applying of the plaiſter; and that might make his ſubjects jealous of him. Theſe words, laid to Sir Dudley's charge, occaſioned an uncommon proteſtation from the Commons [*C*], which was alſo taken by thirty-ſix of the Lords. And Sir Dudley being releaſed ſoon after, proteſted, That the matter charged upon him was far from his words, and never came into his thoughts (*l*). He was again Member of the third Parliament of King Charles I. which met at Weſtminſter the 17th of March, 1627-8, being one of the Knights of the Shire for Kent (*m*), but ſeemed to be more moderate than he had been in the two laſt. For, when Secretary Coke moved for the diſpatch of the ſubſidies (*n*), he was ſeconded by Sir Dudley [*D*]. However,

(*f*) Camd. Ann. of King James I. under the year 1620, printed at the end of *Camdeni Epiſtolæ*. Lond. 1691. 4to.

(*g*) Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Collect. P. I. edit. 1659. p. 55.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 302.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 356. His lodgings were alſo ſearched, and the papers found there taken away. See Ruſhworth, ibid. p. 400, &c.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 358.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 360, 361.

(*m*) Liſt of Members in Harris's Hiſt. of Kent.

(*n*) Ruſhworth, ibid. p. 537, 538.

[*A*] *In the Eaſt-Indies.*] For the Dutch were then beginning to uſe in the Eaſt-Indies, thoſe wicked and ſupplanting arts againſt the Engliſh (the deliverers of their country, and the founders of their liberties) which ended in the tragical affair at Amboyna; of which an account was publiſhed in 1624, 4to.

[*B*] *Who carried up a charge againſt him.*] It was opened by Sir Dudley himſelf, who, in his Prologue, uſed theſe words (1): 'The Houſe of Commons, by 'a fatal and univerſal concurrence of complaints from 'all the ſea-bordering parts of this kingdom, did find 'a great and grievous interruption and ſtop of trade 'and traffick; the baſe pirates of *Salle* ignominiouſly 'infeſting our coaſts, taking our ſhips and goods, and 'leading away the ſubjects of this kingdom into barbarous captivity; while, to our ſhame and hindrance 'of commerce, our enemies did (as it were) beſiege 'our ports, and block up our beſt rivers mouths. 'Our friends, on ſlight pretences, made imbargoes of 'our Merchants goods, and every nation, upon the 'leaſt occaſion, was ready to contemn and ſlight us; 'ſo great was the apparent diminution of the antient 'honour of this crown, and once ſtrong reputation of 'our nation. Wherewith the Commons were more 'troubled, calling to remembrance, how formerly in 'France, in Spain, in Holland, and every where, by 'ſea and land, the valors of this kingdom had been 'better valued.—The Commons therefore wondering 'at the evils which they ſuffered, and debating of 'the cauſes of them, found they were many, drawn, 'like one line, to one circumference, of *decay of trade*, 'and *ſtrength of honour*, and *reputation* in this kingdom; which, as in one center, met in one great 'man, the cauſe of all who I am here to name, the 'Duke of Buckingham.'——Then, after having read the preamble to the charge, he continued his ſpeech, in which he hath this paſſage.——'The laſt of the 'charges which are prepared, will be an injury offered to the perſon of the late King of bleſſed memory, who is with GOD; of which, as your Lordſhips may have heard heretofore, you ſhall anon have 'further information. Now upon this occaſion, I am 'commanded by the Commons to take care of the 'honour of the King our Sovereign that lives—and 'alſo his bleſſed father, who is dead; on whom, to 'the grief of the Commons, and their great diſtaſte, 'the Lord Duke did (they conceive) unworthily *caſt* 'ſome ill odor of his own foul wayes; whereas ſervants 'were antiently wont to bear, as in truth they ought, 'their Maſter's faults, and not caſt their own on them 'undeſervedly.'——Theſe words I have taken notice of, becauſe they were miſunderſtood and miſapplied, as will be ſeen under note [*C*], and above in the text of this article.

(1) Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra. p. 302. &c.

[*C*] *Occaſioned an uncommon Proteſtation from the Commons.*] Being as follows: 'I proteſt before Almighty GOD, and this Houſe of Parliament, That I 'never gave conſent that Sir Dudley Digges ſhould 'ſpeak theſe words that he is now charged withal, or 'any words to that effect; and I have not affirmed to 'any, that he did ſpeak ſuch words, or any to that 'effect.' This was taken by every member in particular for himſelf; and it was ordered, That they that were ſick in town, ſhould have three of the Houſe ſent to them, to take the ſame proteſtation. The King, to pacify the Commons, ſignified to them by the Vice-Chamberlain, That he underſtood, *out of ſome notes taken at the Conference* (2), that Sir Dudley Digges had ſpoken the words wherewith he was charged; but, *now*, was ſatisfied that he did not ſpeak them, nor any words to ſuch effect. Nevertheleſs, the Duke of Buckingham affirmed to the Houſe of Peers, that ſome words were ſpoken at the late Conference by Sir Dudley Digges, which ſo far did trench upon the King's honour, that they were interpreted treaſonable: he therefore earneſtly deſired, ſince divers conſtructions had been made of thoſe words, that every one of thoſe who had reported them, would be pleaſed to produce their notes taken at the Conference. But after a long debate upon that matter in the Houſe of Peers, thirty-ſix of them made this voluntary proteſtation, 'That the ſaid Sir Dudley Digges did not ſpeak any thing at the ſaid Conference, which did or might trench on the King's honour (3). It followed therefore, as Mr. Rapin obſerves (4), from the teſtimony of the Lords, and the proteſtation of the Commons, either that the King was wrong and maliciouſly informed, or that he wanted and ſought an opportunity of puniſhing Sir Dudley Digges, for having ſpoken ſo irreverently of the Duke as he did. For which purpoſe the words abovementioned were invented.

(2) Between the Lords and Commons, where theſe words were ſaid to have been ſpoken.

(3) Ruſhworth, as above, p. 360, 361. See alſo Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs, &c. by Mr Whitelock, edit. 1732. p. 5, 6.

[*D*] *He was ſeconded by Sir Dudley.*] Who ſaid, among other things——'We have freely concluded 'our liberties, we have offered five ſubſidies; his Ma-

(4) Hiſt. of Eng. edit. fol. 1733. Vol. II. p. 251.

'jeſty

(t) Partly upon the ruins of the old caſtle. Harris, ibid. p. 369.

(u) Ibid.

(w) Ibid.

(x) *Villare Cantianum*: or, Kent ſurveyed and illuſtrated, &c. by T. Philipot, Eſq. Lond. 1664. fol. p. 116.

(y) From his monumental inſcription, as above.

However, his ſpirits were rouzed, when any attempts were made upon the liberties of his country, or the conſtitution of Parliament [*E*]. For, on the 14th of April, he opened the grand conference between the Lords and Commons, 'concerning the liberty of the perſon of every Freeman,' with a ſpeech, wherein he made many excellent obſervations [*F*], tending to eſtabliſh the liberties of the ſubject (*o*). In all theſe affairs he ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his parts and abilities, that he was much taken notice of by the Court; being, in conſequence of that, one of thoſe eminent patriots whom they thought worth while to gain to their ſide (*p*). Accordingly, they tempted him with the honourable and advantageous office of Maſter of the Rolls, of which he had a reverſionary grant the 29th of November, 1630 (*q*), and became poſſeſſed of it the 20th of April, 1636 [*G*], upon the death of Sir Julius Cæſar (*). But he did not enjoy it quite three years; for he died the 18th of March, 1638-9, which the wiſeſt men reckoned among the public calamities of thoſe times (*r*). After having lain ſome time in ſtate, he was buried in Chilham-Church, in Kent, in which pariſh he had a good eſtate (*s*), and built a noble ſeat (*t*). A monument was afterwards erected in that Church, in memory of him and his lady, and others of that eminent family; with an inſcription, of which the ſubſtance is included in this article (*u*). His Lady was Mary, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir Thomas Kemp, of Chilham aforeſaid; with whom he had part of the eſtate there, and purchaſed the reſt of the three other daughters and coheirs (*w*). As to his character, his actions, related above, ſhow that he was (as one (*x*) expreſſes it) 'a great aſſertor of his coun-'try's liberty in the worſt of times, when the ſluices of prerogative were opened, and the 'banks of the law were almoſt overwhelmed with the inundations of it.' Beſides this, we are informed, that his underſtanding few could equal, and his virtues fewer would. He was a pious man, a careful father, a loving huſband, a fatherly brother, a courteous neighbour, a merciful landlord, a liberal maſter, and a noble friend (*y*). He was author of a few things [*H*]. As hereditary learning ſeemed to run in the veins of that family

(o) Ephemeris Parliamentaria: or, a faithful Regiſter of the Parliament 3 & 4 Car. I. edit 1654. fol. p. 54.

(p) Whitelocke, ubi ſupra, p. 14.

(q) Pat. 6 Car. I. p. 6.

* See above the article CÆSAR (JULIUS). Mr. Newcourt ſays, he ſucceeded after Cæſar's death, Aug. I. 1636. which ſeems to be a miſtake. *Repertorium Eccleſ.* Vol. I. p. 341.

(r) Wood ubi ſupra, col. 619.

(s) Namely, the caſtle and manor, and the impropriate tythes, of that pariſh, Hiſt. of Kent, by J. Harris, D. D. Lond. 1719. fol. p. 75, 369.

'jeſty hath given us gracious anſwers; we have had 'good by our beginnings; what have we done for the 'King? nothing is done that the King can take notice 'of. He will ſettle our properties and goods; have 'we not had a gracious anſwer? I dare ſay confi-'dently we ſhall have as much as any ſubjects had from 'their King.'

[*E*] *However, his ſpirits were rouzed, when any attempts were made upon the liberties of his country, &c.*] For when Sir John Finch, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, interrupted Sir John Elliot in the Houſe, telling him, 'There is a command laid upon me, that 'I muſt command you not to proceed;' Sir Dudley Digges vented his great uneaſineſs in theſe words: 'I 'am as much grieved as ever. Muſt we not proceed? 'let us ſit in ſilence, we are miſerable, we know not 'what to do.' This was on the 5th of June 1628.

[*F*] *With a ſpeech wherein he made many excellent obſervations.*] Among other things, he ſays—— 'I am firſt commanded to ſhow unto your Lordſhips in 'general, that the laws of England are grounded on 'reaſon, ancienter than books, conſiſting much in un-'written cuſtoms; yet ſo full of juſtice and true equity, 'that your moſt honourable predeceſſors and anceſtors, 'many times propugned them with a *nolumus mutare* '(i. e. we will not change them); and ſo ancient, 'that from the Saxons days, notwithſtanding the inju-'ries and ruins of time, they have continued in moſt 'parts the ſame; as may appear in old remaining 'monuments of the laws of Ethelbert the firſt Chriſtian 'King of Kent, Ina King of the Weſt-Saxons, Offa 'of the Mercians, *&c.* whoſe laws are yet to be ſeen, 'publiſhed (as ſome think) by Parliament.—'And though, during the troubleſome times of the 'Danes, the laws in a manner were laid aſleep in the 'kingdom; yet, by the bleſſing of God, good King 'Edward, commonly called Sr. Edward, did awaken 'theſe laws, —— and confirmed them (7), *con-'firmavit*: which *confirmavit* ſheweth, that good King 'Edward did not give thoſe laws, which William the 'Conqueror, and all his ſucceſſors ſithence that, have 'ſworn unto.——And, as we have now, even in 'thoſe Saxon times they had their Courts Barons, and 'Courts Leets, and Sheriffs Courts, by which (as Ta-'citus ſaith of the Germans) their anceſtors *Jura red-'debant per pagos & vicos*: i. e. adminiſtered juſtice in 'the burghs and villages. And, I believe, as we have 'now, they had their Parliaments, where new laws 'were made, *cum conſenſu Prælatorum, Magnatum, & totius communitatis*; i. e. with the conſent of the 'Prelates, great men, and the whole community; or, 'as another writes, *cum conſilio Prælatorum, Nobilium, & ſapientum Laicorum*, with the advice of the Pre-'lates, Nobility, and wiſe men of the laity.——Be 'pleaſed then to know, that it is an undoubted and fun-'damental point of this ſo ancient Common-Law of 'England, that the ſubject hath a true property in his 'goods and poſſeſſions; which doth preſerve as ſacred 'that *Meum* and *Tuum*, the nurſe of induſtry, the mo-'ther of courage, and without which there can be no 'juſtice, of which *Meum* and *Tuum* is the proper ob-'ject. But this undoubted birthright of free ſubjects 'hath lately not a little been invaded and preju-'diced, *&c.* (8).

(7) *Exitatas reparavit, reparatas decoravit, decoratas confirmavit.* Lib. de Chertſey.

(8) Ephemeris Parliamentaria, ut ſupra, p. 54, 55.

[*G*] *And became poſſeſſed of it the 20th of April, 1636.*] The author of his epitaph obſerves upon that occaſion, that 'This did crown his former actions; 'and though it would not increaſe his integrity, yet it 'made him more conſpicuous; and whom his acquain-'tance before, now the kingdom, honoured. If the 'example of his juſtice had powerful influence on all 'Magiſtrates, the people who are governed would be 'happy on earth, and the rulers in Heaven, with him, 'who counted it an unworthy thing to be tempted, to 'vice by the reward of virtue.' What is ſaid in the ſame place is not literally true; namely; that he was 'unbiaſſed by popular applauſe, or *court-hopes*.' For, if he was unbiaſſed by court-hopes, why did he ac-cept of the place of Maſter of the Rolls?

[*H*] *He was author of a few things.*] The only thing he publiſhed was this: I. A Defence of Trade: "in a Letter to Sir Tho. Smith, Knight, Governor of "the Eaſt India Company." London, 1615, 4*to*. After his death there was printed under his name; II. "A Diſcourſe concerning the Rights and Privi-"leges of the Subject, in a conference deſired by the "Lords, and had by a Committee of both Houſes, "3 Apr. 1628." Lond. 1642, 4*to*. At this confer-ence it was that Sir Dudley made the ſpeech men-tioned above, note [*F*]. And, very likely, this *Diſcourſe* is the ſame with that ſpeech. III. He made ſeveral Speeches upon other occaſions, inſerted in Ruſhworth's Collections (9), and *Ephemeris Parlia-mentaria* (10). IV. He collected the Letters that paſſed between the Lord Burleigh, Sir Fr. Walſing-ham, and others, about the intended marriages of Queen Elizabeth, with the Duke of Anjou, in 1570, *&c.* and with the Duke of Alençon in 1581. They were publiſhed in 1655, under this title; "The Com-"pleat Ambaſſador; or, Two Treaties of the intended "Marriage of Queen Elizabeth, of glorious Memory;

(9) Part I. edit. 1659. p. 302, 360, 538, 606.

(10) Edit. 1654, fol. p. 54, 139, 154.

Leonard family (z); Sir Dudley had a brother, ~~Thomas~~, and a ſon named *Dudley* [*I*], who were both learned men, and writers.

(z) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Kent, p. 82.

' compriſed in Letters of Negotiation of Sir Francis " Walſingham, her Reſident in France. Together " with the Anſwers of the Lord Burleigh, the Earl of " Leiceſter, Sir Tho. Smith, and others. Wherein, " as in a clear mirror, may be ſeen the Faces of the " two Courts of England and France, as they then " ſtood; with many remarkable paſſages of State, not " at all mentioned in any Hiſtory. Faithfully col- " lected by the truly Honourable Sir Dudley Digges, " Knight, late Maſter of the Rolls." Lond. 1665, fol. The publiſher, who ſigns himſelf A. H. ſays, in the Preface, that this ' piece was never intended for the ' preſs, but had ſlept long amongſt the papers of ' Sir Dudley Digges, a perſonage of known wiſdom ' and integrity, and who underſtood well the value of ' this manuſcript, which had nothing forged or ſup- ' poſititious in it.'

Leonard
Leonard

[*I*] *Sir Dudley had a brother* ~~Thomas~~, *and a ſon named Dudley.*] His brother ~~Thomas~~ was educated in Univerſity-college, Oxon (11), took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, Octob. 31, 1606 (12), retired to London; and then travelling beyond ſea, ſtudied in foreign univerſities; from whence returning a good ſcholar, and an accompliſhed perſon he was created Maſter of Arts, Nov. 20, 1626 (13). He tranſlated from Spaniſh into Engliſh, "Gerardo, the unfortunate " Spaniard." Lond. 1622, *4to.* written by Gonçalo de Ceſpedes. And from Latin into Engliſh verſe, " The " Rape of Proſerpine." Lond. 1617, *&c. 4to.* written by Claudian. He died April 7. 1635, being accounted a good Poet and Orator, and a great maſter of the Engliſh, French, and Spaniſh languages (14).—— As for *Dudley*, the third ſon of Sir Dudley Digges, he was admitted into Univerſity-college, Oxon. in 1629, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, Jan. 17, 1631-2. Being the next year elected Fellow of All-ſouls-college, he took the degree of Maſter Octob. 15, 1635 (15), and having a great memory, and excellent natural parts, which he improved by cloſe ſtudying, he became a general ſcholar, and a good Poet and Linguiſt. He wrote " An Anſwer to a printed Book entituled, " Obſervations upon ſome of his Majeſty's late " Anſwers and Expreſſes," Oxon. 1642, *4to.* and " The Unlawfulneſs of Subjects taking up Arms againſt " their Sovereign in what caſe ſoever, with Anſwers to " all Objections." Lond. 1643, *4to.* reprinted ſeveral times ſince. He died Octob. 1, 1643 (16).—— The eldeſt ſon and heir of Sir Dudley Digges, was named *Thomas*, and his ſecond ſon *John* (17).

M.

(11) Wood's Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 599.

(12) Idem, Faſti, col. 174.

(13) Ibid. col. 235.

(14) Wood, col. 600.

(15) Ibid. Faſti, col. 252, 262.

(16) Idem, Athenæ, Vol. II. col. 21, 32.

(17) Harris, as above, p. 370.

*** [The ſpeeches delivered by Sir Dudley Digges may be ſeen more at large in the Parliamentary Hiſtory, under the reſpective years to which they relate. But the extracts given in the notes [*B*], [*C*], [*D*], [*E*], and [*F*], are ſufficient to diſplay his general ſentiments, and the mode of language in which they were cloathed. There is one inſtance of his having ſpoken as a member of Parliament which is not taken notice of by our predeceſſor. It was on the twenty-ſecond of April, 1628, at a conference between the Houſe of Lords and the Houſe of Commons, on the liberty of the ſubject. At this conference Sir Dudley Digges replied to a Speech that had been made by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr. George Abbot. Both the ſpeeches are animated by a ſpirit of moderation and candour (18).

From all that we read concerning Sir Dudley Digges, he appears to have been a firm, but temperate, oppoſer of the ſtretches of prerogative, by which the reign of King Charles the Firſt was ſo unhappily diſtinguiſhed.]

K.

(18) Parliamentary Hiſtory. Vol. VIII. p. 75—77.

*** [DILLENIUS (JOHN-JAMES), an eminent Botaniſt, who ſettled in England, was born at Darmſtadt, in Germany, in the year 1687. He was early intended for the ſtudy of phyſic, and had the principal part of his education at the Univerſity of Gieſſen, a city of Upper Heſſe. To this ſeminary he was probably led by family connections; for at that place two perſons of the ſame name then reſided; one of whom was a profeſſor of medicine, and Dean of the faculty of phyſic; and the other, *poliater*, or public phyſician, an office which is ſaid not to be uncommon in Germany, though it is wholly unknown in our own country. The ſame office was afterwards held in Gieſſen by Dillenius himſelf (*a*). Of all the parts of ſcience connected with the medical profeſſion, he was moſt attached to the cultivation of Botany; and in this reſpect he ſoon obtained ſo much reputation, that, early in life, he was choſen a member of the " Academia Curioſorum Germaniæ." How well he deſerved the honour conferred upon him, was apparent in the papers which he communicated to that learned body, and which were publiſhed in their " Miſcellanea Curioſa." The firſt of his communications that we are acquainted with, and which could not have been written later than in the year 1715, was a Diſſertation concerning the plants of America that are naturalized in Europe. It is in the " Third Century of Obſervations," publiſhed by the Society juſt mentioned. The ſubject is curious, and is ſtill capable of much farther illuſtration. A diligent enquiry into it would unqueſtionably prove, that a far greater number of plants than is uſually imagined, and which are now thought to be indigenous in Europe, were of foreign origin. Beſides the moſt obvious increaſe of them, owing to their paſſage from the garden to the dunghill, and thence to the field, they have been augmented in conſequence of various other cauſes. No ſmall number of them have been introduced and diſperſed by the importation of grain, the package of merchandiſe, and the clearing out of ſhips. The Engliſh Flora of this kind, in its preſent ſtate, cannot, perhaps, contain fewer than ſixty acknowledged ſpecies; and a critical examination would probably add greatly to the catalogue (*b*).

(*a*) Pulteney's hiſtorical and biographical Sketches of the Progreſs of Botany in England, Vol. II. p. 154, 155.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 155, 156.

Another paper of Dillenius's, publiſhed in the " Fourth Century" of the " Miſcellanea " Curioſa," was a critical Diſſertation on the Coffee of the Arabians, and on European Coffee, or ſuch as may be prepared from grain or pulſe. In this diſſertation he gives the reſult of his own preparations made with peaſe, beans, and kidney-beans; but ſays, that from rye is produced what comes the neareſt to true Coffee. In the " Sixth Century of Obſervations," our author deſcribed and figured four ſpecies of dubious plants; three of the *Spergula* genus, now *Arenariæ*; and a *Veronica*; and in the Appendix to the ſame " Century," he gave the firſt ſpecimen of his accurate examination of ſome

plants of the *Cryptogamous* claſs; which he afterwards purſued ſo greatly to the improvement of Botany [*A*]. Dillenius, in the "Ninth Century" of the "Miſcellanea Curioſa," relates an experiment which he made concerning ſome opium which he had prepared himſelf, from the poppy of European growth. In the preceding number of the ſame collection, he had figured as a Zoologiſt, in a paper on *Leeches*; and in a deſcription of two ſpecies of the *Papilio* genus (*c*).

(*c*) Pulteney, ubi ſupra. p. 157, 158.

Dillenius, in 1719, excited the notice of naturaliſts by the publication of a ſeparate work; which was his "Catalogue of Plants growing in the Neighbourhood of Gieſſen." This production eſtabliſhed his character as one of the moſt accurate botaniſts of the age. It was entituled as follows: "Jo. Jac. DILLENII, M. L. Ac. Nat. Cur. Coll. "Catalogus Plantarum ſponte circa Giſſam naſcentium, cum Appendice, qua, Plantæ poſt editum Catalogum circa et extra Giſſam obſervatæ recenſentur, Specierum novarum vel dubiarum Deſcriptiones traduntur, et Genera Plantarum nova Figuris Æneis illuſtrata, deſcribuntur; pro ſupplendis Inſtitutionibus Rei Herbariæ Joſephi Pitton Tournefortii." Frank. ad Mæn. 1719. 8vo. Cum Tab. xvi. Cat. p. 240. App. p. 174. "Cui ſubjicitur Examen Reſponſionis Aug. Quir. RIVINI." This performance is dedicated to the heads of the Univerſity of *Gieſſen*; and contains the plants of the neighbourhood, confined to a circuit of not more than a German mile and a half. A map of this tract of country is given in the book. To the whole is prefixed "A Critical Examination "of the Method of arranging Plants," publiſhed by Ray and Knaut, who had founded their claſſical diſtinctions on the fruit; and of thoſe publiſhed by Rivinus and Tournefort, founded on the flower. After a diligent inveſtigation into the merit of each of theſe ſyſtems, Dillenius gave the preference to that of Ray, and adhered to it throughout his life. His animadverſions on Rivinus excited the reſentment of that author, which was followed by a vindication of his own ſyſtem. Dillenius had not treated Rivinus with the reſpect due to his age; but had indulged himſelf in a ſtyle that was juſtly reprehenſible. The only apology that can be made for him, and that not a ſufficient one, is the warmth natural to a young writer. However, it has been generally acknowledged that he had the advantage in the argument. Nothing can more ſtrongly diſplay the early ſkill and indefatigable induſtry of Dillenius, than his being able to produce ſo great a number of plants in ſo ſmall a tract. Not fewer than nine hundred and eighty ſpecies are enumerated by him, of what were then called the more perfect plants; that is, excluſively of the *muſhroom* claſs, and all the moſſes. Into the examination of this claſs Dillenius entered minutely; and by his diligence and diſcoveries, extended the bounds of that field, which had been ſo ſucceſsfully cultivated before him by the Engliſh botaniſts. More had been done in our own country in this way than in any other nation. So little had the *muſci* been regarded before, that the *pinax* of *Caſpar Bauhine* contains but fifty ſpecies. Ray's Synopſis, in its firſt edition, had not more than about eighty kinds; whereas by the inveſtigation of the Engliſh botaniſts, particularly of Doody, Sherard, Vernon, Lhwyd, Robinſon, Petiver, Robart, and others, this order was ſo far augmented in the ſecond edition of the ſame work, in 1696, as to comprehend upwards of an hundred and ſeventy ſpecies. Dillenius, however, was the firſt writer who examined them with a view to generical characters, and divided the moſſes and *muſhrooms* each into ſeparate *genera*. It is in his *Gieſſen* Catalogue that *Bryum*, *Hypnum*, *Mnium*, *Sphagnum*, *Lichenoides*, and *Lichenaſtrum*, are firſt met with as generical names. The four former of theſe were terms in uſe with the *patres botanici*; but they had been neglected by the reſtorers of the ſcience, who had ranked them all under the general term *muſcus*, the *Lychen*, *Lycopodium*, and *Polytrichum*, excepted. It is a ſtriking proof of Dillenius's accuracy and diligence that, in the environs of *Gieſſen* alone, he diſcovered more than two hundred ſpecies of moſſes, of which a hundred and forty were new. Of the *muſhroom* order he enumerates a hundred and ſixty; upwards of ninety of which he judged not to have been noticed by any author before. The plants in his catalogue are diſpoſed in the order of flowering throughout all the year; and the places of their growth are ſubjoined, with critical obſervations on many of the ſpecies. In the Appendix is contained a liſt of twenty plants, additional to thoſe of the Catalogue. Theſe were diſcovered in the immediate environs of *Gieſſen*; beſides which, there is an enumeration of upwards of a hundred ſpecies, obſerved by the author, beyond the bounds circumſcribed in the catalogue. This circumſtance renders the book, in a great meaſure, a

[*A*] *Gave the firſt ſpecimen of his accurate examination of ſome plants of the cryptogamous claſs.*] 'In this 'paper,' ſays Dr. Pulteney, 'Dillenius treats on the 'propagation of plants in general; but more particu-'larly on that of ferns, or capillary plants; and of 'the moſſes, which had hitherto been conſidered as 'deſtitute of flower and ſeed. He deſcribes the flowers 'of that genus, which he afterwards called *Lichena-'ſtrum*, and which was named by Micheli *Junger-'mannia*. He delineates two of the *Chara* genus, 'ſome of the *Confervæ*; and ſeveral of the more per-'fect plants, particularly the *Chondrilla*. He fixed 'the genus *Radiola*, *Corrigiola*, *&c.* and particularly 'the *Centunculus*, and *Cameraria*; which was after-'wards called *Montia*. To theſe he ſubjoins many 'curious obſervations on the uſe of the *Petals* and *Sta-'mina*, all tending to confirm the doctrine of the ſexes 'of plants; obſervations on the root of the *Equiſetum*; 'on the duſt of the *Antheræ*, and on the different ſhape 'of that in the *Orchis*, which he ſays is conical; and 'of that in the *Ophrys*, which is round (1).

(1) Pulteney's hiſtorical and biographical Sketches of the Progreſs of Botany in England. Vol. II. p. 157.

*Flora*

*Flora* of the plants of Heſſe. Then follows a deſcription of the new ſpecies of the Catalogue; which is ſucceeded by the eſtabliſhment of his new *genera* of *moſſes*, *fungi*, and a variety of others, amounting nearly to a hundred. Some of theſe had been noticed by former authors, and are here only amended: but the far greater part are of Dillenius's own conſtructing, and entirely new. The parts of fructification are ſeparately delineated, in ſixteen copper plates. This part of the work has been of great authority with ſucceeding writers; and many of the characters of the plants have ſtood the teſt of the Linnæan ſyſtem (*d*).

(*d*) Pulteney, ubi ſupra. p. 158—162.

By the merit of this performance, the character of Dillenius, as a perfectly ſcientific botaniſt, was fixed; and henceforward he attracted the notice of all the eminent profeſſors and admirers of the ſcience. To this ſcience no one was more ardently devoted at that time in England, than William Sherard, Eſq. who had been Britiſh Conſul at Smyrna, from which place he had returned to his own country in 1718; and who, ſoon after, had the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws conferred upon him by the Univerſity of Oxford. Being particularly enamoured with Dillenius's diſcoveries in the *Cryptogamia* claſs, he entered into a correſpondence with him, which ripened into a cloſe friendſhip. In the year 1721, Dr. Sherard, in the purſuit of his Botanical reſearches, made the tour of Holland, France, and Italy, much to the advantage of the ſcience; but what, in an eſpecial manner, rendered his travels of conſequence to the ſtudy of nature in our own country was, that, on his return, he brought Dillenius with him to England. It was in the month of Auguſt, in the ſame year, that this event took place (*e*).

(*e*) Ibid. p. 146, 147.—162, 163.

Dillenius had not long reſided in England before he undertook a work that was much deſired; which was that of publiſhing a new edition of the *Synopſis Stirpium Britannicarum* of Ray. This very valuable performance had been laſt printed in 1696, and was become ſcarce. Dillenius was eminently qualified for the undertaking. He had firmly attached himſelf to Ray's ſyſtem, and even improved it in ſome parts: and he was furniſhed with ample means of enlarging the book, by his diſcovery of ſpecies of *Cryptogamia*, and by the eſtabliſhment of new *genera*: Beſides this, he was enabled, by the diſcoveries of many ingenious men, whoſe names are enumerated in the preface, greatly to enlarge Engliſh botany. He was, likewiſe, ſufficiently qualified, through the ſkill and aſſiſtance of Dr. Richardſon, and Mr. James Sherard (brother of William), to add the old Britiſh botany, if the expreſſion may be allowed, to the Engliſh. With all theſe advantages, the third edition of Ray's *Synopſis* appeared in 1724, much to the ſatisfaction of all the lovers of the ſcience throughout Europe. Twenty-four plates of rare plants were added to this edition; and the addition of new ſpecies was very great. Many valuable notes, and emendations in the *genera* might alſo be mentioned. The accumulation to this book from Dillenius's own diſcoveries, and from the communications of others, whoſe names are mentioned in the preface, amounted to nearly forty new *fungi*, as many marine plants, upwards of a hundred and fifty *moſſes*, and conſiderably above two hundred other plants, which had been diſcovered to be natives of Britain, ſince the publication of the ſecond edition. The whole number of Britiſh plants, as they ſtand in this book, are about two thouſand and two hundred. It is, however, here to be obſerved, that botaniſts had not at that time ſufficiently eſtabliſhed ſpecific diſtinctions; for this number, which could not bear the teſt of the *Linnæan* rules, has ſince been reduced to fewer than eighteen hundred (*f*). Dillenius's edition of the *Synopſis* ſeems to have been the moſt popular of all his publications. Such was the encouragement derived from the ſale of it, that, ſome time after its appearance, he was buſily engaged in collecting materials for a fourth edition. He had drawn moſt of the *fungi* deſcribed in the above work, and had made a large collection, with a view to the completion of his deſign. He had alſo drawn, though not finiſhed, moſt of the perfect plants (as they were then called) deſcribed in the third edition (*g*). Though he did not carry his purpoſe into execution, his labour was not ſpent in vain. His exertions on this occaſion were favourable to the grand ſcheme he ever had in view, of completing the *Hiſtoria Muſcorum* (*b*).

(*f*) Ibid. p. 163—165.

(*g*) From the information of Dr. Sibthorpe, communicated by Dr. Shaw.

(*b*) Pulteney, ubi ſupra. p. 167.

During the former years of Dillenius's living in England, his time appears to have been divided between the Country reſidence of Mr. James Sherard, at Eltham, in Kent; the Conſul's houſe in town; and his own lodgings, which, in 1728, were in Barking Alley. In the year 1727, Dr. Threlkeld publiſhed his *Synopſis Stirpium Hibernicarum*; in the courſe of which work he introduced ſome ſevere ſtrictures on Dillenius. Theſe were principally leveled at the introduction of his new generical names; but, at the ſame time, great fault was found with him for unneceſſarily multiplying the ſpecies of plants. Though the attack was made in harſh and coarſe language, Dillenius had temper enough to abſtain from entering into any controverſy on the occaſion. He probably did not think that Threlkeld's objections were ſo forcible as to influence the opinions of men of judgment in the ſcience, as the Iriſh Botaniſt had but little regarded any true principles of generical diſtinction. In a letter which Dillenius wrote to a correſpondent, he informs him, that there was but one plant recited in Threlkeld's book which was not known

before as a native of Ireland (*i*). At the latter end of the year 1727, Dillenius was so doubtful concerning what might be the ſtate of his future circumſtances, that he entertained a deſign of reſiding ſome time, if not finally ſettling, in Yorkſhire. In a letter which he wrote to a correſpondent of that County, he enquired about the price of boarding, and whether, if he ſhould reſolve to go and live in that country, he might expect any ſmall encouragement in buſineſs. This ſcheme did not take effect; and on the twelfth of Auguſt, 1728, Dr. William Sherard died, and, by his will, gave three thouſand pounds, to provide a ſalary for a profeſſor of botany at Oxford, on condition that Dillenius ſhould be choſen the firſt profeſſor. Before his deceaſe he had erected the edifice at the entrance of the garden, for the uſe of the profeſſor; and he bequeathed to the eſtabliſhment his botanical library, his *Herbarium*, and his *Pinax*. The Univerſity of Oxford having waved the right of nomination, in conſequence of Dr. Sherard's benefaction, Dillenius now arrived at that ſituation which had probably been the chief object of his wiſhes; and which he conſidered as the completion of his hopes, the aſylum againſt future diſappointments, and the field of all that gratification which his taſte and purſuits prompted him to deſire, and qualified him to enjoy. He was placed, likewiſe, in the ſociety of the learned, in the completeſt ſenſe of that word, and at the fountain of every information which the ſtores of both ancient and modern erudition could diſplay to an inquiſitive mind (*k*).

(*i*) Pulteney, ubi ſupra. p. 165, 166.

One of the principal employments of Dr. William Sherard, was the carrying on a *Pinax*, or collection of all the names, which had been given by botanical writers to each plant. This was a continuation of Caſpar Bauhine's great plan; and Sherard, during his life, was much aſſiſted in it by Dillenius (*l*). After the death of Sherard, our profeſſor moſt zealouſly fulfilled the will of his benefactor, in the care he took of his collection, which he greatly augmented. But he was not a little chagrined from the want of books, and the means of purchaſing them. Without this aid, he could not complete, in the manner he wiſhed, the *Pinax* which Dr. Sherard had long laboured, and of which Boerhaave had given a very handſome teſtimony, in his Index of the Leyden Garden. Unfortunately for Dillenius, publications increaſed when the purſe of his friend was no longer opened, and he found few remaining ones to aſſiſt him (*m*).

(*k*) Pulteney, ubi ſupra. p. 149, 167.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 148.

Another undertaking in which our author was engaged, was the *Hortus Elthamenſis*, being a deſcription of the plants contained in the garden of Mr. James Sherard (brother to William), who was firſt an apothecary, and afterwards created Doctor of Phyſic. This was one of the richeſt gardens that England had ever poſſeſſed; and the plan of deſcribing it had been laid ſo early as the year 1724. After Dillenius's ſettlement at Oxford, he proſecuted the deſign with vigour; and, in 1732, the work was printed, under the following title: "*Hortus Elthamenſis*, ſeu Plantarum rariorum quas, in Horto ſuo Elthami in Cantio "coluit vir ornatiſſimus et præſtantiſſimus Jacobus Sherard M.D. Soc. Reg. et Coll. Med. "Lond. Soc. Gulielmi P. M. Frater, Delineationes et Deſcriptiones, quarum Hiſtoria vel "planè non vel imperfectè a Rei herbariæ ſcriptoribus tradita fuit, Auctore Johanne Jacobo "DILLENIO, M.D." Lond. Fol. pp. 437. In this elegant and elaborate work, of which Linnæus ſays, *eſt opus botanicum quo abſolutius mundus non vidit*, four hundred and ſeventeen plants are deſcribed and figured with the moſt circumſtantial accuracy. They are all drawn and etched with Dillenius's own hand; and conſiſt principally of ſuch exotics as were then rare, or had but lately been introduced into England. They are diſpoſed in the alphabetical order, and a few of the more uncommon Engliſh and Welch plants are included. The figures are as much as poſſible of the natural ſize; and the better to aſcertain the ſpecies, the *Synonoma* of former authors are quoted and accompanied by a large number of critical examinations and obſervations. Several of the new *Genera* are eſtabliſhed; many of the new *Gerania* are figured; and a copious Hiſtory of the genus *Meſembryanthemum* is given; with a ſynoptical view of all the ſpecies, fifty-four of which are deſcribed in the performance (*n*). The ſale of this work did not by any means correſpond with its merit. So limited was the attention which was at that time paid to botanical objects, that the *Hortus Elthamenſis* had but few purchaſers. Dillenius cut a conſiderable number of copies, as papers to hold his *Hortus ſiccus*; and in deſpair of ſelling the remaining ones, through the recommendation of his friend Gronovius, he diſpoſed of them, together with the plates, to a Dutch Bookſeller, who broke; ſo that our author loſt the whole of the little profit which he expected to derive from the ſale (*o*). On the third of April, 1735, he was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Phyſic, in the Univerſity of Oxford. His former degree of the ſame kind had probably been taken at *Gieſſen*. In the Summer of 1736, he had the honour of receiving a viſit, at Oxford, from the celebrated Linnæus; and though he did not reliſh the Sexual ſyſtem, about that time firſt divulged, yet Linnæus returned with the higheſt opinion of his merit. He afterwards expreſſed himſelf concerning our profeſſor in theſe words: *In Anglia nullus eſt qui genera curat vel intelligit præterquam* DILLENIUS. From this period a correſpondence was carried on between Linnæus and our author. The Swediſh botaniſt ſent him his *Flora Lapponica*, and dedicated to him the *Critica Botanica*. On this occaſion Dillenius ſent his acknow-

(*m*) From the information of Dr. Sibthorpe, communicated as before.

(*n*) Pulteney, ubi ſupra. p. 171, 172.

(*o*) From the obliging communications before mentioned.

ledgments in the following terms: "*Vidi, accepi, et legi floram tuam Lapponicam multâ cum voluptate; utinam plures iſtiuſmodi nobis proſtarent, tali ſtudio et cura elaboratæ; in hac te virum præſtitiſti.*" Another perſon with whom our profeſſor correſponded, and whom he probably the more eſteemed, on account of the affinity of his ſyſtem with that of Ray, was Haller. It appears that Haller was conſidered by him as almoſt the only man qualified to carry on the *Pinax*; and he wiſhed him to have been his ſucceſſor. About this time, Dillenius was employed with Dr. Shaw, in reducing to order and aſcertaining that learned traveller's oriental plants. As they were all of them dried ſpecimens, and the collection extenſive, conſiſting of ſix hundred and forty ſpecies, it required the aid of an able hand to diſtinguiſh and apply ſynonyms to ſo conſiderable a number. The catalogue which is annexed, with the engraving of a few of the plants, to the firſt edition of Dr. Shaw's elaborate work, is indebted, for no ſmall degree of its merit, to the ſkill and diligence of our botanical profeſſor (*p*).

(*p*) Pulteney, ubi ſupra. p 172—174.

After the publication of the *Hortus Elthamenſis*, Dillenius purſued his "Hiſtory of "Moſſes," with great application; in the proſecution of which deſign he enjoyed every deſirable aſſiſtance. By means of the excellent botanical library of the Sherards, and free acceſs to their ample Herbarium, and that of Mr. Du Bois, who had, with Mr. Doody and ſeveral others, ſignalized themſelves by their diſcoveries in the *moſs* way ſome years before, he poſſeſſed advantages which perhaps no other ſituation could have afforded. Beſides this, to give himſelf all farther opportunities that Britain allowed of making diſcoveries in the particular object of his purſuit, he had taken a journey into Wales in the Summer of the year 1726, and was attended in his excurſion by an eminent lover of botany, Samuel Brewer. They examined Cader, Idris, and took up their reſidence at Bangor; from which they proceeded to ſearch Snowdon, Glyder, and the Iſle of Angleſey. They viſited likewiſe the Iſle of Man. Mr. Green, a Clergyman of Wales, was uſeful in directing their reſearches, and in aſſiſting Dillenius in the Welch names of places and of plants. The Rev. Littleton Brown, M. A. Fellow of the Royal Society, is alſo commemorated, as having communicated to our author many ſpecimens of the *Cryptogamous* tribe, which had been collected by him in Wales, Shropſhire, and Herefordſhire. Thus by the communication of theſe and many other friends, foreign as well as Britiſh, whoſe aid Dillenius had gratefully acknowledged, he was enabled to bring his work to that degree of perfection which would not have been practicable in various other ſituations. In 1741 it appeared from the Sheldon preſs, under the following title: "HISTORIA MUSCORUM, *in qua circiter ſexcentæ ſpecies veteres et novæ, ad ſua Genera relatæ, deſcribuntur, et Iconibus genuinis illuſtrantur; cum Appendice, et Indice Synonymorum. Opera Jo. Jac. Dillenii, M. D. in Univerſitate Oxonienſi Botanices Profeſſoris* SHERARDINI. 4to. 1741. p. 552. Tab. 85. (*q*). The figures were moſtly drawn, painted, and engraved, by Dillenius's own hand (*r*). In this work are comprehended all thoſe plants which come under the name of *Muſci* and *Algæ*, in the *Cryptogamia* claſs of the ſexual ſyſtem, excepting the *Fucuſes*, ſome of the *Ulvæ*, *Confervæ*, and a very few others. Our author's method, throughout the whole of his performance, is to give at the head of each genus the etymology of the name; his reaſons for adopting that name, and applying it to the ſubject: and then the definition of his genus, followed by the ſubordinate diſtinctions for the arrangement of the ſpecies. 'In treating on each ſpecies,' ſays Dr. Pulteney, 'he gives 1. A new ſpecific character, 'in terms intended to diſtinguiſh it from others of the ſame genus, or ſubdiviſion. 2. The 'deſcription of the ſame ſpecies at length; diſtinguiſhing alſo, with great care, the 'ſeveral varieties; and referring each to the ſeveral figures on his plates. 3. The 'general places of growth; and under the more rare ſpecies, the particular places where 'they have been found, or from whence he had received them: to theſe is ſubjoined 'the time when each is found in heads, or in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate. 4. The ſynonym 'of every author at length, diſpoſed in chronological order; noticing at the ſame time 'ſuch as are referable to varieties; and frequently ſubjoining a number of critical 'obſervations. 5. The uſes of particular kinds, whether in the general œconomy of 'nature, or in medicine, or the other arts and conveniences of life (*s*)." In the preface there is a ſummary view of the uſes of ſeveral kinds of moſſes; and in the body of the work Dillenius has collected, with great diligence, numerous authorities on theſe heads; by which it is evinced, that this almoſt unnoticed tribe of vegetables may lay claim to a more conſiderable importance in the ſcale of utility, than a ſuperficial view might ſuggeſt. Various proofs of the truth of the ſame obſervation occur in the writings of ſeveral modern botaniſts. When the minuteneſs of the objects of our author's inveſtigation, the accuracy of his deſcriptions, the critical examination and nice diſcrimination of each ſpecies, the labour and ſkill he has diſplayed in the ſelection of the phœnomena, and the diſpoſition of them into chronological order, which is a highly meritorious part of the plan, are taken into due conſideration, it muſt be acknowledged that "The Hiſtory of Moſſes" is a very extraordinary performance. Nor is the value of it leſſened, in any degree that deſerves to be mentioned, by recent diſcoveries. For notwithſtanding any ſubſequent improvement in the arrangement of ſpecies, or in the reduction of them, in conſequence of more perfect obſervations, or even in the microſcopial diſcoveries of Hedwig reſpecting

(*q*) Pulteney, ubi ſupra. p. 174—176.

(*r*) From Dr. Sibthorpe.

(*s*) Pulteney, ubi ſupra. p. 177, 178.

the *Genera*, Dillenius's work muſt long be the baſis of knowledge in this part of nature, and muſt remain with poſterity as an almoſt unexampled inſtance of patience, ingenuity, and ſcience. It poſſeſſes, moreover, a ſuperiority over moſt other botanical publications, in having a complete Index of the *Synonyma* at length. The want of an addition of this kind, in Linnæus's *Species Plantarum* has often been regretted by thoſe who are converſant with his writings. The whole impreſſion of Dillenius's "Moſſes" conſiſted only of two hundred and fifty copies, fifty of which were on imperial paper. So ſmall was the demand at this time in England for works in natural hiſtory, that one guinea was thought a ſufficient price for the book; and, notwithſtanding its cheapneſs, the ſale was very ſlow. Since another ſpirit has riſen in our country, ten guineas are not deemed too much for the "Hiſtory of Moſſes." A copy, with the plates coloured by Dillenius himſelf, has been ſold for twenty guineas, or upwards. The original edition having become extremely ſcarce, an impreſſion of the plates, with the names only annexed, was taken in the year 1768, and publiſhed by Millan. It may be remarked, that the "Hiſtory of Moſſes," was the firſt book printed in England, in which any of the Linnæan ſpecific characters were exhibited (*t*).

(*t*) Pulteney, ubi ſupra. p. 178—180.

There is the greateſt reaſon to believe that Dillenius intended to have proſecuted the *Funguſſes*, as well as the *Moſſes*; and this deſign he appears to have had in contemplation, not long after his ſettlement in our own country. In a letter which was written by him to a correſpondent, in 1726, he ſays, that 'he was buſy in painting *Fungi*.' He correſponded with Deering on the ſubject; who was himſelf well ſkilled in the knowledge of theſe productions, and had painted a great number, ſome of which he communicated to our profeſſor. Dillenius is ſaid to have been of a corpulent habit of body; which circumſtance, united to his cloſe application to ſtudy, might probably contribute to ſhorten his days. In the laſt week of March, 1747, he was ſeized with an apoplexy, and died on the ſecond of April, in the ſixtieth year of his age. There is a portrait of him in the picture gallery, or ſchool, at Oxford, in which he is repreſented in the academical habit. It does not appear that any engraving from it was ever made. Concerning Dillenius's domeſtic character, habits, temper, and diſpoſitions, there is very ſlender information. The account of his contemporaries was, that he was moderate, temperate, and gentle, in all his conduct; that he was known to few who did not ſeek him; and, as might be expected from the bent of his ſtudies, and the cloſe application he gave to them, that his habits were of the recluſe kind. From the peruſal of ſome of of his letters, it may be collected that he was naturally endowed with a placid diſpoſition, improved by a philoſophical calmneſs of mind, which ſecured him in a conſiderable degree from the effects of the incidental evils of life. In one of his letters, he expreſſes himſelf as follows: 'For my little time, I have met with as many adverſities and miſfortunes, as 'any body; which, by the help of exerciſe, amuſement, and reading ſome of the ſtoic 'philoſophers, I have overcome; and am reſolved that nothing ſhall afflict me more. 'Many things here, as well as at my home, that *hath* happened to me, would cut down 'almoſt any body. But two days ago I had a letter, acquainting me with a very near 'relation's death, whom I was obliged to aſſiſt with money in his calamities, in order 'to ſet him up again in buſineſs: and now this is all gone, and there is ſomething more 'for me to pay, which is not a little for *me*; but it does not at all affect me. I rather 'thank God that it is not worſe. This is only one, and I have had harder ſtrokes than 'this, and there *lies* ſtill ſome upon me (*u*). It is plain, from this extract, that Dillenius had not completely attained the grammar of our language. His drawings, dried plants, printed books and manuſcripts, *&c.* were left by our author to Dr. Seidel, his executor; by whom they were ſold to Dr. Sibthorpe, his ingenious and learned ſucceſſor in the botanical profeſſorſhip. Amongſt theſe botanical collections, were all the Britiſh *Funguſſes*, deſigned and painted by Dillenius himſelf; beſides a large number of ſuch non-deſcript *Fungi* as had been diſcovered ſubſequent to the publication of the Synopſis. There were alſo ſeveral drawings by him of the more perfect plants, but many of them were unfiniſhed. He himſelf coloured ſome copies of the *Hortus Eltbamenſis*, one of which he preſented to the Bodleian Library (*w*).]

(*u*) Ibid. p. 181—183.

K.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 182.

*** [DILLON (WENTWORTH), Earl of Roſcommon, a Nobleman diſtinguiſhed for his poetical talents, was born in Ireland in the reign of King Charles I. at the time when the Earl of Strafford was inveſted with the office of Lord Deputy of that kingdom (*a*). He was nephew to that nobleman; his father, Sir James Dillon, the third Earl of Roſcommon, having married Elizabeth the youngeſt daughter of Sir William Wentworth, of Wentworth Wood-houſe, in the county of York, ſiſter to the Earl of Strafford (*b*).

(*a*) Fenton's notes to his edition of the works of Edmund Waller, 4to. 1729. P. 75.

(*b*) Nichols's Select Collection of Poems, with Notes Biographical and Hiſtorical. Vol. VI. p. 35.

He is ſaid to have been ſent for by his uncle into England when very young, and placed

placed at his ſeat in Yorkſhire, where he was inſtructed in Latin [*A*]; which he learned, we are told, ſo as to write it with purity and elegance, though he was never able to retain the rules of grammar. When the proſecution commenced againſt Lord Strafford, that Nobleman's houſe was no longer conſidered as a proper reſidence for his nephew; and, therefore, young Dillon, by the advice of Archbiſhop Uſher, who had converted his father from Popery, was ſent to Caen in Normandy, where the Proteſtants had then an Univerſity, in order to proſecute his ſtudies under the learned Samuel Bochart. He is repreſented as having already made great proficiency in literature, and his progreſs was probably far beyond what is uſual at his age; but as he appears now not to have been more than nine years old, the accounts of his attainments ſeem to have been exaggerated. 'That he was ſent to Caen,' ſays Dr. Johnſon, 'is certain; that he was a great ſcholar 'may be doubted (*c*).' His father is ſaid to have died during his ſtay at Caen; and a ſtrange and improbable tale is related, of his having had ſome preternatural knowledge of that event [*B*]. How long he continued at Caen we are not informed; but it appears that after he had finiſhed his ſtudies at that place, he travelled into Italy, and at Rome examined with great care the moſt valuable remains of antiquity. He alſo particularly applied himſelf to the knowledge of medals, in which he acquired uncommon ſkill; and he made ſo great a proficiency in the Italian language, and ſpoke it with ſo much eaſe and fluency, that he is ſaid to have been frequently miſtaken for a native of Italy (*d*).

(*c*) Biographical Preface to the Works of Roſcommon, p. 3. firſt edition.

(*d*) Fenton, ubi ſupra. p. 76.

Soon after the Reſtoration, Lord Roſcommon returned to England, where he was well received by King Charles II. and made Captain of the Band of Penſioners. But this court-preferment appears to have been a great misfortune to him; for, in conſequence of it, he ſoon 'learned,' as Dr. Johnſon expreſſes it, 'ſo much of the diſſoluteneſs of the Court, that he addicted himſelf immoderately to gaming (*e*). This impaired his fortune, and involved him in quarrels, in which he is ſaid to have frequently hazarded his life in duels (*f*). At length, having a diſpute with the Lord Privy Seal about part of his eſtate, he found it neceſſary to return to Ireland, and thereupon reſigned his poſt in the Engliſh Court. But ſoon after his arrival at Dublin, the Duke of Ormond appointed him to be Captain of the Guards. His paſſion for gaming ſtill continued; he was involved in quarrels and in difficulties in Ireland, as he had been before in England; and an adventure befel him, which is related in the following terms by Fenton: 'As he 'returned to his lodgings from a gaming-table, he was attacked in the dark by three 'ruffians, who were employed to aſſaſſinate him. The Earl defended himſelf with ſo 'much reſolution, that he diſpatched one of the aggreſſors; whilſt a gentleman, 'accidentally paſſing that way, interpoſed, and diſarmed another; the third ſecured 'himſelf by flight. This generous aſſiſtant was a diſbanded officer, of a good family, 'and fair reputation; who, by what we call the partiality of fortune, to avoid cenſuring 'the iniquities of the times, wanted even a plain ſuit of cloaths to make a decent 'appearance at the Caſtle. But his lordſhip, on this occaſion, preſenting him to the 'Duke of Ormond, with great importunity prevailed with his grace, that he might 'reſign his poſt of Captain of the Guards to his friend; which for about three years the 'gentleman enjoyed; and, upon his death, the Duke returned the commiſſion to his 'generous benefactor (*g*).'

(*e*) Biographical Preface, ubi ſupra, p. 6, 7.

(*f*) Fenton, ut ſupra.

(*g*) Id. ibid.

Having ſettled his affairs in Ireland, and being attracted by the pleaſures of the Engliſh Court, and by the friendſhips which he had formed there, Lord Roſcommon returned again to London. Soon after his arrival, he was made Maſter of the Horſe to

[*A*] *At his ſeat in Yorkſhire, where he was inſtructed in Latin*, &c.] Fenton ſays, that the Earl of Strafford 'placed him at his own ſeat in Yorkſhire, under the 'tuition of Dr. Hall, a perſon of eminent learning 'and piety. By him he was inſtructed in Latin; 'and without learning the common rules of grammar, 'which he could never retain in his memory, he 'attained to write in that language with claſſical 'elegance and propriety; and with ſo much eaſe, that 'he choſe it to correſpond with thoſe friends who had 'learning ſufficient to ſupport the commerce (1).' It is juſtly obſerved by Dr. Johnſon, that the inſtructor, here ſpoken of, could not be the famous Dr. John Hall, as he was then "an old man, and a Biſhop (2);" though that prelate is ſtated as the perſon in the Lives of the Poets publiſhed under the name of Cibber (3).

(1) Notes on Waller's Works, p. 76.

(2) Biographical Preface to the Works of Roſcommon, p. 2.

(3) Vol. II. p. 344.

[*B*] *Having had ſome preternatural knowledge of that event.*] The ſtory is told by Aubrey, who is known to have had no inconſiderable portion of credulity, and is as follows: 'The Lord Roſcommon, being a 'boy of ten years of age at Caen in Normandy, one 'day was (as it were) madly extravagant in playing, 'leaping, getting over the table-boards, &c. He was 'wont to be ſober enough; they ſaid, God grant this 'bodes no ill luck to him. In the heat of this ex-'travagant fit, he cries out, my father is dead. A 'fortnight after, news came from Ireland, that his 'father was dead. This account I had from Mr. 'Knolles, who was his governor, and then with him, 'ſince Secretary to the Earl of Strafford; and I have 'heard his lordſhip's relations confirm the ſame (4).'

Lord Roſcommon is ſuppoſed to have been born in the year 1633; and his father is ſaid to have died at Limerick in 1649 (5). Theſe dates do not agree with the above ſtory. If they are right, Lord Roſcommon muſt have been about ſixteen at the time of his father's death.

Anthony Wood mentions the following particulars of Lord Roſcommon's father. 'He was,' ſays he, 'when young, reclaimed from the ſuperſtition of the 'Romiſh Church by the learned and religious Dr. 'Uſher, primate of Ireland, and thereupon was ſent 'by him into England, as a *Jewel of Price*, to be 'committed to the care and truſt of Dr. George Hake-'will, who finding him to be a young man of preg-'nant parts, placed him in Exeter-college, under the 'tuition of Laurence Bodley, Bachelor of Divinity, 'nephew to the great Sir Thomas Bodley, in the 'beginning of the year 1628; in which College con-'tinuing ſome years, became a perſon of ſeveral ac-'compliſhments, and afterwards Earl of Roſcommon 'in his own country of Ireland *.'

(4) Miſcellanies upon various ſubjects, p. 162, 163. edit. 1784.

(5) Nichols's Select Collection of Poems, with Notes, Vol. VI. p. 53.

* Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 223.

the Dutchess of York; and married the Lady Frances, daughter of the Earl of Burlington, and widow of Colonel Courtney. He still continued to cultivate literature, and formed the plan of a society for refining our language, and fixing its standard [C], in imitation of some similar foreign establishments. Mr. Dryden concurred with him in this project; but Lord Roscommon did not live to bring it to any degree of maturity. After the accession of King James II. he is said to have formed a resolution of retiring to Rome, on account of the religious contentions which then took place [D]; telling his friends, that "it would be best to sit next to the chimney when the chamber "smoked (b)." His departure was prevented by the gout; and being too impatient either of pain, or of delay, he put himself into the hands of a French empiric, who is said to have repelled the disease into his bowels; and thereby put a period to his life, in the year 1684 (i). At the moment in which he expired, he pronounced, with a voice that expressed the most intense fervour of devotion, two lines of his own version of *Dies Iræ*:

(b) Fenton, ut supra. p. 77.

(i) Johnson, and Fenton, ut supra.

"My God, my Father, and my Friend,
"Do not forsake me at my end (k)."

(k) Fenton, ut supra.

He was buried with great funeral pomp in Westminster-abbey; but no monument was erected to his memory. He was twice married. His second wife was Isabella, daughter of Matthew Boynton, Esq. of Yorkshire (l).

(l) Nichols, ut supra.

The Earl of Roscommon was the author of several poetical pieces, which possess considerable merit, but on which such high commendations were bestowed in his own time [E] as he probably would not have obtained had he been of inferior rank. His principal

[C] *Formed the plan of a society for refining our language, and fixing its standard.*] Dr. Johnson says, 'The same design, it is well known, was revived by 'Dr. Swift in the ministry of Oxford; but it has never 'since been publickly mentioned, though at that time 'great expectations were formed, by some at least, of 'its establishment and its effects. Such a society 'might, perhaps, without much difficulty, be col-'lected; but that it would produce what is expected 'from it, may be doubted.

'The Italian academy seems to have obtained its 'end. The language was refined, and so fixed that 'it has changed but little. The French academy 'thought that they refined their language, and doubt-'less thought rightly; but the event has not shewn 'that they fixed it; for the French of the present time 'is very different from that of the last century.

'In this country an academy could be expected to 'do but little. If an academician's place were pro-'fitable, it would be given by interest; if attendance 'were gratuitous, it would be rarely paid, and no man 'would endure the least disgust. Unanimity is im-'possible, and debate would separate the assembly. 'But suppose the philological decree made and pro-'mulgated, what would be its authority? In abso-'lute governments, there is sometimes a general re-'verence paid to all that has the sanction of power, 'and the countenance of greatness. How little this 'is the state of our country needs not to be told. We 'live in an age, in which it is a kind of public sport 'to refuse all respect that cannot be enforced. The 'edicts of an English academy would probably be 'read by many, only that they might be sure to dis-'obey them. That our language is in perpetual 'danger of corruption cannot be denied: but what 'prevention can be found? The present manners of 'the nation would deride authority, and therefore 'nothing is left but that every writer should criticise 'himself (6).'

(6) Biographical Preface, ubi supra, p. 10, 11, 12.

We can easily suppose, with Dr. Johnson, that such an English academy, as is above spoken of, might not be productive of much effect; but we do not think that this should be presumed merely from the unwillingness of the people of England to submit to authority. We rather imagine, that the probable failure would arise from the difficulties necessarily attendant on such an undertaking, and from the evanescent nature of language. According to Dr. Johnson's own account, the French academy has failed; and yet surely the French nation, at the time referred to, were sufficiently submissive to authority. The people of England would probably be as ready to submit to the decisions of reason as the inhabitants of any other country; and we do not apprehend, that, in matters of literature, it would be any advantage to them to be inclined to an implicit submission to any other authority.

[D] *On account of the religious contentions which then took place.*] If Lord Rolcommon died in 1684, as all his biographers agree, he could not live to see much of what Dr. Johnson calls 'the contentious turbulence of 'King James's reign (7).' James ascended the throne on the 6th of February 1684-5. In the New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8vo. it is said, that Lord Roscommon died Jan. 17, 1684. If it was 1684-5, his death happened before the accession of James II.

(7) Ibid. p. 12.

In the several accounts of Lord Roscommon's life, there appear to have been some mistakes respecting dates, and other circumstances, which cannot now be rectified. They are chiefly taken from Mr. Fenton's account, in his edition of Waller; and Fenton derived his materials from a life of Roscommon written by Dr. Chetwood, but which has never been printed (8).

(8) Nichols, ut supra.

[E] *On which such high commendations were bestowed in his own time*, &c.] His "Essay on Translated "Verse" was styled by Dryden 'a finished Poem;' and, on account of its great merit, England and Ireland were represented as in danger of

'A nobler quarrel for his native earth,
'Than what divided Greece for Homer's birth (9).'

(9) Verses addressed by Mr. Dryden to the Earl of Roscommon on his Essay on Translated Verse.

Charles Dryden also wrote a copy of verses, in Latin, in honour of Lord Roscommon's performance; in which are the following lines:

'Anglia si claris pollet fœcunda poetis
'Mundo præceptos jactans in pace triumphos;
'Pallada nutrivit si non minus ubere glebâ;
'Augusto quam magna tulit sub Cæsare Roma;
'Hoc tibi debetur Comes illustrissime sœcli:
'Nam postquam per te patuit, populoque refulsit
'Ars Flacci, vatum surrexit vivida proles,
'Divinis instructa modis et carmine puro.
'Jam non sola sequi vestigia sacra Maronis
'Sed transferre datur: Vos O gaudete superbi
'Angligenæ, meritisque virum redimite corollis,
'*Quem penes arbitrium est & jus & norma loquendi.*
'Nam duce Te vatum series æterna sequetur,
'Qui tentare modos ausi immortalis Homeri,
'Heroasque, Deosque canent, plausuque secundo
'Non male ceratis tendent super æthera pennis.'

Which have been thus translated by Mr. Needler:

'That happy Britain boasts her tuneful race,
'And laurel wreaths her peaceful temples grace,
'The honour and the praise is justly due,
'To you alone, illustrious Earl! to you.
'For soon as Horace, with his artful page,
'By thee explain'd, had taught the listening age;
'Of brightest bards arose a skilful train,
'Who sweetly sung in their immortal strain.
'No more content great Maro's steps to trace,
'New paths we search, and tread unbeaten ways.
'Ye

principal production is his "Eſſay on Tranſlated Verſe [F];" to which were prefixed ſome encomiaſtic verſes by Mr. Dryden, in which he ſaid, that,

"Scarce his own Horace could ſuch rules ordain;
"Or his own Virgil ſing a nobler ſtrain."

He alſo publiſhed a tranſlation, in blank verſe, of Horace's Art of Poetry [G]; a Paraphraſe

'Ye Britons, then, triumphantly rejoice;
'And with loud peals, and one conſenting voice,
'Applaud the man, who does unrivalled ſit,
"The ſovereign judge, and arbiter of wit!"
'For led by thee, an endleſs train ſhall riſe,
'Of poets, who ſhall climb ſuperior ſkies;
'Heroes and Gods in worthy verſe ſhall ſing,
'And tune to Homer's lay the lofty ſtring (10).'

(10) Nichols's Select Collection of Poems, Vol. VI. p. 52.

Complimentary verſes were alſo prefixed to the Eſſay on Tranſlated Verſe by Chetwood and Amherſt. In the former of theſe is the following paſſage:

'Thoſe talents all are yours, of which but one
'Were a fair fortune for a Muſe's ſon.
'Wit, reading, judgment, converſation, art,
'A head well balanc'd, and a generous heart.
'While inſect rhymes cloud the polluted ſky,
'Created to moleſt the world, and die,
'Your file does poliſh what your fancy caſt,
'Works are long forming which muſt always laſt.
'Rough, iron ſenſe, and ſtubborn to the mou'd
'Touch'd by your chymic hand is turn'd to gold.
'A ſecret grace faſhions the flowing lines,
'And inſpiration through the labour ſhines.
'Writers, in ſpite of all their paint and art,
'Betray the darling paſſion of their heart.
'No fame you wound, give no chaſte ear offence,
'Still true to friendſhip, modeſty, and ſenſe.
'So ſaints from heaven for our example ſent,
'Live to their rules, having nothing to repent.
'Horace, if living, by exchange of fate,
'Would give no laws, but only yours tranſlate.'

The panegyric of Amherſt concludes with the following lines:

'When this inimitable piece is ſhown,
'In languages and empires yet unknown,
'It will be learning then to know and hear
'Not only what you wrote, but what you were (11).'

(11) Verſes addreſſed to the Earl of Roſcommon, prefixed to the Eſſay on Tranſlated Verſe, in the edition of his Works, 8vo. 1717.

His writings were alſo ſpoken of in very high terms after his death: 'His friends,' ſays Mr. Fenton, 'ſeem 'to have thought his own writings a more durable 'monument than any they could erect to his memory. 'And in them we view the image of a mind that was 'naturally ſerious and ſolid; richly furniſhed and 'adorned with all the ornaments of art and ſcience; 'and thoſe ornaments unaffectedly diſpoſed in the moſt 'regular and elegant order. His imagination might 'have probably been more fruitful and ſprightly, if 'his judgment had been leſs ſevere: but that ſeverity '(delivered in a maſculine, clear, ſuccinct ſtyle) con'tributed to make him ſo eminent in the didactical 'manner, that no man with juſtice can affirm he was 'ever equalled by any of our own nation, without 'confeſſing at the ſame time that he is inferior to none. 'In ſome other kinds of writing his genius ſeems to 'have wanted fire to attain the point of perfection: 'but who can attain it (12)?'

(12) Obſervations on ſome of Mr. Waller's Poems, p. 77.

'From this account,' ſays Dr. Johnſon, 'of the 'riches of his mind, who would not imagine that 'they had been diſplayed in large volumes and nume'rous performances? Who would not, after the peru'ſal of this character, be ſurprized to find, that all 'the proofs of this genius, and knowledge, and judg'ment, are not ſufficient to form a ſingle book, or to 'appear otherwiſe than in conjunction with the works 'of ſome other writer of the ſame petty ſize? But 'thus it is that characters are written; we know 'ſomewhat, and we imagine the reſt. The obſerva'tion, that his imagination would probably have been 'more fruitful and ſprightly if his judgment had been 'leſs ſevere, may be anſwered, by a remarker ſome'what inclined to cavil, by a contrary ſuppoſition, 'that his judgment would probably have been leſs 'ſevere, if his imagination had been more fruitful. It is ridiculous to oppoſe judgment to imagination; 'for it does not appear that men have neceſſarily leſs 'of one as they have more of the other.

'We muſt allow of Roſcommon, what Fenton has 'not mentioned ſo diſtinctly as he ought, and, what 'is yet very much to his honour, that he is perhaps 'the only correct writer in verſe before Addiſon; and 'that, if there are not ſo many or ſo great beauties in 'his compoſitions as in thoſe of ſome contemporaries, 'there are at leaſt fewer faults. Nor is this his higheſt 'praiſe; for Mr. Pope has celebrated him as the only 'moral writer of King Charles's reign:

'Unhappy Dryden! In all Charles's days,
'Roſcommon only boaſts unſpotted lays (13).'

(13) Biographical Preface, ubi ſupra, p. 15, 16, 17.

This obſervation of Mr. Pope's ſeems not ſtrictly true. Milton's greateſt poetical productions were publiſhed, and probably for the moſt part written, in the reign of Charles the Second; and his lays were certainly as unſpotted as thoſe of Roſcommon. Pope has alſo celebrated this Nobleman in his Eſſay on Criticiſm. Speaking of judicious and able critics, he ſays,

'Such was Roſcommon——not more learn'd than good,
'With manners gen'rous as his noble blood;
'To him the wit of Rome and Greece was known,
'And ev'ry author's merit, but his own.'

[F] *His Eſſay on Tranſlated Verſe.*] Dr. Johnſon ſays, 'His great work is his Eſſay on Tranſlated 'Verſe; of which Dryden writes thus in the Preface to 'his Miſcellanies: "It was my Lord Roſcommon's "Eſſay on Tranſlated Verſe which made me uneaſy, "till I tried whether or no I was capable of following "his rules, and of reducing the ſpeculation into prac"tice. For many a fair precept in poetry is like a "ſeeming demonſtration in mathematics, very ſpecious "in the diagram, but failing in the mechanic operation. "I think I have generally obſerved his inſtructions: "I am ſure my reaſon is ſufficiently convinced both of "their truth and uſefulneſs; which, in other words, "is to confeſs no leſs a vanity than to pretend that I "have, at leaſt in ſome places, made examples to his 'rules." This declaration of Dryden will, I am afraid, 'be found little more than one of thoſe curſory civili'ties which one author pays to another; for when 'the ſum of Lord Roſcommon's precepts is collected, 'it will not be eaſy to diſcover how they can qualify 'their reader for a better performance of tranſlation 'than might have been attained by his own reflec'tions. He that can abſtract his mind from the ele'gance of the poetry, and confine it to the ſenſe of the 'precepts, will find no other direction, than that the 'author ſhould be ſuitable to the tranſlator's genius; 'that he ſhould be ſuch as may deſerve a tranſlation; 'that he, who intends to tranſlate him, ſhould endea'vour to underſtand him; that perſpicuity ſhould be 'ſtudied, and unuſual and uncouth names ſparingly 'inſerted; and that the ſtyle of the original ſhould be 'copied in its elevation and depreſſion. Theſe are the 'rules that are celebrated as ſo definite and important, 'and for the delivery of which to mankind ſo much 'honour has been paid. Roſcommon has indeed 'deſerved his praiſes, had they been given with diſ'cernment, and beſtowed not on the rules themſelves, 'but the art with which they are introduced, and the 'decorations with which they are adorned.

'The Eſſay, though generally excellent, is not 'without its faults. The ſtory of the quack, borrowed 'from Boileau, was not worth the importation. He 'has confounded the Britiſh and Saxon mythology:

'I grant that from ſome moſſy idol oak,
'In double rhymes, our Thor and Woden ſpoke.'

'The oak, as I think Gildon has obſerved, belonged 'to the Britiſh Druids, and Thor and Woden were 'Saxon deities. Of the *double rhymes*, which he ſo liberally

Paraphraſe on the cxlviiith Pſalm; a tranſlation of the ſixth eclogue of Virgil, and of two odes of Horace; an ode on Solitude; a Poem on the Proſpect of Death; Verſes on Mr. Dryden's "Religio Laici;" the Prayer of Jeremiah paraphraſed; a Prologue ſpoken to the Duke of York at Edinburgh [*H*]; a tranſlation of part of a ſcene of Guarini's "Paſtor Fido;" a Prologue to Pompey, a tragedy [*I*], tranſlated by Mrs. Catharine Philips from the French of Corneille; Verſes on the Death of a Lady's Lap-dog; the Dream; a tranſlation of "Dies Iræ;" an Epilogue to Alexander the Great, when acted at the theatre at Dublin; a Song; Roſs's Ghoſt; and a piece, intitled, The Ghoſt of the old Houſe of Commons to the new one appointed to meet at Oxford [*K*]. He alſo tranſlated into French, at the deſire of the Duke of Ormond, Dr. Sherlock's Caſe of Reſiſtance to the Supreme Powers, a piece written in ſupport of the doctrine of Paſſive Obedience (*m*).

Of the general merit of Lord Roſcommon's writings, the following judgment is given by Dr. Johnſon: "He is elegant, but not great; he never labours after exquiſite "beauties; and he ſeldom falls into groſs faults. His verſification is ſmooth, but rarely "vigorous, and his rhymes are remarkably exact. He improved taſte, if he did not "enlarge knowledge, and may be numbered among the benefactors to Engliſh lite-"rature (*n*)."] T.

(*m*) Preface to the Earl of Roſcommon's Poems, edit. 8vo. 1717.

(*n*) Biographical Preface, ubi ſupra, p. 26, 27.

'liberally ſuppoſes, he certainly had no knowledge. 'His interpoſition of a long paragraph of blank verſes 'is unwarrantably licentious. Latin poets might as 'well have introduced a ſeries of iambicks among 'their heroics (14).'

(14) Biog. Pref. ubi ſupra. p. 17—22.

The Eſſay on Tranſlated Verſe was tranſlated into Latin by Mr. Euſden; and this verſion was publiſhed in that edition of Lord Roſcommon's Works which was printed in 1717, in 8vo. together with the poems of the Duke of Buckingham and Mr. Richard Duke.

[*G*] *A Tranſlation, in blank verſe, of Horace's Art of Poetry.*] Of this verſion Dr. Johnſon, who appears to have conceived a very unreaſonable prejudice againſt blank verſe, ſpeaks not in the moſt favourable terms: 'His tranſlation of the Art of Poetry,' ſays he, 'has 'received, in my opinion, not leſs praiſe than it de-'ſerves. Blank verſe, left merely to its numbers, 'has little operation either on the ear or mind: it can 'hardly ſupport itſelf without bold figures and ſtriking 'images. A poem frigidly didactic, without rhyme, 'is ſo near to proſe, that the reader only ſcorns it for 'pretending to be verſe. Having diſentangled him-'ſelf from the difficulties of rhyme, he may juſtly be 'expected to give the ſenſe of Horace with great ex-'actneſs, and to ſuppreſs no ſubtilty of ſentiment for 'the difficulty of expreſſing it. This demand, how-'ever, his tranſlation will not ſatisfy; what he found 'obſcure, I do not know that he has ever cleared (15).'

(15) Ibid. p. 22, 23.

Mr. Waller wrote ſome verſes in honour of this tranſlation of Lord Roſcommon, in which are the following lines:

'Rome was not better by her Horace taught,
'Than we are here, to comprehend his thought:
'The poet writ to noble Piſo there,
'A noble Piſo does inſtruct us here;
'Gives us a pattern in his flowing ſtyle,
'And with rich precepts does oblige our iſle (16).'

(16) Works of Edmund Waller, Fenton's edit. p. 236.

[*H*] *A Prologue ſpoken to the Duke of York at Edinburgh.*] In this prologue the Duke of York, afterwards King James II. was celebrated for his great and royal virtues, which ſhone, it was ſaid, *divinely bright*; his courage, and naval ſkill, were ſtated to have confirmed our empire over the ocean; and it was aſſerted, that

——'Such a hero never ſprings,
'But from the uncorrupted bloods of Kings (17).'

(17) Poems by the Earl of Roſcommon, 8vo. 1717. p. 122, 123, 124.

[*I*] *A Prologue to Pompey, &c.*] Dr. Johnſon ſays, 'Of the ſcene of Guarini, and the prologue to Pompey, 'Mrs. Philips, in her Letters to Sir Charles Cotterel, 'has given the hiſtory. "Lord Roſcommon," ſays 'ſhe, "is certainly one of the moſt promiſing young "noblemen in Ireland. He has paraphraſed a pſalm "admirably, and a ſcene of Paſtor Fido very finely, in "ſome places much better than Sir Richard Fanſhaw. "This was undertaken merely in compliment to me, "who happened to ſay that it was the beſt ſcene in Ita-"lian, and the worſt in Engliſh. He was only two "hours about it. It begins thus:

"Dear happy groves, and you the dark retreat
"Of ſilent horror, reſt's eternal ſeat."

'From theſe lines, which are ſince ſomewhat 'mended, it appears that he did not think a work of 'two hours fit to endure the eye of criticiſm without 'reviſal.

'When Mrs. Philips was in Ireland, ſome ladies that 'had ſeen her tranſlation of Pompey, reſolved to bring 'it on the ſtage at Dublin; and, to promote their 'deſign, Lord Roſcommon gave them a prologue, and 'Sir Edward Dering an epilogue; "which," ſays 'ſhe, "are the beſt performances of thoſe kinds I ever "ſaw." If this is not criticiſm, it is at leaſt gratitude. 'The thought of bringing Cæſar and Pompey into 'Ireland, the only country over which Cæſar never 'had any power, is lucky (18).'

(18) Biog. Pref. ubi ſupra, p. 24, 25, 26.

Dr. Johnſon has alſo made the following obſervations relative to two or three other pieces of Lord Roſcommon; 'Among his ſmaller works, the Eclogue 'of Virgil and the *Dies Iræ* are well tranſlated; 'though the beſt line in the *Dies Iræ* is borrowed 'from Dryden. In return ſucceeding poets have 'borrowed from Roſcommon.

'In the Verſes on the Lap-dog, the pronouns *thou* 'and *you* are offenſively confounded; and the turn at 'the end is from Waller.

'His verſions of the two odes of Horace are made 'with great liberty, which is not recompenſed by 'much elegance or vigour (19).'

(19) Ibid. p. 23.

[*K*] *The Ghoſt of the old Houſe of Commons, &c.*] This little piece contains ſome ſtrains of courtly ſervility, and very illiberal abuſe of that able Lawyer Serjeant Maynard. The few political poems of Lord Roſcommon will hardly be applauded by many in the preſent age; but they ſeem to have pleaſed Dr. Johnſon, who ſays, 'His political verſes are ſprightly, and 'when they were written muſt have been very popular '(20).'] T.

(20) Ibid. p. 24.

*** [DISNEY (JOHN) * a pious and learned Divine, an excellent Magiſtrate, and a Writer on various ſubjects, was born of an antient family, which had been ſeated ſeveral centuries at Norton-Diſney, in Lincolnſhire [*A*], and was himſelf an "honour to

* For this article we are indebted to our worthy friend, the Rev. Dr. John Diſney of Sloan Street, Chelſea.

[*A*] *Which had been ſeated for ſeveral centuries at Norton Diſney, Lincolnſhire.*] Richard Grafton in his "Abridgment of the Hiſtory of England," p. 34, gives a liſt of the Gentlemen who followed the fortune of William Duke of Normandy in his attempt upon England, and landed at Haſtings in Suſſex, obtaining a complete victory there October 14, 1066. In that liſt the name is written Deſnez. Dr. Fuller, in his

to his anceſtry." Mr. Diſney was born at Lincoln, December 26, 1677, and was eldeſt ſon of Daniel Diſney, of Lincoln, Eſq. by his firſt wife Catherine, youngeſt daughter and coheir of Henry Fynes of Kirkſtead, in that county, Eſq. [*B*]. He was educated at the Grammar-School of Lincoln, and afterwards at a private Diſſenting Academy. He was deſigned for the ſtudy of the law, and was ſome time a member of the Middle-Temple, but never proſecuted it as a profeſſion, notwithſtanding the progreſs he made in that ſtudy, as appeared afterwards when he acted as a Juſtice of the Peace for the county of Lincoln, and likewiſe in his labours as an Antiquary.

On May 20, 1698, he married Mary daughter and afterwards ſole heireſs of William Woolhouſe, M. D. (of North Markham, in the county of Nottingham) by Mary his wife, who was daughter, and in fine alſo ſole heireſs of John Hacker of Flintham-hall, in the county of Nottingham, Eſq.

The firſt publication of his which we meet with, is the effuſion of a devout mind and an informed underſtanding, though given to the world ſo early as in the twenty-eighth year of his age: it is entituled, "Primitiæ Sacræ; or, the Reflections of a devout Soli-"tude." Theſe little eſſays breathe the true ſpirit of piety and devotion, and are written in an eaſy and not inelegant ſtile. The three poems at the end, "An Ode on the Crea-"tion;" "The Eleventh Ode of the Second Book of Horace ſpiritualized;" and, "A Para-"phraſe on the third Chapter of Job," ſhew him not to have been entirely neglected, though he might not be courted by the Muſes.

The diligence, diſintereſtedneſs, and impartiality, which diſtinguiſhed him as a Magiſtrate, made him generally beloved and reſpected; but they failed not, at the ſame time, to create him many and powerful enemies among wicked men. Under the conſciouſneſs of his own integrity, he frequently applied himſelf in prayer to GOD for wiſdom and courage in his public office [*C*], and he poſſeſſed thoſe ſubſidiary requiſites, knowledge

his Church Hiſtory (p. 155) gives the Roll of Battel-Abbey, from Holinſhead and Stow, referring to the page of his authority. In both of theſe the name is written *Deſny*; but Fuller does not omit to notice at the head of his copies of Battel Abbey Roll, (p. 154), the diſagreement in the ſpelling of the names, and in the number and order of them. And indeed it is hard to ſay whether any credit is due to this irregular and ſuſpicious record.

Leland, in his "Itinerary" fol. 29, among the Gentlemen of Keſteven diviſion in Lincolnſhire, names this family, writing "Diſney alias De Iſeney, "he dwelleth at Diſney, and of his name and line be "Gentilmel of Fraunce. Aileſham priory by Thor-"ney-Courtoiſe was of the Diſeneys foundation, and "there were divers of them buryed, and likewiſe at "Diſeney." Norton-Diſney is in a Note, written by Leland, *Northampton-Diſeney*, but which muſt be a miſtake, and may have ariſen from firſt writing *Norton* nearer to its ſimple ſignification *North-ton* (or North-town), and then reading it as a contraction, not unfrequent at this day, for *Northampton*.

Leland ſeems to be under a miſtake, however, in ſaying that Aileſham Priory was of the Diſneys foundation. Dugdale in his "Monaſticon Anglicanum," (Edit. 1661) Vol. II. p. 421. ſays, that *Hoſpitale de Elleſham agro Lincolnienſi* was founded by Beatrix Wife of John de Amundeville (ſee alſo Thoroton's Nottinghamſhire p. 184), and recites the grants which were ſucceſſively given to the ſame by that family, and by John de Dive (1277), who was the Son of Sir William de Dive, who married Ermetrida the ſole heir of the Amundevilles; and which John de Dive, dying without iſſue, left his two ſiſters Elizabeth and Joan coheirs, the former marrying Sir Lambert Buſſy Knt. and the latter Sir William D'Eiſney, Knt. Therefore I conclude that Leland fell into the miſtake by not knowing, or not diſtinguiſhing that the Diſneys had only married the coheir of the foundreſs and benefactors.

Biſhop Tanner, "*Notitia Monaſtica*," p. 271, under Elleſham or Aileſham, recites Beatrix de Amundaville as the foundreſs of an Hoſpital for ſeveral poor brethren, which her ſon Walter confirmed, and committed to the care of a Prior and regular Canons of the order of St. Auſtin before A. D. 1166. Tanner cites Leland's Collect. Vol. I. p. 94. and Itin. Vol. I. p. 22, where he ſaith "Aileſham Priory was by Thorney (i. e. "Thornten) Curtoiſe, and of the Diſſeneys Founda-"tion." So that Tanner has only accumulated authorities in contradiction to each other, without explaining or reconciling them.

A ſimilar miſtake is made by Dugdale, in ſtyling Iſabel Counteſs of Warwick (in her own right) the *foundreſs* of the Nunnery of Cokehill in Worceſterſhire, whereas ſhe was only a *benefactreſs*, and had the Patronage thereof, being heir of the founder Walleran de Newburgh Earl of Warwick, her grandfather. See Edmonſon's Geneal. and Hiſt. Account of the family of Greville, p. 31. Note *.

Of the family of Diſney two generations ſerved ſucceſſively in Parliament as Knights of the Shire for Lincolnſhire ſo early as the 26 Edw. I. the 5th, 10, and 17th, of Edw. II. and the 17th. Edw. III. See Prynne's "*Brevia Parliamentaria rediviva*," p. 53, and 119, &c. and as Sheriffs of the County at ſeveral periods from 14 and 18 Edw. III. See Fuller's Worthies.

[*B*] *Coheir of Henry Fynes of Kirkſtead in that County, Eſq.*] Henry Fynes, Eſq. was the eldeſt ſon of Sir Henry Fynes, of Kirkſtead, Knt. by his firſt wife Eleanor daughter of Sir James Harington, Knt. and which Sir Henry was the eldeſt ſon of Henry (ſecond) Earl of Lincoln by his ſecond wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Morriſon, Knt, and widow of William Norreys, Eſq. eldeſt ſon of Henry (firſt) Lord Norreys, of Rycot (by Bridget, only daughter of John Lord Huſſey, afterwards the wife of Henry Earl of Rutland, and Francis Earl of Bedford.) The Memoirs of the ſaid Sir Henry Fynes were publiſhed (by me) from a MS. in his own hand-writing in the "Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. XLII. p. 161—164;" and from thence were alſo publiſhed in the "Annual Regiſter" for 1772.

The above Mr. Fynes left two other daughters and coheirs, beſides Catherine the wife of Daniel Diſney, Eſq. viz. Elizabeth, who married the Hon. Geo. Willoughby, of Knaith, in the County of Lincoln, who on the death of his father became Lord Willoughby of Parham; and Dorcas, married to —— Prince, Eſq.

[*C*] *In prayer to God for wiſdom and courage in his public office.*] A prayer, which he drew up on this occaſion, is as follows:

"Moſt holy and bleſſed GOD, the fountain of all wiſdom, the inſpirer of all good reſolutions, the ſtrength of all that truſt in thee, from whom comes every good and perfect gift, and without whoſe powerful and continual aſſiſtance we are ſo far from being able in any thing to ſerve and glorify thee, that we can do nothing but offend thee; I humbly caſt myſelf at thy feet, imploring for the ſake of Chriſt, whoſe death and ſufferings have merited for us that grace which only can enable us to diſcharge our duty, that as thou haſt (notwith-

knowledge and diſcernment, which qualified him to proceed in the adminiſtration of juſtice with advantage to the common-weal, and with credit to himſelf. His own conduct cannot be better declared or defended than by himſelf in his two eſſays "On the Execu-" tion of the Laws againſt Immorality and Profaneneſs," which paſſed through two editions: nor can better evidence be given of his great knowledge of thoſe laws with reſpect to their antiquity, univerſality, and expedience, than may be found in his "View" of them "down to the Middle of the Eleventh Century," printed at Cambridge, in folio, in the year 1729: to which may be added alſo ſuch of his manuſcripts which continue that work down to his own time, and include alſo the gradual progreſs of the laws of our own country as we advanced in knowledge and civilization; forming together an aſtoniſhing and well-digeſted collection of materials, correſpondent to the large compaſs he had propoſed to take in his intended great and favourite work, under the title of "Corpus Legum de Moribus reformandis [*D*]."

Notwithſtanding the purity of his intentions, and the integrity of his conduct in the diſcharge of the duties of a Magiſtrate, he met with great oppoſition. In the year 1710, and under the ſanction of a tory adminiſtration, his name was ſtruck out of the Commiſ-

ſtanding all my former errors and offences) vouchſafed to entruſt me now a *third* time with a commiſſion of civil authority, thou wouldſt ſo graciouſly direct me in, and ſo powerfully excite me *to*, the faithful execution of it, that hereafter (when I ſhall be ſummoned to thy ſevere and awful judgment) I may give up my accounts with comfort, and be received to mercy. I am ſenſible, O Lord, (and 'tis by thy grace that I am ſo, and I adore and bleſs thee for it) that the burden of Magiſtracy is greater than I can bear, the duties of it more difficult than I can ever hope to perform, without the mighty aid of thy ſpirit to ſupport me under it and conduct me through them. I utterly diſclaim all confidence in my own parts, or ſtrength, or reſolution, wiſdom or learning, whatever I may have, or fancy I have, of theſe or any of theſe, though I deſire to make the utmoſt *uſe* of them to thy glory, yet I dare not *truſt* in them. I fly to the aſſiſtance of thy promiſed grace; and there I place my ſtrength; from thence alone I hope for vigour and courage to diſcharge my duty; to that I humbly look for direction, to guide me in the way of prudence, for ſupport, and conſolation under all diſcouragements, and for ſucceſs to all my endeavours. Thou haſt promiſed in thy holy word (the incorruptible record of truth and faithfulneſs) that "if any lack wiſdom and aſk it of thee, (who giveſt to all men liberally and upbraideſt not) it ſhall be given him (Jam. i. 5). I therefore moſt earneſtly ſolicit at the throne of thy grace for that wiſdom (without which I am at beſt but darkneſs, ignorance, and folly) to direct in all my proceedings, that they may be agreeable to thy holy laws, and to the laws of my country, which I am ſworn to execute; that every ſtep I take may be pious, legal, and prudent, and that may give no juſt offence or prejudice to men in any thing thro' my raſhneſs or miſmanagement, nor incur any trouble from them which with a faithful regard to my duty I might have avoided. "Teach me thy way, O Lord, and lead me in a plain path, becauſe of mine enemies (Pſal. xxvii. 11)." Give me prudence that I may no way needleſſly *provoke* or *exaſperate* them: but at the ſame time give me grace that I may in nothing whatſoever neglect my duty either to *pleaſe* my vicious neighbours, or for *fear* of them. Thou has charged me "not to fear the reproach of men nor be afraid of their revilings (Iſa. li. 7)." "Not to be diſmayed at their faces leſt thou confound me before them (Jer. i. 8)." But "the Lord God will help me, therefore I ſhall not be confounded; I will truſt in the name of the Lord, and ſtay upon my God (Iſa. l. 7. 10)." "In God have I put my truſt, I will not be afraid what man can do unto me (Pſal lvi. 11)." I acknowledge (and by ſad and daily experience I have reaſon to do ſo) the timerouſneſs and weakneſs of my own natural temper, while the duty of my office is a burden to me, and I cannot ſet myſelf to thoſe unpopular branches of it, the puniſhment of vice, eſpecially in perſons of any figure, but with a trembling heart and with a ſhaking hand, as knowing that "my ſoul is among lions, and I lie even amongſt them that are ſet on fire; even the ſons of men whoſe teeth are ſpears and arrows, and their tongue a ſharp ſword (Pſal. lvii. 4)." But at "what time I am afraid I will truſt in thee, O Lord (Pſal. lvi. 3)." "I will wait on the Lord, and be of good courage, and he will ſtrengthen my heart (Pſal. xxvii. 14)." Do thou, O Lord, ſo fortify my heart from time to time, inſpire me daily with ſuch a temperate, ſteady, and well-principled Chriſtian courage, that I may fear thee and none but thee.

"O deliver me, Lord God, deliver me, for thy mercy's ſake in Chriſt Jeſus, from a ſlaviſh and unworthy fear of man, from all thoſe ſecret tremblings and reluctances in my breaſt that make me backward in my duty, or may over-awe me with an unreaſonable and ſinful fear of diſobliging men. By thy grace I faithfully reſolve from this moment to ſtrive againſt them; and the aſſiſtance of that grace I earneſtly beg to enable me effectually to overcome them. Let me not only be *willing*, but *rejoice* to ſuffer ſhame for thy ſake, and for the ſake of a good conſcience: but give me grace to take care that it be *indeed* for thy ſake and for a good conſcience that I ſuffer. And to this end, O Lord, I beſeech, ſo purify my heart, that my aims and intentions in all I do may be purely thy glory and the good of mankind, free from any corrupt bias of private reſentments. Sanctify my conduct with an habitual meekneſs and charity; and preſerve me from all vain reflections upon my ſervices; preſerve me in a deep and true humility, a deep ſenſe of my own utter unworthineſs, my innumerable defects and imperfections, that after all I may continually acknowledge myſelf an unprofitable ſervant. And as it is my ſincere reſolution (thy grace aſſiſting me) to ſuit my conduct in every point to theſe my prayers; ſo I beſeech that grace to go along with my endeavours and bleſs them to the thorough reformation of evil men, and to the effectual diſcouragement and ſuppreſſion of vice and profaneneſs. Make thoſe, that ſhall be puniſhed, inwardly ſenſible of the evil of what they are puniſhed for, and ſo improve the reflections they may make thereupon, that it may lead them (by the bleſſed influence of thy ſpirit) to a thorough converſion; and that they and I may be hereafter received to thy mercy, and made happy in the love and favour of thee our God to all eternity, through the meritorious ſufferings, and interceſſion, of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in whoſe moſt holy name I humbly offer up all theſe my petitions, and beg to be heard, and hope to be accepted by thee. Amen."

[*D*] *Under the title of* "*Corpus Legum de Moribus* "*Reformandis.*"] 'I deſigned,' ſays he in his preface to his "View of Ancient Laws, 1729," 'to have 'brought down the account through every age and 'nation, even to the preſent times; to have com-'pared their laws in point of advantage or defect, 'and to have writ in Latin; that legiſlatures, if they 'were ſo diſpoſed, might take the hint, to make 'more perfect and effectual their own proviſions of this 'kind; as will appear by the propoſals which I 'printed, in 1713, to obtain aſſiſtance and materials 'from the learned in foreign parts: and which I 'publiſh here to excite, if it may be, ſome better 'hand to reſume the undertaking and go through 'with it.'

ſion of the Peace for the county of Lincoln, where he acted, in return for his impartial vigilance in the ſuppreſſion of vice. But even the violence of party, within the laſt four years of Queen Anne's reign, could not continue to bear up againſt the ſtill more powerful voice of reaſon, juſtice, and decency; and therefore he was reſtored again in the following year (1711). This manœuvre not being found defenſible, nor to be maintained, in the courſe of the ſucceeding year (1712) vexatious and malicious actions were brought againſt him, with a view to haraſs and diſcourage him from the even purſuit of duty on the revival of his commiſſion.

On theſe ſeveral occaſions, and the conſequence of them, there are two prayers of his compoſing; the one, that "GOD would preſerve him from Oppreſſion by his Enemies;" and the other, "a Thankſgiving that GOD had heard his Prayers, and preſerved him "from them [E];" and as the former is written in the ſpirit of charity, ſo is the latter in

[E] *There are two prayers of his compoſing, &c.*]

"A Prayer that GOD would preſerve him from Oppreſſion by his Enemies. (Aug. 4, 1712).

"Moſt great and merciful GOD, "the only refuge of the oppreſſed," the only help of thoſe that are in trouble; thou who art "higher than the higheſt," who over-ruleſt all things by thy providence, and ſitteſt in the throne judging right; "they that know thy name will put their truſt in thee; for thou, Lord, haſt not forſaken them that ſeek thee (Pſal. ix. 10)." Encouraged by thy mercy and goodneſs, thy ſovereign power and gracious promiſes, I caſt myſelf humbly upon thy protection; though reflecting upon my own miſcarriages, I muſt acknowledge (oh, that I could do it with the deepeſt ſorrow and repentance!) my unworthineſs of any merciful regard from thee.

"But for the take of him in whom thou art well pleaſed, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in whom alone we have acceſs to thee, and hope for mercy and acceptance with thee, remember not againſt me mine iniquities, to puniſh me for which thou mighteſt juſtly deliver me up into the hands of wicked and malicious men. O Lord, I beſeech thee, for thy truth and mercy's ſake, who haſt required us to "commit our way to thee, and to truſt in thee (Pſal. xxxvii. 5)," "and to caſt our burden upon thee," and aſſured us, that, if we do ſo, thou "wilt bring to paſs" what we deſire, and that thou "wilt ſuſtain us, and not ſuffer thoſe that truſt in thee to be moved;" look down upon me under my preſent fears and apprehenſions. And as thou haſt declared thyſelf "our refuge and ſtrength, a very preſent help in time of trouble (Pſal. xlvi. 1)," that thou art "nigh to all that call upon thee in truth, that thou wilt fulfil the deſire of them that fear thee, thou wilt hear their cry, and wilt ſave them (Pſal. cxlv. 18, 19);" "ſave me, O God, from them that perſecute me, and deliver me (Pſal. vii. 1);" "incline thine ear to me, and hear my prayer: ſhew thy marvellous loving kindneſs, O thou that ſaveſt by thy right hand them which put their truſt in thee from thoſe that riſe up againſt them. Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the ſhadow of thy wings, from the wicked that (would) oppreſs me, from my deadly enemies who compaſs me about (Pſal. xvii. 6, 7, 8, 9)." "They that hate me without a cauſe are more than the hairs of my head; they that would deſtroy me, being mine enemies wrongfully, are mighty. For thy ſake I have born reproach (Pſal. lxix. 4, 7)." "I am a reproach amongſt all mine enemies, and eſpecially amongſt my neighbours, and a fear to mine acquaintance (Pſal. xxxi. 11)." "They are eſtranged from me, my familiar friends have forgotten me (Job. xix. 13, 14)." "I have heard the ſlander of many (Pſal. xxxi. 13)." "For the zeal of thine houſe hath eaten me up, and the reproaches of them that reproached thee are fallen upon me. They that ſit in the gate ſpeak againſt me: I was the ſong of the drunkards (Pſal. lxix. 9, 12)." "Mine enemies ſpeak againſt me, and they that lay wait for my ſoul take counſel together, ſaying, GOD hath forſaken him, perſecute and take him, for there is none to deliver (Pſal. lxxi. 10. 11)." "Ariſe, O Lord, diſappoint them (Pſal. xvii. 13)." "Lift up thyſelf becauſe of the rage of mine enemies, awake for me to the judgment that thou haſt commanded (Pſal. vii. 6)." "I have done judgment and juſtice; leave me not to mine oppreſſors. It is time for thee, O Lord, to work; for they have made void thy law (Pſal. cxix. 121 and 126)." "Ariſe, O GOD, plead thine own cauſe (Pſal. lxxiv. 22)." "Let the wickedneſs of the wicked come to an end, but eſtabliſh thou the juſt (Pſal. vii. 9)."

"Do thou who haſt power over the hearts of all men, thou who "ſtilleſt the noiſe of the ſeas, and the tumult of the people (Pſal lxv. 7)." be pleaſed, I moſt humbly beg thee, either to convert the perſons, or abate the malice, or baffle the deſigns, of my enemies, that their wicked devices formed againſt me may not proſper. I beg this, O Lord, with an humble ſubmiſſion to thy will; to which I deſire at all times, and upon all occaſions, chearfully to ſacrifice my own. For thy glory I was created; and am content (as it is fit I ſhould) to be diſpoſed of by thee, abſolutely and without reſerve, into ſuch circumſtances in this world, whether of ſuffering or of comfort, as may beſt promote thy honor, the intereſt of religion, and my own better and eternal happineſs. Let me be put into ſuch a condition, I beſeech thee, whatever it is, that to thy infinite wiſdom ſhall ſeem fitteſt to glorify thee, and to ſecure thoſe great and important ends. And if the protection I now pray for may contribute moſt thereto, be pleaſed to grant it me, for the Lord Jeſus ſake; 'and mercifully aſſiſt my prayers that I make 'before thee in all my troubles and adverſities whenſoever they oppreſs me; and graciouſly hear me, 'that thoſe evils which the craft and ſubtilty of the 'devil or man worketh againſt me may be brought 'to nought, and by the providence of thy goodneſs 'they may be diſperſed, that I thy ſervant, being hurt 'by no perſecutions, may evermore give thanks unto 'thee in thy holy Church, through Jeſus Chriſt our 'Lord.'

I bleſs thee, O Lord, for the diſappointment they met with in their laſt endeavours of this kind; that thou didſt provide friends for me, and give ſucceſs to them. I humbly praiſe thy great and glorious name, I thankfully own and adore thy gracious providence in this, and take it as a juſt encouragement to depend ſtill upon thy protection. "Deliver me out of the hand of the wicked, out of the hand of the unrighteous and cruel man; for thou art my hope, O Lord GOD. Then will I hope continually, and will yet praiſe thee more and more (Pſal. lxxi. 4, 5, 14)."

But if thou haſt otherwiſe determined, O Lord, I ſubmit, begging only that what I ſuffer may be no diſadvantage or diſcouragement to the good cauſe of reformation, and that thou wouldſt vouchſafe to bring good out of evil, to ſanctify my affliction to me, to ſupport me under it; and whatever hardſhips I may undergo, let me be ſo far from daring to murmur or repine at thee, or from maligning my enemies or reſenting their unworthy uſage of me, that I may with an habitual chearfulneſs reſign myſelf and all my concerns into thy hand, may "rejoice and be exceeding glad," in all the perſecutions I may ſuffer for thy ſake, as knowing that great will be the reward of ſuch in Heaven as have the honour to be perſecuted for righteouſneſs ſake on Earth. And grant me alſo the grace ſincerely to love and to forgive, and earneſtly to pray for thoſe that deſpitefully uſe me, and to do them all the good offices I can, that I may imitate the example of my meek and ſuffering Saviour.

"Hear my prayers, O Lord, I beſeech thee, and protect all others alſo (eſpecially thoſe in this Country), that have endeavoured the ſuppreſſion of vice and reformation of manners by due courſe of law, from all

in the ſpirit of humility and thankfulneſs. Theſe litigations, however diſtreſſing for a time, were, in their iſſue, favourable to his general character, independently of the verdict reſpecting the particular matter in queſtion. They made a full diſplay of his con-

all ſuffering and oppreſſion upon that account; except their ſufferings may be more for thy glory, more for the honour and advantage of religion, for their own greater good. Pour out a ſpirit of faithfulneſs and zeal upon our *Magiſtrates*, and raiſe up many others in my ſtead whom thou wilt pleaſe to bleſs in that great and neceſſary work of reformation, that they may more effectually chaſtiſe the inſolence of vice, and that the triumphing of the wicked may be ſhort.

"Hear me, I beſeech thee, O Lord, for the ſake of thy own glory, and the merits of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in whoſe moſt holy name and words, I farther call upon thee.

"Our Father, &c."

"Thankſgiving that GOD had heard my prayers, and preſerved me from the oppreſſion of my enemies, both this laſt aſſizes, and that before.

(Aug. 11. 1712).

"Moſt glorious and ever bleſſed GOD, infinite in power, in goodneſs, and in truth, I moſt humbly preſent myſelf before thee at this time, to acknowledge with a truly thankful heart my own late experience of thy love and faithfulneſs to thoſe that truſt in thee. 'Tis but a few days ſince I caſt myſelf at thy feet with prayers and ſupplications that thou wouldſt preſerve me from the oppreſſion which I had then too much reaſon to expect from the craft and malice of my enemies; "I ſought thee, O Lord, and thou haſt heard me, and delivered me from all my fears (Pſal. xxxiv. 4)." "I will bleſs thee at all times, thy praiſe ſhall be continually in my mouth (ib. v. 1)." "Bleſſed be GOD who has not turned away my prayer, nor his mercy from me (Pſal. lxvi. 20)." "My ſoul is among lions, I lie even among them that are ſet on fire, whoſe teeth are ſpears and arrows, and their tongue a ſharp ſword (Pſal. lvii. 4)." "For they intended evil againſt me, they imagined a miſchievous device which (bleſſed be thy name) they were not able to perform (Pſal. xxi. 11)." "My heart (was) like wax, it (was) melted in the midſt of my bowels. (But the Lord) hath not deſpiſed the afflictions of the afflicted; he hath not hid his face from me, but when I cryed unto him he heard (Pſal. xxii. 14, 24)." "The Lord is my rock, my fortreſs and deliverer. In my diſtreſs I called upon the Lord, he heard my voice, and my cry came before him. He delivered me from my enemy, from them which hated me, and from the ſtrivings of the people (Pſal. xviii. 2. 6. 17. 43)." "He hath brought to nought the counſels of the wicked, and made their devices of none effect (Pſal. xxxiii. 10)."

"With the moſt devout gratitude I amable to excite in this too backward, too ungrateful heart of mine, (which I beſeech thee raiſe to a more lively, and fix in a moſt laſting ſenſe of all thy mercies, and particularly of that which I now praiſe thee for), I acknowledge thy late appearances on my behalf to preſerve me from the fury, and malice, and oppreſſive accuſations of ill men. I bleſs thee, O moſt merciful Father, that, in their former attempts upon me ſome months ago, thou didſt even *prevent* my prayers by a deliverance as unexpected by them, as their malicious proſecution was by me. Thou knoweſt their wicked deſign when I did not, and watcheſt all their motions, when I could not, and provideſt friends for me; and though they were fewer in number than my enemies, thou gaveſt them ſuch wiſdom, ſuch ſpirit and induſtry, and ſuch ſucceſs in their kind endeavours for me, as effectually (by thy bleſſing) baffled and defeated their contrivances againſt me. And when I feared new attempts from them of the ſame nature the laſt opportunity and ſolicitations were uſed by ſome to paſs them on thereto, thou, O GOD, who haſt the hearts of all men in thy hands, didſt ſo diſpirit and reſtrain them (upon my humble prayer to thee) that they did not ſo much as make an offer to renew the miſchievous uſage which I feared.

"I will praiſe thee, O Lord, with my whole heart, I will be glad and rejoice in thee: I will ſing praiſe to thy name, O thou moſt high. For thou haſt maintained my right and my cauſe, thou ſatteſt in the throne judging right. They that know thy name will put their truſt in thee, for thou haſt not forſaken them that ſeek thee (Pſal. ix. 1, 2, 4, 10)." "Let all thoſe that put their truſt in thee rejoice; let them ever ſhout for joy becauſe thou defendeſt them (Pſal. v. 11)." "Thou ſhalt keep them, O Lord; thou ſhalt preſerve them from this generation for ever (Pſal. xii. 7)." "O thou that heareſt prayer, unto thee ſhall all fleſh come (Pſal. lxv. 2)." "For the eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, his ears are open to their cry; many are the afflictions of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth him out of them all (Pſal. xxxiv. 15, 19)." "Let the Lord be magnified who hath pleaſure in the proſperity of his ſervants (Pſal. xxxv. 27)." "I will ſing of the mercies of the Lord for ever, with my mouth will I make known thy faithfulneſs to all generations (Pſal. lxxxix. 1)." "I committed my way unto the Lord, I truſted in him and he has brought it to paſs (Pſal. xxxvii. 5)," according to that gracious promiſe in which he cauſed me to hope. I bleſs thee, O Lord, for the grace of that faith and truſt in thee with which thou didſt inſpire my ſoul, and prepare me for deliverance. I bleſs thee, that thou didſt put it into my heart to humble myſelf before thee for thoſe ſins, which I did then and do ſtill acknowledge rendered me utterly unworthy of any merciful regard from thee: O give me the further aſſiſtance of thy holy ſpirit, that I may not again provoke thee by the repetition or indulgence of thoſe ſins which might have juſtly expoſed me to be forſaken by thee, much more than any good thing that I have done could have entitled me to ſuch a favour as that I now make my acknowledgments of. I here moſt ſolemnly and ſeriouſly renew my vows that I will always watch againſt and mortify them, and that I will ſincerely make it my buſineſs to avoid whatever is offenſive to thee, and never wilfully to offend thee more. I humbly and thankfully, O Lord, in the ſenſe of thy late and other mercies to me, devote my whole ſelf, my ſoul and body and eſtate, and all I have, or am, or can do, to the promoting of thy glory and honour, and the intereſt of religion in the world; and hope thou wilt give me the grace to *ſuffer* as chearfully as to act for theſe great ends, whenever thy providence ſhall call me to it.

"In the mean time, O Lord, though ſuch as hate me without a cauſe are more than the hairs of my head, I caſt myſelf humbly upon thy protection, who haſt hitherto ſo remarkably preſerved me. "Be merciful to me, O God, be merciful to me, for my ſoul truſteth in thee; in the ſhadow of thy wings will I make my refuge. I will cry unto GOD moſt high, unto GOD that performeth all things for me. He ſhall ſend from Heaven and ſave me from the reproach of them that would ſwallow me up (Pſal. lvii. 1, 2, 3)." "What time I am afraid, I will truſt in thee. When I cry unto thee, then ſhall my enemies turn back: this I know, for GOD is for me. In GOD have I put my truſt, I will not be afraid what man can do unto me (Pſal. lvi. 3, 9, 11)." "I will ſing of thy power, yea I will ſing aloud of thy mercy in the morning; for thou haſt been my defence and my refuge in the day of my trouble. Unto thee, O my ſtrength, will I ſing, for GOD is my defence (Pſal. lix. 16, 17.)" "Though I walk in the midſt of trouble thou wilt revive me; thou ſhalt ſtretch forth thine hand againſt the wrath of mine enemies, and thy right hand ſhall ſave me. Thy mercy, O Lord, endureth for ever (Pſal. cxxxviii. 7, 8)." "Thou art my hiding place; thou ſhalt preſerve me from trouble, thou ſhalt compaſs me about with ſongs of deliverance (Pſal. xxxii. 7)." "Thy vows are upon me, O God, I will render praiſes unto thee (Pſal. lvi. 12)." "The Lord upholdeth all that fall, and raiſeth up all thoſe that are bowed down. The Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon him, to all that call upon him in truth. He will fulfil the deſire of them that fear him: he will alſo hear their cry and will ſave them (Pſal. cxlv. 14, 18, 19)." "Happy is he that——"

(the reſt is wanting).



duſt,

duct, principles, and motives, and were followed by the public thanks of the Judges on the circuit for his ſervices, and which were again repeated on a future occaſion.

He had, in the beginning of life, engaged himſelf in the cauſe of Religion and Virtue; he knew how much the full influence of theſe conduced to the happineſs of mankind in this life, and that they were the only ſecurity for happineſs in that which is to come [*F*], "He had" (ſays he in his Second Eſſay, p. 1. and 2), ſerious reflections "upon the difference he obſerved betwixt the rules of Chriſtianity, and the practice of "Chriſtians. He was troubled to ſee that noble ſyſtem of Religion, left us by the Son "of GOD, ſo wretchedly martyred and diſguiſed in the behaviour of the moſt of thoſe "that profeſſed it."

There is yet extant his account of his receiving the Lord's Supper, commencing ſo early as in the year 1701, and continued down till within a few months of his death, wherein he regularly ſtates the diſpoſition and temper of his mind and affections, both in his prefatory Exerciſes, and at the time of receiving.

One entry, which occurs under the year 1707, runs in a ſpirit of liberal Piety ſuperior to the rigid, however well-meaning Formaliſts: "Indeed, I cannot but ſay, that "my uſual backwardneſs to the Sacrament may, in a great meaſure, be owing to my "too ſevere and ceremonial notions of preparation for performance of this duty. I en-"deavoured to ſatisfy myſelf with a ſenſe of true repentance of every particular ſin I "could recollect myſelf guilty of, and a firm and ſerious reſolution to do my utmoſt "againſt them for the future, and that habitual thankfulneſs I always have for our "redemption by Chriſt Jeſus, and the habitual knowledge I have of what the nature of "this ſacrament is, and the actual intention of profeſſing thereby my Faith in Chriſt, "my Chriſtian Profeſſion, and my obedience to him for the future. I contented myſelf "with this; and it pleaſed GOD to bleſs me with a ſerious ſenſe of theſe things during "the Sacrament-ſervice; and therefore, though I had not that warmth of affection "which does particularly become us in that ſolemn repreſentation of Chriſt's ſufferings "for us (and which I have ſo often and ſo earneſtly begged), I hope I did not receive "unworthily."

Neither would it be doing juſtice to his piety, and the devout and holy purpoſe of his heart and mind, to omit to take notice, from the ſame private, but not leſs authentic ſource of information, of an entry under Sunday, Dec. 26, 1708, wherein he writes as follows: "This being my birth-day, I did, both in my morning devotions and in "the Sacrament, with a particular ſolemnity, earneſtly devote and dedicate myſelf, ſoul "and body, and all the powers and faculties of either, my deſires, deſigns, and ſtudies, "to the bleſſed Jeſus; faithfully to ſerve, love, and obey him for ever; chearfully to "do and ſuffer whatever God would have me do and ſuffer in order to his glory; re-"ſigning myſelf wholly to be diſpoſed of by him for health or ſickneſs, reputation or "diſgrace, riches or poverty, pain or eaſe, life or death; juſt as may be moſt for his "glory, for which I humbly own I was created, and to which I heartily deſire to ſerve. "And let it here remain upon record againſt me, if ever I willingly or deliberately re-"tract the gift."

So again, he remarks, with great diſcernment, upon his own life and labours, his temper and inclination, and in a manner which beſpeaks him to have been poſſeſſed of an ingenuous and diſtinguiſhing mind: "I find myſelf," ſays he, in the ſame account of his receiving the Lord's Supper, 1711, "ſinking into a perfect ſlavery to my ſtudies, "producing in me a peeviſhneſs when I am at any time called off from them by other "buſineſs, an averſeneſs and uneaſineſs when obliged to leave them for the ſpiritual "duties of prayer either in my family or alone, and too impatient of the Lord's-day, "and apt to wiſh it over for the ſake of them. Good GOD! change my heart, and "draw off my affections, even from theſe otherwiſe innocent and uſeful engagements, "ſo far as they interfere with my neceſſary duty; for I find by experience, we may "*perire licitis.*"

After upwards of twenty years labour in the unpopular work of Reformation of Manners, in conjunction with the Societies then eſtabliſhed for that laudable purpoſe, unwearied by his cloſe and unremitted ſtudy, his unbounded reſearches into antiquity, and his attendance on the execution of the laws of his own country, unſubdued by the malignant and haraſſing oppoſition of wicked men, he meditated upon engaging in the miniſtry of the Church of England.

When this deſign had come to ſome maturity in his own mind, he communicated it to Archbiſhop Wake, and received his hearty approbation, couched in terms of ſingular reſpect [*G*]. His father, who was a Proteſtant Diſſenter, was then living (and who alſo

[*F*] *He knew how much the full influence, &c.*]

'Heaven doth with us, as we with torches do;
'Not light them for themſelves: for if our virtues
'Did not go forth of us, 'twere all alike,
'As if we had them not.

Shakeſpeare (Meaſure for Meaſure).

[*G*] *He communicated it to Archbiſhop Wake, &c.*] Mr. Diſney's letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (Dr. Wake) communicating to him his deſign of going into orders, and the Archbiſhop's two Letters in anſwer thereto.

"My

alſo ſurvived him), and was rather averſe to this meaſure. He did not, however, argue, as is very frequent in ſuch caſes, from his own convictions in reſpect to matters of doctrine, againſt the propoſal of his ſon; for no argument which peculiarly reſpected the *diſſent* of the father could affect the ſon's engagement in the miniſtry of that church *to which he betook himſelf when of age from principle and conviction*, and in which he had conſtantly communicated and attended divine ſervice; unleſs, indeed, it were contended, that the duty of worſhiping God in ſpirit and truth was not equally obligatory upon the hearer, as well as the teacher, of the word. The principal objections made by his Father were, that "a gentleman, exemplary in his life, "might do more good than a clergyman, both by his example, inſtructions, and re- "proofs; and that his inclination to Orders might be a temptation to his leaving the "magiſtracy, rather than a call of God to ſerve him in the miniſtry." Several of his friends did not fail to urge their objections; while others adviſed the proſecution of his deſign. The objections which were advanced he committed to writing in their full force; he ſtated them with care and minuteneſs, and examined them with attention. In the end, he removed them to his own ſatisfaction, and purſued his purpoſe accordingly, uninfluenced by any hope of advantage, and unawed by the cenſure of thoſe who might diſapprove.

So ſingular an inſtance of a private Gentleman, poſſeſſed of an eaſy paternal inhe-

'My Lord, *March* 1, 17$\frac{17}{18}$

'The occaſion of my troubling your Grace with 'this, may probably (after ſo many years of my life 'ſpent in ſecular ſervices) be ſomewhat ſurprizing, 'as well as unexpected: but it is to crave your ſen- 'timents and direction upon a propoſal, which though 'it ſhould not meet with encouragement, may hope 'at leaſt for pardon. I have for ſome time had my 'thoughts ſeriouſly bent towards entering into holy 'orders, if it be approved by thoſe to whom our 'common Lord has committed the care and authority 'of ſending labourers into his vineyard. 'Tis true 'I offer myſelf at the ſixth hour of the day (if not 'the eleventh, for GOD only knows how ſhort my life 'may be), but it is from a ſincere deſire of doing 'ſervice in that ſtation, if I am thought capable of 'it. I thank the Providence of God, I need not do 'it for bread; and his Grace that I don't deſire it 'for preferment: my only aim is to ſerve the great 'ends of Religion, the promoting piety and charity. 'If I can do any ſervice this way, I ſhall think my 'time, my ſtudies, and my labour, well employed; 'if I fail of ſucceſs, (which is only the gift of GOD, 'and depends upon his bleſſing), yet my ſincere 'endeavours will not fail of acceptance with him, to 'whom I devote myſelf and all that I have and am. 'I own myſelf unworthy of this high and holy calling 'in many particulars beſt known to GOD and myſelf: 'but I humbly hope there is nothing in my conduct 'that may prejudice the world againſt the endeavours 'I ſhall uſe to aſſiſt them. I muſt own I was brought 'up in a diſſenting academy, and never was a member 'of either of our Univerſities: but ſo ſoon as I came 'of age, I betook myſelf to the Church of England, 'and that upon principle and conviction, and upon 'the ſame I hope I ſhall always adhere to it. This 'therefore I preſume will hardly be an exception 'againſt me. As to my learning, I have nothing to 'ſay; but that I am unworthy enough upon that 'ſcore. However, this is to be tried by thoſe who 'may be authoriſed to examine me; and to ſuch an 'examination I intirely ſubmit; not at all deſiring 'orders, if I be judged inſufficient for them. Your 'Grace has known me ſome years, and is a better 'judge of me in all points (except ſincerity) than I 'can be of myſelf. I humbly beg your Grace's 'advice and opinion in this matter to,

'My Lord,

'Your Grace's

'moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

'JOHN DISNEY.'

The Archbiſhop's anſwer, dated March 4, 1717, and addreſſed "For the much reſpected John Diſney, Eſq. "at his houſe in Lincoln," is verbatim as follows.

'Hon. Sir,

'I had the favour of your Letter, with the incloſed 'to Dr. Wilkins, which I ordered to be delivered to 'him. As to the good deſign you propoſe to me, I 'cannot think but that you muſt needs believe I 'ſhould readily approve of it. Indeed I do ſo; and 'that as I conceive upon the juſteſt grounds, as far as 'my knowledge of you enables me to judge of it. 'GOD has given you ſeveral very proper talents for 'doing good in the miniſtry: and that zeal which you 'have ſhewn, while a layman, for ſuppreſſing vice 'and immorality, and encouraging true piety, will 'appear with a better advantage when it comes from 'one who has a ſpecial commiſſion from Chriſt, and 'his Church, to that purpoſe. Your life, as far as 'ever I heard, has been unblameable; your learning 'I have no doubt of: your age is not ſo far advanced, 'but that you may hope to be many years uſeful in 'the ſervice of GOD; and no man, who goes the 'ſooneſt into Orders, can tell how ſhort a time he may 'have to execute the office he is thereby admitted 'unto. But one thing muſt be provided; a title to 'Holy Orders; which I ſhould be ſorry a perſon ſo 'well deſerving it, ſhould long want. I ſhall add no 'more but my hearty prayers to GOD, that he who 'has put this good deſign into your heart, would 'enable you to bring it to good effect, and then I am 'confident the church will have the benefit, and many 'ſouls become the more holy and happy by it.

'I am, Hon. Sir,

'Your very affectionate humble ſervant,

'W. CANT.'

The foregoing Letter of Archbiſhop Wake's is recited in teſtimony of his opinion of Mr. Diſney and his propoſal. And as the Archbiſhop did, as might be expected, approve of Mr. Diſney's tender of himſelf for the Miniſtry, it might ſeem ſtrange that he ſhould ſtart the neceſſity of a former *canonical title*; but ſuch remarks are foreign to the preſent purpoſe: and as far as the matter of the title was concerned, the Archbiſhop ſeems to have recollected himſelf in a ſhort time; for in a ſecond Letter, Dated March 11, 1717. (only 7 days after the former) he wrote to Mr. Diſney, in a ſomewhat leſs official manner.

'Hon. Sir,

'I have not yet had any opportunity of ſpeaking to 'the Biſhop of Lincoln concerning yourſelf, or your 'good deſign of entering into the ſervice of the Church. 'I hope to do it this day; and will then remember 'the caution you deſire him to obſerve in diſcourſing 'of it.

'It is certain your eſtate anſwers the end of the 'Canon, though it does not alone warrant the Biſhop 'to proceed upon it. But I hope all that little difficulty 'will eaſily be ſet to rights; to which I ſhall contri- 'bute my part with great ſatisfaction. I pray GOD to 'bring your good purpoſe to a happy concluſion, and 'to bleſs his own work, that you may have the ſatis- 'faction to ſee it proſper in your hands.

'I am, Hon. Sir

'Your very affectionate friend,

'W. CANT.'

ritance, after having ſpent many years in the ſervice of Religion, as a layman, in diſtributing juſtice and promoting virtue and good morals as a magiſtrate, and that, not only in his public character, but in his writings, engaging in the Miniſtry, when he had advanced ſo far into life as the forty-third year of his age, requires that ſome of his reaſons ſhould be more particularly recited in his own words.

In a letter to his father upon this occaſion, dated April 2, 1718, he writes: "I muſt "own, I think myſelf (and I believe you will be of the ſame opinion that I am) of "age ſufficient to be led by my own diſcretion to what ſtate or courſe of life I may "chuſe to ſpend the remainder of my days in; but as I am not forgetful of the duty "I owe to a parent, to whom, beſide all other kindneſſes, I owe that *great* one of "a religious education, it has been my purpoſe to acquaint you with what I intend, in "an affair of ſo great moment; and it will be an uneaſineſs to me, not to have your "approbation of it. I deſign ſhortly to take Orders; and for this reaſon would quit all "ſecular cares and employments, as much as may be, that I may the more freely and "cloſely devote myſelf to the ſervice of GOD and Religion that way. You know me "too well to believe, that I have any ſiniſter and unworthy ends in this; and I know "my own conduct therein ſo well, as to aſſure you it is no raſh fancy, but the reſult of much "deliberation, and many ſerious thoughts for a good while. I have taken all thoſe "methods by which a rational mind can propoſe to come to the knowledge of *God's* "*will*, and the obtaining his *direction* herein; and by the beſt judgment I can make, "it ſeems to *me*, that I am duly called by our common Lord and Maſter to enter his "more immediate ſervice in the Church. And this is a juſt ground of hope, that (how-"ever unworthy in myſelf) I may be deſigned by Providence for an inſtrument of "ſome good; and that therefore, Sir, you will be pleaſed to reflect upon this purpoſe "of mine with favourable ſentiments; and not be ſurpriſed, that ſince my endeavours "have been ineffectual, with the force of human laws and authority, for ſurpreſſing "vice, I ſhould ſtill purſue the ſame end, by devoting myſelf under a higher com-"miſſion, and by the ſanctions of a greater law, to promote Religion and Holineſs, as "a miniſter of Chriſt."

To theſe reaſons were added, among others (in the paper containing his anſwers to the objections made againſt his going into the miniſtry), "that the firſt thought of Or-"ders came regularly to him, and his deſign and view therein, both then, and ever "after, was good; even promoting the glory of God, the honor and practice of "Religion, and the good of ſouls; at the ſame time ſincerely proteſting in his own heart "againſt all ambitious, covetous, vain-glorious, or other ſecular ends and aims in it; and "that diſcovering his intention to ſeveral ſerious men of his acquaintance, they all ap-"proved of it (Diſſenters as well as others), except his father. The ſuitableneſs of this "calling to his temper and Genius, added *ſome* weight to his reaſons for entering into "it. He was weary of public buſineſs of a ſecular nature. He deſired and found "great occaſion for more privacy and retirement from the world, to attend more cloſely "the concerns of a world to come (which were of great importance to him), and to "improve himſelf in piety in the choice of ſuch a ſtate of life during the reſt of his "days as might be (not an idle and monaſtical retreat, but a courſe of diligence and "ſpiritual labour) for the improvement of others alſo.

"His purpoſe in exerciſing this calling, was to lay aſide, as much as might be, all "needleſs controverſies, which eat out the heart and ſubſtance of Religion, and to em-"ploy himſelf in inculcating (ſo far as God ſhould be pleaſed to give him judgment, "ability, and ſtrength), the moſt practical truths of religion, the terms of the Chriſtian "covenant, according to the Scriptures, piety towards GOD, true faith in Chriſt, "charity towards men, obedience to the government, and every other Chriſtian virtue. "The effect of all might, he hoped (by the bleſſing of God upon his ſincere intentions "and faithful endeavours), be the doing of ſome real good, as an inſtrument, how-"ever unworthy, in the hands of him from whom all ſucceſs muſt come to ſuch in-"tentions and endeavours. And the iſſue of it to himſelf would be, he hoped (through "the mercy of GOD), the reward of a good and faithful ſervant in the life to come."

Among theſe reaſons is not omitted, "the method he had taken to know the mind "and will of GOD in this matter: it was ſuch as all prudent and pious perſons muſt "allow to be the only proper way (without ſpecial revelations, which were not to be "expected) to diſcover it: 1. Conſtant and daily prayer to GOD for his direction. "2. Private faſting and prayer on ſome certain days [*H*]. 3. Reading ſuch books as "moſt

[*H*] *Faſting and prayer on ſome certain days.*] We ſhall here ſubjoin a prayer before he went into Orders (for GOD's direction as to his deſign therein).

'O Almighty GOD, our heavenly Father, who 'has purchaſed to thyſelf an univerſal Church by the 'precious blood of thy dear Son, mercifully look upon 'the ſame, and ſo guide and govern the minds of 'thy ſervants the Biſhops and Paſtors of thy flock, that 'they may lay hands ſuddenly on no man; but faith-'fully and wiſely make choice of fit perſons to ſerve 'thee in the ſacred Miniſtry of thy Church. And to 'thoſe which ſhall be ordained to any holy function, 'give thy grace and heavenly benediction, that both 'by

" moſt ſtrongly repreſented the difficulties and duties of the miniſterial office, that he " might ſee whether his mind would ſtartle at it, or change thereby. 4. Taking a con- " ſiderable time for all."

Upon this particular caſe of Mr. Diſney's, it may not be out of place to obſerve the great difference of weight which the ſame arguments and reaſons carry to different minds, to minds equally uninfluenced by intereſt, and unuſed to the trammels of prejudice or authority, and which examine freely and judge ultimately for themſelves. There are men who live in our own day, who, at the ſame age, with the ſame information, and after much diſpaſſionate examination by all the means which this good man uſed, have receded from their miniſtry in our national Church. How much ſoever they wiſhed to miniſter in ſpiritual things, and however faithfully and zealouſly they diſcharged their ſtewardſhip, while they exerciſed it in the Church of England, they have found themſelves driven hence by the oppoſing ſtipulations of an human eſtabliſhment. While others again, though they cannot perſuade themſelves to ſecede, yet cannot adventure to repeat their required engagement. Theſe objections, which have heretofore and do now prevail with many who are, or lately were, miniſters of the Church of England, did not exiſt in Mr. Diſney's mind; nor were they indeed among thoſe objections which were offered by his father, a circumſtance which it is but juſtice to his memory to mention. The ſufficiency of his call, the purity of his motives in the deſign, and the propriety and uſefulneſs of his entering into the miniſtry, for his own ſake, and the ſake of others, ſeem to have been his principal conſiderations, and, ſatisfied in theſe, he rightly determined for himſelf.

On Sunday, March 15, 1719, he was ordained Deacon, in Somerſet-houſe chapel, and, on the 20th of September following, Prieſt, in St. Peter's church, in Cornhill, by Dr. Edmund Gibſon, then Biſhop of Lincoln. Soon afterwards he was preſented to the vicarage of Croft, and, on November the 25th, in the ſame year (1719), was inſtituted to the rectory of Kirkby-ſuper-Baine, both in Lincolnſhire. He was alſo appointed one of the Chaplains of James Lord Viſcount (afterwards Earl of) Caſtleton. He continued in poſſeſſion of theſe cures ſcarcely three years, being inſtituted to the vicarage of St. Mary's in Nottingham, October 2, 1722, on the preſentation of the Duke of Kingſton.

He removed to Nottingham, on his inſtitution to St. Mary's Church in that town, and lived there till the time of his death. His degree of *Maſter of Arts* he received from the univerſity of Cambridge. He was previouſly admitted (Nov. 29, 1720,) as fellow-

' by their life and doctrine they may ſet forth thy ' Glory, and ſet forward the Salvation of all men, ' through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

' Moſt Glorious, infinite, eternal, inviſible Majeſty ' of Heaven and Earth, who haſt created all things, ' and for whoſe ſervice and glory they are and were ' created; I acknowledge that from thy Almighty ' power I received my being and life; from thy merciful ' bounty, all the parts, capacities, and endowments ' of my mind; whatever ſerious ſenſe of religion ' is in me, whatever virtue and goodneſs, whatever ' care to obey thee, whatever fervent and ſincere ' deſires I have to ſerve and glorify thee in this world ' and to obtain thy mercy in the next, is firſt and laſt, ' in all degrees and inſtances, the effect and powerfull ' working of thy grace. I have nothing, and am ' nothing of myſelf, but vile duſt and ſin. But as the ' end of all thy benefits vouchſafed to me, all the ' gifts thou haſt beſtowed upon me, is that I ſhould ' uſe them to thy glory and the good of others; as ' thou haſt in ſome meaſure been pleaſed to qualify ' me for thy ſervice; and as thou haſt wrought in me ' a ſincere and ſerious deſire to ſerve thee: I do now ' moſt humbly caſt myſelf at thy feet, with faſting and ' prayer moſt earneſtly and fervently beſeeching the ' direction of thy holy ſpirit in what way or pro- ' feſſion and calling of life thou wouldſt have me to ' glorify thee. Thy will, O Lord, (not mine) be ' done. I am thy Creature, entirely at thy diſpoſal, ' and beg that thou wouldſt diſpoſe of me as may be ' moſt to thy glory, to which I deſire to conſecrate ' myſelf, and all that I have and am.

' It is my thoughts and deſires to ſerve thee in the ' ſacred miniſtry of thy church, if thou ſhalt be pleaſed ' by the inward influences of thy Spirit, and the out- ' ward authority of thoſe to whom thou haſt committed ' the care of ſending labourers into thy vineyard, to ' approve of thoſe thoughts and deſires. I acknow- ' ledge, O Lord, and I deſire to do it with the deepeſt ' humility, that I am far from being worthy to ſerve ' thee in that high and holy calling. My ſinfulneſs ' is great, my imperfections numerous; but thy mercy ' in Chriſt Jeſus is above all theſe. And however un- ' worthy I am in myſelf, thy goodneſs will for Chriſt's ' ſake pardon me upon true repentance; thy grace ' can powerfully improve me in bleſſing my ſincere ' endeavours; thy mercy will accept the integrity of ' my heart; thy wiſdom can direct my judgment, thy ' holy Spirit give ſucceſs to my labours, and abun- ' dantly make up for my defects and weakneſs; as thy ' infinite bounty will reward my faithfulneſs.

' I do therefore, O Lord, with the moſt earneſt de- ' ſires this dull heart of mine is capable of, beſeech ' thee to ſhew what thou wouldſt have me to do. If ' my ſervice in the miniſtry be *not acceptable* to thee, ' be pleaſed, for Chriſt's ſake, ſome way or other to ' diſcover it to me; that I may not dare to ruſh into ' that ſacred office without the calling and authority of ' thy holy Spirit. If, on the other hand, *it be accep- ' table* to thee, be pleaſed to confirm and ſtrengthen ' my reſolutions to enter into it; remove all obſtruc- ' tions thereto; ſo diſpoſe the hearts of the ſpiritual ' governours of thy church, that I may be accepted to ' ordination by them; prepare and qualify me by the ' powerful illuminations and ſanctification of thy holy ' Spirit for the prudent and faithful, courageous, zea- ' lous, and ſincere diſcharge of my duty in that diffi- ' cult and important calling; and remove far from me ' all ſecular unworthy ends, all vain-glorious, covetous, ' or ambitious proſpects therefrom; and ſo thoroughly ' purify my intentions, that (free from all allowance ' of any corrupt mixtures whatſoever) I may (as I ' hope I do, and deſire more perfectly to do,) ſincerely, ' ſolely, and entirely, aim at thy glory, and the good ' of ſouls therein. All which I moſt humbly beg in ' his name and for his ſake who is the great Paſtor and ' Biſhop of ſouls, the ſupreme Head of thy Church; ' the Mediator of the New Teſtament, and thy be- ' loved Son, in whom thou art well pleaſed, and whom ' thou heareſt always, our Lord and Saviour Jeſus ' Chriſt. Amen.'

commoner of Magdalen College, of which ſociety his eldeſt ſon was at that time a member alſo, and was preſented to his degree, through the privileges allowed to certain deſcents from the Peerage.

The duties of his miniſtry, in a large and very populous pariſh, were his principal engagements; perſevering, at the ſame time, in his reſearches into ancient learning, with the laudable intention of deducing from the knowledge of the practice of antient times, a complete code of juriſprudence for the regulation of the morals of his own day. The publication of his "View of ancient Laws," in 1729, plainly indicates that a part, at leaſt, of the labours of his latter days had an uniform retroſpect to all that had been before ſaid and done by him upon his favourite ſubject. He had alſo brought into great forwardneſs for the preſs his digeſt and fair tranſcript of his "Collections and Remarks "upon the Laws of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Plantations," and was actually employed in that work when his laſt illneſs ſeized him, and until it removed him to the chambers of the dead.

His attainments in ſacred literature, and the living languages, were no leſs eminent, than his general acquaintance with all profane learning. His ſermons were much admired, and his delivery from the pulpit was nervous, manly, and harmonious. He poſſeſſed a graceful perſon, and a good ſpeech. He was frequently chearful in company, but generally preſerved a ſerious and devout temper of mind.

For ſome years before his death he had laboured under ſome of thoſe chronic diſorders incident to perſons of ſedentary lives. His bodily conſtitution had gradually ſunk under his ſevere application to his ſtudies, and his indefatigable attentions in the courſe of his miniſtry; but the powers of his mind preſerved their vigour to the laſt hour of his life. Under the lingering, but eaſy and flattering advances of an acquired conſumption, his diſorder gained ſo much ſtrength as to baffle the powers of medicine; and thus a life of the ſtricteſt temperance in regard to diet and pleaſure, was ſacrificed to mental exertions in the cauſe of Religion and Virtue. He died at his vicarage houſe in Nottingham, on the 3d day of February, 1729-30, in the 53d year of his age; and was buried, according to his own requeſt, in the chancel of his church, near to the communion-table, having no other inſcription over his grave than the initial letters of his name, and the year of his death. He left a widow, who afterwards lived at her own family-ſeat, Flintham-hall, in Nottinghamſhire, and died there May 20th, 1763, in the 86th year of her age, by whom he had five ſons and three daughters [*I*].

He was a zealous advocate for, and a great friend to, the Religious Societies (particularly that for the Reformation of Manners), then in their infancy; and if they had been uniformly conducted, as they ought to have been, upon thoſe pure principles and in that good ſpirit with which they ſet out, they would have deſerved the patronage and ſupport of every good Chriſtian and every good Citizen. His "Remarks" upon the very groſs and illiberal language of Sacheverell againſt theſe Societies, in his ſermon at Derby, are written in a temper that ſhould have done more than ſoftened the choler of the intemperate accuſer; but it is ſeldom to be expected that good manners will purchaſe the like return from the paſſionate untractable bigot to a party, or that fair argument will convert him from the error of his ways.

Mr. Diſney's temper was naturally warm and impatient; but he was formed by nature alſo with a generous and forgiving mind. And his warmth and impatience were under the government of his Reaſon, as their proper ſuperior. His principles of Religion were what are vulgarly ſtyled orthodox in regard to points of doctrine and articles of faith: in reſpect to the principles of others, they were truly catholic. It was in the true ſpirit of Chriſtianity, and under the good diſpoſition of his own mind, happily brought to approximate thereto, that he had remarked that "the ſubſtance of Religion "which GOD chiefly inſiſts upon, is rather the zeal of a *good life*, than of an *orthodox* "*profeſſion*." See his "Eſſay on Execution of Laws," ſecond edit. p. 167.

Mr. Diſney's correſpondence with ſome perſons of high name for literature in his age does honour to both parties. His own learning was acknowledged, and the great work which he had deſigned to have publiſhed, under the title of "Corpus Legum de Moribus Reformandis," was greatly approved by ſeveral judicious and learned men, and forwarded by their ready anſwers to queries propoſed to them by the writer, as occaſion ſuggeſted them, and not unfrequently by their voluntary

[*I*] *By whom he had five ſons and three daughters*]. His children were: 1. John Diſney, of Lincoln, Eſq. High Sheriff of the county of Nottingham, 1733, and who died Nov. 26, 1771, having married Frances youngeſt daughter of George Cartwright of Oſſington in Nottinghamſhire, Eſq. 2. Henry Diſney, M. B. who married Martha daughter of Thomas Roebuck, of Heath, in the county of York, Eſq. 3. Daniel Diſney. 4. Samuel Diſney, M. A. ſometime Fellow of C. C. C. C. and afterwards Lecturer of Wakefield, married Margery daughter of Francis Proctor, of Thorpe, in the county of York, Eſq. 5. Gervaſe Diſney, M. B. married Martha daughter of Mr. William Thorpe, of Nottingham. 1. Mary married to Benjamin Theaker, Eſq. Captain in the army. 2. Catherine, married to Mr. David Houſtown, of Houſtown, near Glaſcow. 3. Martha, married to Metcalf Proctor, of Thorpe, in the county of York, Eſq.

con-

contributions [*K*]. His own library contained a very extenſive and valuable collection of books in all languages; but he ſpared not journies to the public libraries in London, and both of our Univerſities, for the conſultation of ſuch ſcarce books, and ſome manuſcripts, which were no where elſe to be met with. His manuſcripts are preſerved in his family, and his exactneſs and preciſion in their arrangement, and the faitneſs of their tranſcript, are peculiar to himſelf.

The works which our author publiſhed will abundantly juſtify all that has been ſaid of his abilities, his piety, his learning, and his induſtry; and an account of them is ſubjoined in teſtimony thereof. A liſt of ſuch of his manuſcripts as are preſerved from the depredations which time and chance too frequently make upon ſuch reſcripts, is given with the ſame view, and as a farther gratification of a laudable curioſity for a perfect acquaintance with the works of the learned and the good.

A Catalogue of Mr. Diſney's Works, in the order of their publication.

1. "Primitiæ Sacræ, the Reflections of a devout Solitude, conſiſting of Meditations "and Poems on divine Subjects." By John Diſney, Eſq. London, 1701 and 1703, 8vo."

2. "Flora." In Admiration of the Gardens of Rapin, and the Tranſlation of Mr. Gardiner, written 1705. Prefixed to Subdean Gardiner's Tranſlation of "Rapin of Gardens;" the third edition of which was publiſhed 1728, 8vo.

3. "An Eſſay upon the Execution of the Laws againſt Immorality and Profaneneſs. "By John Diſney, Eſq. With a Preface, addreſſed to her Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace." London, 1708 and 1710, 8vo. His portrait is prefixed to ſeveral copies on large paper.

4. "A Second Eſſay upon the Execution of the Laws againſt Immorality and Pro- "faneneſs. Wherein the Caſe of giving Informations to the Magiſtrate is conſidered, "and Objections againſt it anſwered. By John Diſney, Eſq. With a Preface addreſſed "to Grand Juries, Conſtables, and Churchwardens." London, 1710, 8vo. N. B. The preface to this ſecond Eſſay was afterwards printed in a ſmall ſize, by itſelf, in order to diſtribute it among thoſe whom it more particularly concerned.

5. "Remarks upon a Sermon preached by Dr. Henry Sacheverell, at the Aſſizes "held at Derby, Aug. 15, 1709. In a Letter to himſelf. Containing a juſt and mo- "deſt Defence of the Societies for Reformation of Manners, againſt the Aſperſions caſt "upon them in that Sermon." London, 1711, 8vo.

6. Propoſals for the Publication of his great Work, entituled, "Corpus Legum de "Moribus Reformandis." Dated, Lincoln, 1713. A ſingle ſheet, and republiſhed in "the View of Ancient Laws."

7. "The Genealogy of the moſt ſerene and moſt illuſtrious Houſe of Brunſwick Lu- "nenburgh, the preſent Royal Family of Great Britain, drawn up from the beſt hiſ- "torical and genealogical Writers. By John Diſney, Eſq. A. D. 1714." Dedicated to his Majeſty King George I. and engraved by J. Sturt, on two ſheets of Imperial paper. N. B. A miſtake in this Genealogical Table is corrected in the "Acta Regia," 8vo, 1716. vol. I. p. 102. Rymer ſays, that "Albert Great Duke of Brunſwick mar- "ried Adelhard daughter to *Henry the Magnanimous Duke of Brabant*; whereas Mr. Diſ- "ney makes Adelhard daughter of the Marquis of Montſerrat."

8. "A Sermon, preached in the pariſh church of St. Botolph's, Aldgate, London, on "Sunday, Nov. 22, 1719. By John Diſney, Rector of Kirby-ſuper-Baine, Lincoln- "ſhire." London, 1720. 8vo.

[*K*] *And not unfrequently by their voluntary contributions.*] Biſhop Gibſon was conſulted by him as a Canoniſt and Civilian; and Dr. Nicolſon, Archbiſhop of Caſhell, readily gave our Author ſuch information relative to the laws of Ireland, as could only be had from one reſident in the country; as did Mr. Dundas, of Philipſtone, in Scotland, in reſpect to the laws of that kingdom. Dr. Colbatch, Profeſſor of Caſuiſtry, in Cambridge, Fellow of Trinity College; Prebendary of Sarum (of whom ſee "Whiſton's Memoirs," vol. I. p. 356. and alſo "The Confeſſional," 3d edit. p. 102. note (t), writes to Mr. Chamberlyne (a friend of Mr. Diſney's), in a letter, dated Cambridge, Nov. 26, 1713, "I "ſhould think myſelf happy, could I do any thing "towards promoting your friend's deſign; than "which, if it be well executed, I know of none that "can contribute more to the general good of man- "kind. And ſo far as one can judge by his propo- "ſals and letter, the gentleman ſeems to be excellently "well qualified for it. His Latin, in particular, is "like to be a great ornament to his work, if he can "hold on in the ſame ſtyle as he has begun in his Pro- "poſals." After mentioning ſome authors, which he thought might be of uſe to the work in hand, and of forming them to Mr. Diſney's ſervice, he concludes with theſe words: "Pray, Sir, excuſe all theſe impertinencies, which I have been inſenſibly led to by a "ſtrong inclination to ſerve either you or your friend; "and a hearty deſire to ſee ſo great and good a deſign, "as I take Mr. Diſney's to be, go forward." Dr. Daniel Wilkins, author of "Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ," printed in folio, 1721, whom Mr. Diſney uſed to conſult in all difficult queſtions in Saxon literature and antiquity, concludes a letter to him, dated Oxford, Jan. 7, 1716-17, with theſe friendly offers: "As ſoon "as I can get a leiſure hour, I will copy the plan of "my Saxon laws for you; mean while, I deſire you "to exerciſe my little capacity in whatever you think "it can be ſerviceable to you. I can promiſe a hearty "and ready inclination, which, if it does not anſwer "your deſires entirely, you will pleaſe to accept for "the deed." In another letter, dated Chriſt-Church, Canterbury, Feb. 11, 1725-6, Dr. Wilkins writes: "I "am very glad you reſume your book of the Laws "againſt immorality. Whatever aſſiſtance lies in the "compaſs of my power, you may command freely." When he had occaſion for ſatisfaction on ſome queries upon what was gathered from the Koran, he was obliged by the aſſiſtance of the Rev. Simon Ockley, Profeſſor of Arabic in the Univerſity of Cambridge, and Fellow of Queen's College in that Univerſity.

9. "A Sermon, preached before the Mayor and Aldermen of Lincoln, Nov. 5, 1720. " Printed at the Requeſt of ſome private Friends. Dedicated to the Archbiſhop of " Canterbury. London, 1721." 8vo.

10. "A Sermon, preached in the Pariſh Church of St. Auſtin's, in London, Feb. 18, " 1721. Publiſhed at the earneſt Requeſt of ſome that heard it. London, 1722." 8vo.

11. "A Sermon, preached at St. Mary's, in Nottingham, Jan. 30, 1722. By John " Diſney, Vicar of the ſaid Church. Dedicated to the Duke of Kingſton. Notting- " ham, 1723." 8vo.

12. "A Sermon, preached at the Aſſizes at Nottingham, March 12, 1724, before " the Right Hon. Mr. Juſtice Dormer and Mr. Juſtice Forteſcue-Aland; and publiſhed " with their Lordſhip's Approbation, at the Requeſt of the High Sheriff and Grand Jury " of the ſaid County, and dedicated to them. Nottingham." 8vo.

13. "A Sermon, preached in the Pariſh Church of St. Mary, Nottingham, before " the Mayor and Aldermen, on Michaelmas-day, 1724, and publiſhed at the Requeſt " of ſome that heard it. London, 1724." 8vo.

14. "A Sermon, preached at the Aſſizes at Nottingham, Auguſt 4, 1727, before " Mr. Baron Hale and Mr. Baron Comyns. Publiſhed at the Requeſt of the Grand " Jury for the County, and the Mayor and Aldermen of the Town, and dedicated to " to them. London, 1727." 8vo.

15. "A View of Ancient Laws againſt Immorality and Profaneneſs, under the fol- " lowing Heads: Lewdneſs; profane Swearing, Curſing, and Blaſphemy; Perjury; " Profanation of Days devoted to Religion; Contempt or Neglect of Divine Service; " Drunkenneſs; Gaming, Idleneſs, Vagrancy, and Begging; Stage-Plays and Players; and " Duelling. Collected from the Jewiſh, Roman, Greek, Gothic, Lombard, and other " Laws, down to the Middle of the Eleventh Century. By John Diſney, M. A. Vicar " of St. Mary's, in Nottingham. Dedicated to Lord King, Lord High Chancellor. " Cambridge, 1729." fol.

His Manuſcripts are in the poſſeſſion of the preſent writer of his life, and are as follows:

1. "Eſſays upon various Subjects: Friendſhip, Solitude, Self-murder, the Inſtitution " of a Gentleman."

2. "Offices proper to be uſed with Criminals and Debtors. Compiled from the Book " of Common Prayer and ſeveral private Books of Devotion; for the uſe of Ordinaries, " who have the Care of attending Priſoners." 12mo.

3. "Heads of Self-Examination for the Sacrament, and a Diary of his receiving."

4. "Officium Euchariſticum. A Form of Prayers and Behaviour at the holy Sacra- " ment."

5. "The caſe of Buying and Selling on the Lord's-day ſtated and examined, together " with its Uſes, both public and private."

6. "Prayers on various Occaſions."

7. "The XXXIX Articles, with Scripture Proofs of each."

8. "Heads of Self-Examination every Evening."

9. "Queſtions diſcuſſed at a Religious Society erected at Lincoln. 1709."

10. "References to Authors in Divinity, who have *occaſionally* explained the Scrip- " tures, in a Common-place Book for that Purpoſe. 4 vols, fol."

11. Sermons.

12. "The Laws of England, Ireland, and Wales, and the Plantations, againſt Im- " morality and Profaneneſs, 4to."

13. "The Laws of Scotland againſt the ſame."

14. The above two Collections digeſted together, fol. *left unfiniſhed.*

15. "Collections on ſeveral Subjects from the Homilies, the Fathers, &c." fol.

16. "A Genealogical and Hiſtorical Account of Portugal," fol.

17. "Collections from ſeveral Authors (particularly Hiſtorians), on various Sub- " jects," fol.

18. "General Hiſtory (particularly Genealogical), of all the Princes of Europe." fol.

19. "Legum Synopſis, Ebræorum veterum, Græcorum aliorumque veterum, Roma- " norum, Jus Civile Βασιλικῶν, &c. Imperii Orientalis, Wiſigothorum, *&c.* againſt " the ſame." 4to.

20. "Miſcellaneous Collections againſt the ſame. 4 vols." 4to.

21. "Legum Synopſis, Concilia et Pontificum Romanorum Conſtitutiones, againſt " the ſame." 4to.

22. "Legum Synopſis. Jus Civile et Jus Canonicum, againſt the ſame." 4to.

23. "Collections for a general Preliminary Diſcourſe." 4to.

24. "Catalogue of Books neceſſary to be uſed in his "Corpus Legum de Moribus " Reformandis." 4to.

25. "Gloſſarium et Notæ Generales," 4to.

26. The Arms of Engliſh Nobility, very neatly drawn with a pen." fol.]

* For this communication we are indebted to Mr Newton, of New Ormond Street.

*** [DITTON (HUMPHREY*), an eminent Mathematician, was born at Saliſbury, on the 29th of May, 1675, being the fourteenth of that name in a direct line. His father was a gentleman poſſeſſed of a ſmall eſtate in the county of Wilts. His mother was of the family of the Luttrells of Dunſter-caſtle, near Taunton, in Somerſetſhire, whoſe fortune made a conſiderable increaſe to the family income. Mr. Ditton's father being of the ſect of Nonconformiſts, and extremely tenacious of his opinions, entered much into the religious controverſies of thoſe times, and in ſupporting ſuch contentions impaired his fortune, almoſt to the ruin of his family.

Mr. Humphrey Ditton was the only ſon; and his father, obſerving in him an extraordinary good capacity, was deſirous that he ſhould not want the advantage of a good education. Accordingly, he placed him in a private academy, under the direction of Dr. Olive, a Clergyman of the Eſtabliſhed Church, who, notwithſtanding his religious ſentiments were different from thoſe of Mr. Ditton's family, was much eſteemed by them for his candour and moderation in thoſe troubleſome times.

When Mr. Ditton had finiſhed his ſtudies under Dr. Olive, he, at the deſire of his father, although contrary to his own inclination, engaged in the profeſſion of Divinity, and began to exerciſe his function at Tunbridge in the county of Kent, where he continued to preach ſome years; during which time he married Miſs Ball, a lady at that place.

He was ſo indefatigable and aſſiduous in the exerciſe of his calling that he very much impaired his health; ſo that ſeveral of his friends, foreſeeing it would ſhorten his life, adviſed him to relinquiſh a profeſſion which the weakneſs of his conſtitution could not ſupport. Theſe circumſtances, together with the death of his father, which happened about the ſame time, determined him to quit the profeſſion of Divinity; and at the perſuaſion of Dr. Harris and Mr. Whiſton, both eminent Mathematicians, he engaged in the ſtudy of Mathematics, to which he had always a great propenſity.

In the proſecution of this ſcience he was much encouraged by the ſucceſs and applauſe he received. He was highly eſteemed by Sir Iſaac Newton, by whoſe intereſt and recommendation he was elected Maſter of the new Mathematical School in Chriſt's Hoſpital; in which office he remained during his life.

Mr. Ditton publiſhed many mathematical and other tracts, of which the following is an account:

His firſt work was a treatiſe on Spherical Catoptrics, which was publiſhed in the "Philoſophical Tranſactions," in the year 1705. It was written in the Latin language, and was ſo highly approved, that it was republiſhed in a foreign periodical work, called the "Acta Eruditorum," in the year 1707; and was afterwards printed in the "Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences at Paris."

In 1706 he publiſhed a treatiſe, intituled, "An Inſtitution of Fluxions, containing "the firſt Principles, Operations, and Applications, of that admirable Method, as in"vented by Sir Iſaac Newton." This work, with additions and alterations, was again publiſhed by Mr. John Clarke, in the year 1726, ſome years after Mr. Ditton's death.

The ſame year, 1706, Mr. Ditton alſo publiſhed a treatiſe on the Laws of Nature and Motion. Of this the celebrated Wolfius makes mention, and aſſerts, that it illuſtrates and renders eaſy the writings of Galileo, Huygens, and the "Principia" of Sir Iſaac Newton. It is alſo noticed by De la Roche, in "The Mémoires de Litérature," vol. VIII. p. 46.

In 1709 he publiſhed the "Synopſis Algebraicum" of John Alexander Bernatus Helvetius; with many additions and corrections.

His treatiſe on Perſpective was publiſhed in 1712. In this work he explained the principles of that art mathematically; and beſides teaching the methods then generally practiſed, gave the firſt hints of the new method afterward enlarged upon and improved by Dr. Brook Taylor; and which was publiſhed in the year 1715.

Several publications of Mr. Ditton's appeared in the year 1714; one of which was a Diſcourſe upon the Reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt; the truth of which he here endeavoured to demonſtrate. This work went through four editions, and was tranſlated into ſeveral of the modern languages. Tindal, Collins, and ſome other authors, oppoſed it, and endeavoured to confute the reaſoning; to whom Ditton had begun an anſwer, but died before it was finiſhed; and his friends, upon reviſing it, found it too incomplete to hazard its publication.

Another of his works that appeared in the ſame year was "The new Law of Fluids; "or, a Diſcourſe concerning the Aſcent of Liquids, in exact geometrical Figures, be"tween two nearly contiguous ſurfaces." To this was annexed a tract, to demonſtrate the impoſſibility of thinking or perception being the reſult of any combination of the parts of matter and motion: a ſubject much agitated in thoſe days by the Free-Thinkers and their opponents. There was alſo adjoined to this work an advertiſement from him and Mr. Whiſton, concerning a method for diſcovering the Longitude; which, it appears, they had publiſhed about half a year before. This attempt probably coſt Mr. Ditton his life; for although it was approved and countenanced by Sir Iſaac Newton previouſly to its being preſented to the Board of Longitude, and the method

has been ſince ſucceſsfully put in practice, in finding the longitude between Paris and Vienna, yet that Board then determined againſt it: ſo that the diſappointment, together with the public ridicule incurred thereby (particularly in a poem written by Dean Swift), affected his health, and he died the enſuing year, 1715, in the fortieth year of his age, much regretted by the Philoſophical Literati of that time, who expected from his aſſiduity, learning, and penetrating genius, many uſeful and ingenious diſcoveries.

In an account of Mr. Ditton, prefixed to the German tranſlation of his Diſcourſe on the Reſurrection, it is ſaid, that he had publiſhed, in his own name only, another method for finding the Longitude; but which Mr. Whiſton denied. However, Raphael Levi, a learned Jew, who had ſtudied under Leibnitz, informed the German editor, that he well knew that Ditton and Leibnitz had correſponded upon the ſubject; and that Ditton had ſent to Leibnitz a delineation of a machine he had invented for that purpoſe; which was a piece of mechaniſm conſtructed with many wheels like a clock, and which Leibnitz highly approved of for land uſe; but doubted whether it would anſwer on ſhipboard, on account of the motion of the ſhip.

Mr. Ditton was buried in the cloiſters of Chriſt's-Hoſpital, on the North ſide of the quadrangle, and near the paſſage at its Eaſt end. A large blue graveſtone, with a Latin inſcription cut in it, was laid over the grave. The ſtone yet remains; but the inſcription is entirely effaced.

His ſon, the Rev. John Ditton, was many years lecturer of St. Mary's, Iſlington; where he died March 16, 1776 (1).

(1) Gent. Mag. Vol. XLVI. p. 142.

*** Previouſly to Mr. Ditton's publication of his Spherical Catoptrics in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, he had publiſhed, in the twenty-third volume of the ſame Tranſactions, a paper on the Tangents of Curves deduced immediately from the Theory of Maxima and Minima. How well his Treatiſe upon the Reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt was received, is apparent from its having gone through four editions, and from its having been tranſlated into ſeveral modern languages. It deſerved this diſtinction, being a work of great value. According to the faſhion of the times, it is written in the mathematical form, which, perhaps, gives it too abſtract an appearance; but it would well reward a diligent peruſal. As is the caſe with many other good books, the memory of it is almoſt overwhelmed by the ſucceſſion of new publications. A perſon who ſhould apply himſelf to the ſtudy of the Logic of probabilities, would find his account in reading Mr. Ditton's performance.] K.

(a) Graham's Short Account of the moſt eminent Painters, annexed to Dryden's Tranſlation of Freſnoy's Art of Painting, p. 376. edit. 1716.

*** [DOBSON (WILLIAM), a Painter of great merit, was born in St. Andrew's pariſh, in Holborn, in the year 1610 (*a*). His family had been gentlemen of good rank at St. Alban's; but having fallen into decay, he was put apprentice to Robert Peake, who was both a painter and a dealer in pictures (*b*) [*A*]. His maſter was not a very able artiſt; but he received inſtructions, not from him only, but from Francis Cleyn [*B*]; though he owed his principal improvement to his copying a few excellent pictures,

(b) Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England, Vol. II. p. 289. edit. 1782.

[*A*] *Both a painter and a dealer in pictures.*] Robert Peake was originally a picture-ſeller by Holborne-bridge. He ſold prints as well as paintings, and was maſter to the celebrated Faithorne. In the Civil War he took up arms in ſupport of the royal cauſe, and was made a lieutenant-colonel. He was knighted by King Charles I. and had a command in Baſing-houſe when it was beſieged, and was there taken priſoner. He painted portraits in oil-colours (1).

(1) Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England, vol. II. p. 20.

[*B*] *From Francis Cleyn.*] 'This artiſt,' Mr. Walpole ſays, 'was born at Roſtock, and retained in the 'ſervice of Chriſtian IV. King of Denmark; but 'the excellence of his genius prompted him to the 'ſearch of better models than he found in that Northern climate.' He traveled to Italy, and ſtaid there 'four years. It was at Rome, I ſuppoſe, he learned 'thoſe beautiful groteſques, in which he afterwards 'ſhone. At Venice, he became known to Sir Henry 'Wotton, and Sir Robert Anſtruther recommended 'him to Prince Charles. He arrived while the Prince 'was in Spain; but notwithſtanding was graciouſly 'received by King James, who mentions that circumſtance in a Latin letter that he wrote to the 'King of Denmark, deſiring leave to detain Cleyn in 'England, though with a permiſſion to return firſt to 'Copenhagen, and finiſh a work he had begun there, 'and promiſing to pay the expence of his journey. 'The letter is preſerved by Fuller (2). The requeſt 'was granted, and Cleyn returned to London at the 'end of the Summer. The King had juſt then given 'two thouſand pounds towards Sir Francis Crane's 'new manufacture at Mortlack. They had worked 'only after old patterns; Cleyn was placed there, 'and gave deſigns both in hiſtory and groteſque, 'which carried thoſe works to ſingular perfection. It 'appears by King Charles's Catalogue, that five of 'the Cartoons were ſent thither to be copied by him 'in tapeſtry. His penſion is recorded by Rymer (3): "Know ye, that we do give and grant unto Francis "Cleyn a certain annuity of one hundred pounds by "the year, during his natural life." He enjoyed this 'ſalary till the Civil War; and was in ſuch favour 'with the King, and in ſuch reputation, that on a 'ſmall drawing of him in Indian ink, about ſix inches 'ſquare, which Vertue ſaw, he is called, *Il famoſiſſimo pittore Franceſco Cleyn, miracolo del ſecolo, et molto ſtimato del re Carlo della Gran Britania*, 1646. 'Cleyn was not employed ſolely in the works at 'Mortlack; he had a houſe near the church in Covent-Garden, and did ſeveral other things for the 'King and Nobility. At Somerſet-houſe he painted 'a cieling of a room near the gallery with hiſtories 'and compartments in gold. The outſide of Wimbledon-houſe he painted in freſco. Bolſover in 'Nottinghamſhire, Stone-park in Northamptonſhire, 'and Carew-houſe at Parſon's Green (ſince Lord Peterborough's), were ornamented by him. There is ſtill 'extant a beautiful chamber adorned by him at Holland-houſe, with a cieling in groteſque, and ſmall 'compartments on the chimnies, in the ſtyle and 'not unworthy of Parmegiano. Two chairs, carved 'and gilt, with large ſhells for backs, belonging to 'the ſame room, were undoubtedly from his deſigns; 'and are evidences of his taſte. A letter from Lord 'Cottington to Lord Strafford, deſcribing the former's 'houſe at Hanworth, mentions Cleyn, though not 'by name: "There is a certain large low room made "under the building with a fountain in it, and other "rare devices, and the open gallery is all painted by "the hand of a ſecond Titian. Aug. 1629." In

(2) In his Worthies of Surrey, p. 77.

(3) Vol. XVIII. p. 112.

'King

pictures, procured by his master, particularly some of Titian and Vandyck; and the manner of those two masters he in some measure always retained (*c*). He applied himself so assiduously to improve himself in his art, that he soon arrived at great excellence; so that a picture which he had drawn being exposed in the window of a shop on Snow-hill, and being seen by the celebrated Vandyck, who happened to be passing that way, he was much struck with it. He enquired after the artist, and found him at work in a poor garret. Vandyck soon delivered him from a situation so unworthy of his merit, and generously furnished him with every thing requisite for his appearance in a character suitable to his talents. He afterwards recommended him to the notice of King Charles I. who took him into his service, and is said to have styled him, "The "English Tintoret." On the death of Vandyck, Dobson was appointed Serjeant-painter, and Groom of the Privy-chamber. He attended the King to Oxford, and lodged in the High-street, almost over-against St. Mary's church, in a house where some of his works were remaining within these few years. At Oxford, his Majesty, Prince Rupert, and several of the Nobility, sat to him; and he came into great business [*C*]. But the decline of the King's affairs was unfavourable to his interest, and his course of life appears to have been irregular and imprudent. He was attached to his pleasures, and negligent of his expences; in consequence of which he was involved in debts, and thrown into prison. He was, however, released out of confinement by the friendship of Mr. Vaughan of the Exchequer, whose picture he drew, and thought it the best of his portraits. But he enjoyed this release for a short time only; for he died at his house in St. Martin's-lane, at the age of thirty-six; and was interred in that parish on the 28th of October, 1646 (*d*).

(*d*) Walpole, ut supra.

This, as Mr. Walpole observes, was "a short life, in which he had promised much "excellence. His pictures are thought the best imitations of Vandyck: they are un-"doubtedly very faithful transcripts of nature. He painted history as well as portrait, "and even the latter generally containing more than a single figure, rise almost above "that denomination (*e*)." In his person, he is said to have been "a fair middle-sized man;" and it is added, that he was "of a ready wit, and pleasing conversation (*f*)." Mr. Pilkington says, "Undoubtedly he was one of the most eminent painters of his "time; and an equal honour to the art, and to his native country. His manner is "bold, and free, and, at the same time, has abundance of sweetness, with a charming "tone of colour; and although he was inferior to Vandyck in the gracefulness of his "figures, yet he gave life, dignity, and sentiment, to his portraits: and for truth, "character, and resemblance, few have surpassed him (*g*)." It has also been remarked by Mr. Graham, that "had his education been answerable to his genius, England "might justly have been as proud of her Dobson, at Venice of her Titian, or Flanders "of her Vandyck (*b*)."

(*e*) Id. ibid.

(*f*) Graham, ut supra.

(*g*) Dictionary of Painters, p. 178.

(*b*) Account of the most Eminent Painters, ut supra, p. 377.

At Wilton is a painting of the decollation of John the Baptist by Dobson; of which Mr. Walpole says, that "it is in a good style, but the colouring is raw. The idea of "St. John is said to have been taken from the face of Prince Rupert." At Chatsworth is a picture by him, said to be General Monk, his child, and Anne Clarges, who was afterwards Dutchess of Albemarle. At Albury, in Surrey, the seat of the Earl of Arundel, Mr. Walpole informs us, "was a picture, by Dobson, of the woman caught "in adultery, with several figures; the heads taken from persons then living, among "whom was the poet Cowley. At Chippenham, in Cambridgeshire, formerly the seat "of Russel, Earl of Orford, in one piece are Prince Rupert, Colonel John Russel, "and Mr. William Murray, drinking and dipping their favour-ribbands in the wine. "At Blenheim is a family, by some said to be that of Francis Carter, an architect and "scholar of Inigo Jones; by others of Lilly, the astrologer, whom Vertue thought it "resembled. The man holds a pair of compasses."—"I have seen nothing of Dob-"son," says Mr. Walpole, "preferable to this: there is the utmost truth in it. At "Devonshire-house is another family-piece of Sir Thomas Browne, author of "Religio "Medici," his wife, two sons, and as many daughters. Mr. Willet, merchant in "Thames-street, has a small family-piece of Dr. Hibbard, physician, his wife, and five "children. The father and mother are particularly well painted."—"A whole-length

'King Charles's catalogue is mention of four patterns 'for the great Seal, drawings on blue paper by Cleyn. 'He made designs for various artists, particularly for 'several of Hollar's plates to Virgil and Æsop: for 'these he received fifty shillings a-piece.'—'Mr. Eng-'lish, a painter, who died at Mortlack in 1718, had 'a picture of Cleyn and his wife, and several of his 'designs for tapestries; all which came to Mr. Craw-'ley of Hempsted, Hertfordshire (4).' Cleyn died about the year 1658. He had several children, and two of his sons became eminent in his own art. On a small print of the father, etched by one of his sons, Mr. Evelyn wrote, "A most pious man, father of "two sons, who were incomparable painters in mi-"niature; all died in London (5)."

(4) Anecdotes Painting in England, vol II. p. 225—30.

(5) Id. ibid.

[*C*] *He came into great business.*] Mr. Walpole takes notice, that 'the author of the "Abrégé de la Vie 'des plus fameux Peintres," says, that Dobson being 'overwhelmed with business, thought of a lucky 'way to check it. It was, obliging persons who sat 'to him to pay half the price down; and that he was 'the first who used this practice. By the swarms of 'portraits that are left on the hands of his successors, 'this method is either neglected, or has very little 'effect (6).'

(6) Ibid. p. 190.

" of Sir William Compton is in the poſſeſſion of the family. At the Lord Byron's is " a portrait of Sir Charles Lucas; and at Drayton in Northamptonſhire, Henry Mor- " daunt, Earl of Peterborough, in armour, with a page holding his horſe, and an " angel giving him his helmet. A head of the Marquis of Montroſe was taken for the " hand of Vandyck: in a corner, in ſtone-colour, is a ſtatue of Peace, on the other ſide, " his helmet. At Mr. Skinner's (Mr. Walker's collection) is a large piece of Prince " Charles in armour, drawn about 1638, Mr. Wyndham, a youth, holding his hel- " met; at bottom are arms and trophies." Mr. Walpole likewiſe takes notice, that there is an admirable head of Vanderdort, by Dobſon, at Houghton; and alſo gives the following farther account of pieces by him: " Dobſon's wife, by him, is on the ſtairs " of the Aſhmolean Muſeum at Oxford; and his own head is at Earl Paulett's: the " hands were added long ſince by Gibſon, as he himſelf told Vertue. Charles, Duke " of Somerſet, had a picture of an old man ſitting, and his ſon behind him. On this " picture was written the following epigram, publiſhed by John Elſum, among his " epigrams on painting:

" Perceiving ſomebody behind his chair,
" He turns about with a becoming air:
" His head is rais'd, and looking o'er his ſhoulder
" So round and ſtrong, you never ſaw a bolder.
" Here you ſee nature th'roughly underſtood;
" A portrait not like paint, but fleſh and blood;
" And, not to praiſe Dobſon below his merit,
" This fleſh and blood is quickened by a ſpirit."

" At Northumberland-houſe is a triple-portrait of Sir Charles Cotterel, embraced by " Dobſon, and Sir Balthazar Gerbier in a white waiſtcoat. Sir Charles was a great " friend and patron of Dobſon. At Rouſham, in Oxfordſhire, the ſeat of the Cotterels, " are ſeveral good portraits by him. Sir Charles Cotterel, when at Oxford with the " King, was engaged by his Majeſty to tranſlate Davila's Hiſtory of the Civil Wars of " France: the frontiſpiece, deſigned by Sir Charles himſelf, was drawn by Dobſon. " It repreſented Francis II. Charles IX. Henry III. and IV. with two dogs, a Popiſh " and Proteſtant cur, fighting before them. This ſketch is ſtill preſerved in the family, " and in 1729 was engraved in London for the Hiſtory of Thuanus. He etched his " own portrait. In a collection of poems called " Calanthe," is an elegy on our pain- " ter (*i*).'] T.

(*i*) Anecdotes of Painting in England, ubi ſupra, p. 191—195.

*** [DODDRIDGE (PHILIP), an eminent Divine and Tutor among the Proteſtant Diſſenters, was deſcended from a family which appears to have been originally ſettled in Devonſhire. No memoirs of it, however, are capable of being traced farther back than to his great-grandfather, whoſe name was Richard, and who was an eminent merchant at Barnſtaple, in that county. Of his great-grandfather we are not told whether he was a gentleman who lived upon his eſtate, or whether he was of any particular profeſſion. That the family was ancient, is evinced by its arms; and that it was of ſome conſequence, is apparent from the liberal education, and the reſpectable ſituations, of ſuch of the members of it as have not been conſigned to oblivion. John Doddridge, brother of the Doctor's great-grandfather, was of no ſmall diſtinction in the law; paſſed through ſeveral eminent ſtages of it, in the reign of King James the Firſt; received the honour of knighthood; and at length roſe to be one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench. An account of him will be given below [*A*].

Another

[*A*] *An account of him will be given below.*] This John Doddridge, one of the ſons of the Richard Doddridge above-mentioned, was born at Barnſtaple, in the year 1555. In 1572 he was entered of Exeter College, Oxford, where he ſtudied four years; after which he was removed to the Middle Temple, London, where he became a great proficient in the law, and a noted counſellor. In the forty-fifth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he was Lent Reader of that houſe; and on the twentieth of January, 1603-4, he was called to the degree of Serjeant at Law. At the ſame time he had the honour of being appointed Serjeant to Henry Prince of Wales. From this employment he was raiſed, in the ſucceeding year, to be Solicitor-General to the King; though his name does not occur, under that capacity, in Mr. Beatſon's Political Index. On the twenty-fifth of June, 1607, he was conſtituted his Majeſty's Principal Serjeant at Law, and was knighted on the fifth of July following. In February, 1612-13, he was created Maſter of Arts, at his chambers in Serjeants Inn by the Vice Chancellor, the two Proctors, and five other members of the Univerſity of Oxford. This peculiar honour was conferred upon him in gratitude for the great ſervice he had done to the Univerſity in ſeveral law-ſuits depending between the city of Oxford and the ſaid Univerſity. On the twenty-ſecond of April, 1613, Sir John Doddridge was appointed one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, in which office he continued till his death. In this ſtation he appears to have conducted himſelf with great integrity as well as ability. However, in April, 1628, he and the other Judges of the Court were called upon to aſſign their reaſons in the Houſe of Lords, for having given judgment againſt admitting five gentlemen to bail, who had been impriſoned for refuſing the loan which had lately been demanded by the Crown. Sir Nicholas Hyde, Lord Chief Juſtice, Sir John Doddridge, Mr. Juſtice

Another John Doddridge (whether a ſon, or only a near relation of the Judge, cannot now be aſcertained) was likewiſe brought up to the ſame profeſſion; and became a Counſellor of the Middle Temple, Recorder of Barnſtaple, and a Member of the long Parliament. From a circumſtance related concerning him, of his being ſecluded from the houſe, with ſome other members, in December, 1648, becauſe certain matters were to be debated concerning them, there is reaſon to believe that he might be obnoxious to the then ruling party, on account of his not being willing to concur with them in all their meaſures (*a*). Philip Doddridge, an uncle of the Doctor's, was alſo bred to the law, and diſcharged, for many years, the important truſt of Steward to the noble and wealthy family of Ruſſel, under William the fifth Earl, and firſt Duke of Bedford. Our author's grandfather, whoſe name was John, was educated for the Church, in the Univerſity of Oxford, and was poſſeſſed of the rectory of Sheperton, in the county of Middleſex, from which he was ejected on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, 1662, in conſequence of the act of uniformity. At that time he had ten children unprovided for; notwithſtanding which, he quitted a benefice that was worth two hundred pounds a-year, rather than he would violate his conſcience, by ſubmitting to the ſubſcriptions and declarations required, and the uſages impoſed by that act. Dr. Calamy has recorded concerning him, that he was an ingenious man, a ſcholar, an acceptable preacher, and a very peaceable divine. From his funeral ſermon, it appears that he had preached, in the latter part of his life, to a congregation at or near Brentford, and that he died ſuddenly, in 1689, much reſpected and beloved by his people (*b*).

(*a*) Collection of curious Diſcourſes written by eminent Antiquaries, Vol. II. p. 432. Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſis, Vol. I. Col. 519. Whitelock's Memorials, p. 360.

Daniel Doddridge, the Doctor's father, was brought up to trade, and ſettled as an oilman, in the city of London. Being the eldeſt ſurviving branch of the family, he was heir at law to the large eſtate of the Judge (about two thouſand pounds a year), and was often urged by his friends to purſue the recovery of it; but he choſe to decline doing it, from an apprehenſion of the hazard and expence that would attend the attempt. He had a great number of children, all of whom died young, excepting one daughter and our author. The Doctor was the laſt and twentieth child of his father's marriage. His mother was the daughter of the Reverend Mr. John Bauman, of Prague, in Bohemia; who, in conſequence of the troubles which followed the expulſion of Frederic, Elector Palatine, left his native country about the year 1626. Such was his adherence to the Proteſtant Religion, that, for the ſake of enjoying the free exerciſe of it, he quitted all his friends, and the poſſeſſion of a conſiderable eſtate. He withdrew, on foot, in the habit of a peaſant, carrying with him nothing but a hundred broad pieces of gold, plaited in a leathern girdle [*B*], and a Bible of Luther's tranſlation. Having ſpent ſome

(*b*) Orton's Memoirs of the Life, Character, and Writings, of the late Rev. Philip Doddridge, D. D. p. 1—4, 2d edit. Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. II. p. 466.

Juſtice Jones, and Mr. Juſtice Whitlocke, each of them ſpoke upon the occaſion, and made the beſt defence which the nature of the caſe would admit. If they were guilty of a miſtake, which cannot now reaſonably be doubted, they ſeem to have been led into it in the ſincerity of their hearts, from the high notions they entertained of regal power. Sir John Doddridge, in his ſpeech, aſſerts the purity of his own character in the following terms: "It is no more fit for a Judge "to decline to give an account of his doings, than "for a Chriſtian of his faith. God knoweth I have "endeavoured always to keep a good conſcience; for "a troubled one who can bear? I have now ſat in "this Court fifteen years, and I ſhould know ſome-"ſomething. Surely, if I had gone in a mill ſo long, "duſt would cleave to my clothes. I am old, and "have one foot in the grave; therefore I will look to "the better part as near as I can. But *omnia habere* "*in memoria, et in nullo errare, divinum potius eſt* "*quam humanum*." Sir John Doddridge departed this life on the thirteenth day of September, 1628, in the ſeventy-third year of his age, and was buried in the ambulatory before the door of the library formerly called Lady Mary's Chapel, in the cathedral church of Exeter. Within that library is a very ſumptuous monument erected to his memory, containing his figure and that of his wife, cut in alabaſter, under a ſtately arch ſupported by marble pillars. This learned Judge, by his happy education, accompanied with excellent natural parts and untemitted induſtry, became ſo general a ſcholar, that it was ſaid of him, that it was difficult to determine whether he were the better Artiſt, Divine, Civil or Common Lawyer. Among his other ſtudies, he was a great lover of antiquities, and attained to ſuch an eminence of knowledge and ſkill in that department of literature, that he was regarded as one of the ableſt members of the famous Society of Antiquaries, which may be ſaid to have begun in 1571, but which more particularly flouriſhed from 1590 to 1614. The following works were written by Sir John Doddridge: 1. "The Lawyer's Light; or, "due Direction for the Study of the Law." London, 1629, quarto. 2. "A complete Parſon, or a De-"ſcription of Advowſons and Church Livings, de-"livered in ſeveral Readings, in an Inn of Chancery "called the New Inn." Printed 1602, 1603. 1630. quarto. 3. "The Hiſtory of the Ancient and Mo-"dern Eſtate of the Principality of Wales, Duchy of "Cornwall, and Earldom of Cheſter." 1630, quarto. 4. "The Engliſh Lawyer, a Treatiſe deſcribing a "Method for the managing of the Laws of this Land, "and expreſſing the beſt Qualities requiſite in the "Student, Practiſer, Judges, &c." London, 1631, quarto. 5. "Opinion touching the Antiquity, Pow-"er, Order, State, Manner, Perſons, and Proceed-"ings, of the High Courts of Parliament in Eng-"land." London, 1658, octavo. 6. "A Treatiſe "of particular Eſtates." London, 1677, duodecimo. Printed at the end of the fourth edition of William Noy's Works, entituled, "The Ground and Maxims "of the Law." 7. "A true Repreſentation of fore-"paſſed Parliaments to the View of the preſent Times "and Poſterity." This ſtill remains in manuſcript. Sir John Doddridge alſo enlarged a book called the "Magazine of Honour." London, 1642. The ſame book was afterwards publiſhed under his name by the title of "The Law of Nobility and Peerage." Lond. 1657, 1658, octavo. In the Collection of curious Diſcourſes written by eminent Antiquaries, are two Diſſertations by our Judge; one of which is on the Dimenſions of the Land of England, and the other on the Office and Duty of Heralds in this country (1).

(1) Collection of curious Diſcourſes written by eminent Antiquaries, Vol II p. 432, 433. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 40—42. 163—167. Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſis, Vol. I. Col. 519, 520. Beatſon's Political Index, Vol. I. p. 409. Parliamentary Hiſtory, Vol. VIII. p. 108.

[*B*] *Plaited in a leathern girdle.*] Mr. Bauman, the firſt night after he commenced his journey, left his girdle behind him at the inn in which he lay; and not being uſed to ſuch a cincture, he did not miſs it till he came to another inn the next evening. Upon this he immediately went back to his former lodgings, with

ſome time at Saxe Gotha, and in other parts of Germany, he came to England, in what year is uncertain, with ample teſtimonials from many of the principal German divines. Being thus ſtrongly recommended, he was made Maſter of the Free-School at Kingſton-upon-Thames, at which place he died, leaving behind him one only child, the daughter before-mentioned, then very young.

Dr. Philip Doddridge was born in London, on the twenty-ſixth of June, 1702. So deſtitute was he, at his birth, of the ſigns of life, that he was thrown aſide as dead. One, however, of the attendants, thinking that ſhe perceived ſome motion or breath in him, cheriſhed with ſuch aſſiduous care the almoſt expiring flame of exiſtence, that it was happily preſerved, for the benefit of the world. From his infancy young Doddridge had an infirm conſtitution, and a thin conſumptive habit, which rendered both himſelf and his friends apprehenſive that his life would be ſhort. He frequently was accuſtomed therefore, eſpecially on the returns of his birth-day, to expreſs his wonder and gratitude that his years were ſo long continued. His parents, whoſe character was worthy of their birth and education, brought him up in the early knowledge of religion. Before he could read, his mother taught him the hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament, by the aſſiſtance of ſome Dutch tiles in the chimney of the room where they uſually ſat; and accompanied her inſtructions with ſuch wiſe and pious reflections, as made ſtrong and laſting impreſſions upon his heart. His firſt initiation in the learned languages was under Mr. Stott, a miniſter, who kept a private ſchool in London. In 1712, when he was ten years of age, he was removed to Kingſton-upon-Thames, and placed at the ſchool which had been taught by his grandfather Bauman. Here he continued till 1715, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his piety and his diligent application to literature. On the ſeventeenth of July, in the ſame year, he had the unhappineſs of loſing his father; and he had been deprived of his mother ſome time before. This circumſtance, of his being left an orphan, excited in him very ſerious reflections, which, however, were not wholly of a gloomy nature; for he expreſſed a devout, and even a cheerful truſt in the protection of the God of Mercies, the univerſal Parent of Mankind.

About the time of his father's death, Mr. Doddridge quitted Kingſton, and was removed to a private ſchool at St. Alban's, under the care of a worthy and learned maſter, Mr. Nathaniel Wood. At this town he had not only the advantage of receiving excellent inſtruction, but was peculiarly happy in forming an acquaintance with a gentleman to whom he owed the higheſt obligations, and who behaved to him with the kindneſs of a parent. The gentleman we ſpeak of was Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Samuel Clark, the diſſenting miniſter of the place. What rendered Mr. Clark's regard and protection particularly ſeaſonable, was a calamity that befell Mr. Doddridge, with reſpect to his private fortune. By the miſmanagement of the perſon into whoſe hands the care of his affairs had been entruſted after his father's death, he loſt the whole of his ſubſtance. In this melancholy ſituation, he found a ready benefactor in Mr. Clark; and had not Providence raiſed him up ſuch a generous friend, he could not have proceeded in the courſe of his ſtudies.

During Mr. Doddridge's reſidence at St. Alban's, he began to keep a diary of his life; from which it appears how diligently he improved his time, and how anxious he was to be daily advancing in knowledge, piety, virtue, and uſefulneſs. As he had the Chriſtian miniſtry in view, beſides his application to the languages, he read, every morning and evening, portions of Scripture, with ſome commentary upon them; and it was very ſeldom indeed that he permitted either his ſchool-buſineſs, or any avocations or amuſements, to divert him from this courſe. He recorded the ſubſtance and deſign of the ſermons he heard, together with the impreſſions which they made upon him, and particularly noted what was moſt worthy of imitation in the preacher. In theſe important concerns he had the ſingular felicity of enjoying the direction of ſo kind and experienced a friend as Mr. Clark. Under the inſtructions, and by the encouragement, of the ſame gentleman, he was admitted to the Lord's ſupper; and his own reflections on the occaſion, preſerved in his diary, amply ſhew the ſerioufneſs of his ſpirit in that early part of life.

with the united painful apprehenſion of being met by purſuers, and of not having the good fortune to recover his ſubſtance. When he arrived at the inn, he enquired of the chambermaid if ſhe had ſeen a girdle which he had left in his chamber. She informed him that ſhe had ſeen it, but that, imagining it to be of no value, ſhe had thrown it away, and could not recollect where. After having told her that he had a great value for his old belt, that it would be very uſeful to him in the long journey he had before him, and that he would handſomely reward her for finding it, ſhe ſearched diligently, and at length found it in a hole under the ſtairs, where the family uſed to throw their worn-out uſeleſs furniture. The good man received his girdle with great joy, and purſued his journey with thankfulneſs to Providence for the recovery. This event he often ſpoke of to his friends, as an extraordinary and ſeaſonable mercy (2).

(2) Orton's Memoirs of the Life, Character, and Writings, of the Rev. Philip Doddridge, D D. p. 4, 5, note, ſecond edit.

In

In the year 1718, Mr. Doddridge left the ſchool at St. Alban's, and retired for a time to his ſiſter's houſe [C], with a view of conſidering his future profeſſion. Strong as the bent of his inclination was to the miniſtry, he had little proſpect, from the narrowneſs of his circumſtances, of being able to carry his wiſhes into execution. Whilſt he was in this ſtate of ſuſpenſe, the Ducheſs of Bedford, who had a regard for his family, hearing of his ſituation and character, and of his warm inclination to ſtudy, made him an offer, that, if he choſe to be educated for the Church of England, and would go to either of the Univerſities, ſhe would ſupport the expences of his education, and afterwards provide for him, if ſhe ſhould live till he had taken orders. This propoſal he received with the higheſt gratitude, but declined it in the moſt reſpectful manner, as he could not ſatisfy his conſcience in complying with the terms of miniſterial conformity. In the diſtreſs of his mind, from an apprehenſion that he ſhould not be able to accompliſh what was ſo near to his heart, he waited upon Dr. Edmund Calamy, a divine of great eminence among the Diſſenters at that period, and entreated his advice and aſſiſtance towards his being brought up for the miniſtry. But in this application he met with no encouragement: for the Doctor endeavoured to diſſuade him from his deſign, and urged him to betake himſelf to ſome other profeſſion. Diſheartened by ſo many obſtructions and difficulties, he at length entertained thoughts of entering upon the ſtudy of the law, in which deſign he was encouraged by Mr. Horſeman, a celebrated conveyancer, who recommended him to Mr. Eyre, a counſellor, from whom he received ſuch good propoſals, that he was upon the point of complying with them. However, previouſly to his final determination, he devoted one morning ſolemnly to ſeek to God for direction; and whilſt he was actually engaged in this pious exerciſe, the poſtman knocked at the door with a letter from Mr. Clark, containing an offer to take him under his care, if he choſe the miniſtry upon Chriſtian principles. With what thankfulneſs he embraced the offer, will appear from his own words in his diary. "This," ſays he, "I look upon almoſt as an anſwer from Heaven; and, while I live, ſhall always adore "ſo ſeaſonable an interpoſition of Divine Providence. I have ſought God's direction "in all this matter, and I hope I have had it. My only view in my choice hath been "that of more extenſive ſervice; and I beg God would make me an inſtrument of doing "much good in the world (*c*)."

(*c*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 4—12.

Mr. Doddridge returned to St. Alban's, in conſequence of Mr. Clark's propoſal, and continued ſome months at the houſe of that generous friend, who directed him in his ſtudies, furniſhed him with proper books, and laboured to cheriſh religious diſpoſitions and views in his heart. In October 1719, he was placed under the tuition of the Reverend John Jennings, who kept an academy at Kibworth, in Leiceſterſhire, and was a gentleman of great learning, piety, and uſefulneſs. Mr. Jennings was the author of "Two Diſcourſes on Preaching Chriſt, and particular and experimental Preaching," firſt printed in 1723, which were ſo much eſteemed that they were recommended by two Biſhops at their viſitations of their clergy, and tranſlated into the German language, by order of Dr. Frank, Profeſſor of Divinity at Hall, in Saxony. A ſecond edition of them appeared in 1736, under the care of Mr. Jennings's brother, Dr. David Jennings, who was for many years an eminent miniſter and tutor in London. Mr. John Jennings publiſhed likewiſe, "A genealogical Table of the Kings of England, Scotland, and France, for the Space of nine hundred Years." Under the tuition of this gentleman, for whom Mr. Doddridge had the higheſt veneration and reſpect, he proſecuted his ſtudies with the greateſt ardour and diligence. Beſides attending and ſtudying the academical lectures, and reading the particular parts of the authors to whom his tutor referred his pupils for the farther illuſtration of the ſubjects treated upon, he had in one half year read ſixty books, and about as many more afterwards in the ſame proportion of time. Some of theſe were large volumes, ſuch as Patrick's Commentaries, Tillotſon's Works, and moſt of the ſermons that had been preached at Boyle's Lecture. All the reſt were learned or uſeful treatiſes. Nor was it in a haſty or deſultory manner that theſe books were read by him, but with great attention and cloſe ſtudy. Several of them he abridged; and from others he made extracts, which were inſerted in his common-place book; and when he found, in any of the works peruſed by him, a remarkable interpretation or illuſtration of a text of ſcripture, he transferred it into his interleaved Teſtament or Bible (*d*).

(*d*) Ibid. 12—14.

It was of eminent advantage to Mr. Doddridge, that, during the whole of his academical courſe, he enjoyed the correſpondence of Mr. Clark. From ſuch of this gentleman's letters as have ſtill been preſerved, it appears that his advices to his young friend, whether regarding his religious or literary improvements, were ſignally wiſe and judicious (*e*). It was probably in conformity with the exhortations of Mr. Clark, that

(*e*) Letters to and from the Rev. Philip Doddridge, D.D. p. 1—14.

[C] *Retired to his ſiſter's houſe.*] His ſiſter was married to Mr. John Nettleton, a diſſenting miniſter at Ongar, in Eſſex. She was a lady diſtinguiſhed by her good ſenſe and piety, and by the patience and tranquillity with which ſhe bore ſome heavy afflictions. Her brother always behaved to her with the utmoſt tenderneſs; and even while at the academy, and in his firſt ſettlement, generouſly contributed all that he could ſpare out of his ſmall ſtock for her aſſiſtance (3).

(3) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 4, note.

Mr. Doddridge made it his buſineſs to increaſe his acquaintance with claſſical learning. The more immediate objects of his attention were the Greek writers. Theſe he not only read with care, but wrote obſervations upon them, for the illuſtration of the authors themſelves, or of the ſcriptures; and he ſelected ſuch paſſages as might be ſerviceable to him in his preparations for the pulpit. His remarks upon Homer, in particular, were ſo numerous, that they would make a conſiderable volume (*f*). This part of Mr. Doddridge's conduct is juſtly entitled to commendation. By forming his taſte upon the great models of antiquity, to which he added an acquaintance with the polite writers of his own country, he acquired an eaſe and elegance of ſtile which he would not otherwiſe have attained. His merit was the greater in this reſpect, as few of the Diſſenters had hitherto cultivated the graces of compoſition, and perhaps not many of them had excelled even in the perſpicuity and correctneſs of their language. It is deſirable that the cauſe of truth, piety, and virtue, ſhould come recommended with every poſſible advantage.

(*f*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 14.

While Mr. Doddridge was thus laying up a large ſtore of ſolid and ornamental knowledge, he was equally intent upon cultivating the excellencies of the Chriſtian character. For this purpoſe he drew up ſome rules for the regulation of his temper and conduct, which he inſerted in the beginning of his interleaved New Teſtament, that, by a frequent review of them, they might have the greater influence on the whole of his behaviour. They are very ſtrict; and perhaps more ſtrict than can ordinarily and univerſally be put into practice; but the effect of them was happy on himſelf, and an attention to them might be ſignally uſeful to others, who have the ſame views in life (*g*). In the year 1722, Mr. Jennings removed, with his pupils, from Kibworth to Hinckley, at which place Mr. Doddridge, after having been previouſly examined by a committee of miniſters, and received an ample teſtimonial to his qualifications, preached his firſt ſermon. This was on the twenty-ſecond of July in that year. As he was but little more than twenty years of age, his friend Mr. Clark ſeemed rather apprehenſive that he had begun to preach too ſoon; but he acquieſced in the judgment of his tutor, grounded on the maturity of Mr. Doddridge's abilities (*h*). From his firſt appearance in the pulpit, he was remarkably acceptable in the places where he exerciſed his talents. After continuing to purſue his ſtudies another year, he accepted of an invitation from the congregation of Diſſenters at Kibworth. At the ſame time he had an application from the city of Coventry, to be Aſſiſtant to Mr. Warren. Mr. Clark gave the preference to the laſt offer, for ſeveral judicious reaſons; notwithſtanding which, Mr. Doddridge, upon mature deliberation, made choice of the former ſituation. His principal motives for ſo doing were his youth, and the opportunity of purſuing his ſtudies with little interruption. It was in June 1722, that he ſettled at Kibworth. As the congregation was ſmall, and he lived in an obſcure village, he could devote almoſt his whole time to the farther acquiſition of knowledge and learning; and this he did with indefatigable zeal. Soon after his ſettlement at Kibworth, one of his fellow-pupils having condoled with him, in a letter, on his being buried alive, he returned the following ſenſible and ſpirited anſwer: "Here I ſtick cloſe to thoſe delightful ſtudies "which a favourable Providence has made the buſineſs of my life. One day paſſeth "away after another, and I only know that it paſſeth pleaſantly with me. As for the "world about me, I have very little concern with it. I live almoſt like a tortoiſe, ſhut "up in its ſhell, almoſt always in the ſame town, the ſame houſe, the ſame chamber. "Yet I live like a prince; not indeed in the pomp of greatneſs, but the pride of "liberty; maſter of my books, maſter of my time, and, I hope, I may add, maſter "of myſelf. I can willingly give up the charms of London, the luxury, the company, "and the popularity of it, for the ſecret pleaſures of rational employment and ſelf-"approbation; retired from applauſe and reproach, from envy and contempt, and the "deſtructive baits of avarice and ambition. So that, inſtead of lamenting it as my "misfortune, you ſhould congratulate me upon it as my happineſs, that I am confined "to an obſcure village; ſeeing it gives me ſo many valuable advantages, to the moſt "important purpoſes of devotion and philoſophy; and I hope I may add uſefulneſs "too (*i*)." It is with peculiar pleaſure that the writer of the preſent narrative has tranſcribed this paſſage; as he thinks that he has reaſon to reflect, with ſome degree of ſatisfaction, that the ſpending of a number of years in retired ſituations may be favourable to the increaſe of knowledge, and the habits of ſtudy.

(*g*) They may be ſeen in Orton's Memoirs, p. 16—18.

(*h*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 20. Doddridge's Letters, p. 7.

(*i*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p 20—22. Doddridge's Letters, p. 10, 11.

Whilſt Mr. Doddridge lived at Kibworth, and during the earlier years of his miniſtry, he was very exact and careful in his preparations for the pulpit. Both his ſermons and expoſitions were the reſult of deep attention and ſtudy; and they were drawn up with exactneſs of method, and correctneſs and elegance of ſtyle. By this means he contracted a habit of delivering his ſentiments uſually with judgment, and always with eaſe and freedom of language, when, afterwards, he was obliged, from the multiplicity of his duties and engagements, principally to have recourſe to extempore ſpeaking. Indeed, excepting when he was called out on particular occaſions, the period I have now ſpecified was the time in which Mr. Doddridge more eſpecially excelled as a preacher.

When

When I was a ſtudent under him, he uſed frequently, on a Saturday evening, to read, in the academy, the ſermons he had made in his younger years; and they were much admired by his pupils, as containing models for their imitation, far ſuperior to thoſe which he could then have leiſure to give in his uſual Sunday diſcourſes. One thing which pleaſed moſt of us was, that theſe ſermons had leſs of the Calviniſtical dreſs of expreſſion than was adopted by him after his ſettlement at Northampton.

Beſides the pains which Mr. Doddridge took to acquaint himſelf with controverſial and critical theology, he was in the continual habit of reading deeply and ſeriouſly the writers of practical divinity. Among theſe, his peculiar favourites were Tillotſon, Howe, and Baxter (*k*); and undoubtedly they are authors from whom the clergy of every denomination may derive the richeſt ſtores of private improvement and public utility. I remember to have heard him ſpeak of Barrow with great energy of commendation. Many of the divines of the latter part of the laſt century (among whom the Church of England claims the larger number) were incomparably excellent for the high ſpirit of devotion, the fulneſs of ſentiment, and the energy and copiouſneſs of ſtyle: and the neglect of them has been of no advantage to modern times.

(*k*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 22.

In the midſt of Mr. Doddridge's ſerious purſuits, he did not diſcontinue his regard to polite literature. Having been early acquainted with the French tongue, he was frequent in the peruſal of the elegant writers of that nation. He thought that many of them were poſſeſſed of very great genius, and he applauded them as intimately acquainted with the antients, thoſe prime maſters of eloquence and poetry. Of all their dramatic poets he met with none whom he admired ſo much as Racine. He was charmed with the pomp, elegance, and harmony of his language, as well as with the majeſty, tenderneſs, and propriety of his ſentiments. His pieces, in general, for the ſtage, he approved, as conducted with a wonderful mixture of grandeur and ſimplicity, which ſufficiently diſtinguiſh him from the dulneſs of ſome tragedians, and the bombaſt of others. Another of Mr. Doddridge's favourite authors was Fenelon, Archbiſhop of Cambray. That writer's Reflections upon Eloquence, in particular, he looked upon as one of the moſt judicious performances he had ever ſeen. Mr. Doddridge was not equally an admirer of the French ſermons. Theſe he judged to be far inferior to thoſe of our Engliſh divines. Bourdaloue's, notwithſtanding the high eſtimation they have been held in, appeared to him to be little better than empty harangues. Many of Chaminais' he eſteemed to be good; but of all which he had then ſeen he gave the preference to the diſcourſes of Mr. Superville, the Proteſtant divine at Rotterdam. "He eſpecially excels," ſaid Mr. Doddridge, in a letter to an ingenious young friend, "in the beauty "of his imagery, deſcriptions, and ſimiles, and ſome of the moſt pathetic expoſtula"tions I ever ſaw. In ſhort, I believe he is perfectly to your taſte: only there is one "thing which will diſpleaſe you as much as it did me; which is, that many of his ar"guments are very inconcluſive, though generally as good as high Calviniſm will bear (*l*)." It is certain that Mr. Doddridge was afterwards particularly pleaſed with Saurin's ſermons, and ſtrongly recommended them to his pupils. Whether he was acquainted with Maſſillon is not recollected.

(*l*) Letters to and from the Rev. Dr. Doddridge, p. 26, 27.

While Mr. Doddridge was thus ſolicitous to enrich his mind with various knowledge, and to qualify himſelf for appearing with every advantage in the pulpit, he was diligently attentive to the private duties of his ſtation. He would often leave his ſtudy to viſit and inſtruct the people under his care. In his manner of converſation he was careful to adapt himſelf to the capacities of his congregation, which conſiſted chiefly of perſons in the lower ranks of life. This object, likewiſe, he ſeriouſly regarded in his public diſcourſes, which, while they were judicious, and frequently elegant, were, at the ſame time, plain and eaſy to be underſtood. In this happy art he was probably not a little aſſiſted by his intimate acquaintance with the works of the excellent Tillotſon, which, however they may now be neglected by a faſtidious age, will always deſerve to be mentioned with honour, as having eminently contributed to the introduction of a rational and uſeful method of preaching in England. How anxious our young divine was to diſcharge every part of his duty as a Chriſtian miniſter, whether in or out of the pulpit, with the greateſt fidelity and zeal, is evident from the copious extracts which Mr. Orton has given from his diary (*m*).

(*m*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 23—32.

In October, 1725, Mr. Doddridge removed his abode to Market-Harborough, in doing which he did not diſcontinue his relation to the people at Kibworth. He preached to them as before, excepting on ſacrament days, when his place was ſupplied by Mr. Some of Harborough, who had taken upon him the paſtoral care of the ſmall ſociety at Kibworth, in conjunction with his own. This change in Mr. Doddridge's reſidence was very advantageous to him, as it gave him an opportunity of nearer converſe and intimacy with a gentleman, to whom he had been under early obligations, and who, next to Mr. Clark, was, perhaps, the beſt friend he had ever experienced. Mr. Some was a perſon of uncommon piety, zeal, prudence, and ſagacity; and indeed appears to have been the prime ornament among the diſſenting miniſters in that part of the kingdom. For the memory of this excellent man, who died on the twenty-ninth

of May, 1737, Mr. Doddridge always maintained the moſt affectionate regard, which he ſtrongly teſtified on ſeveral occaſions. He publiſhed, in particular, ſome years after Mr. Some's deceaſe, a judicious tract that had been written by him on the ſubject of inoculation, for the purpoſe of removing the religious difficulties with which many worthy minds had been embarraſſed in reſpect to that practice. In this view the pamphlet has been of very conſiderable utility. I do not find that Mr. Some ever printed more than two ſermons; one in the year 1729, concerning the proper "Methods "to be taken by Miniſters for the Revival of Religion;" and another in 1736, preached at the funeral of the Reverend Thomas Saunders of Kettering (*n*).

(*n*) Ibid. p. 32, 33, 44. Cooke's Hiſtorical Regiſter, Vol. II. p. 312.

The abilities and talents of Mr. Doddridge occaſioned him to be ſought for by much more numerous congregations than that in which he firſt ſettled. Even ſo early as in the year 1723, when he had but lately finiſhed his academical ſtudies, he received an invitation to undertake the paſtoral charge of a large ſociety of Diſſenters in the city of London. But he thought himſelf unequal to ſo great a burthen. Beſides this, he was diſcouraged by the unhappy differences which at that time ſubſiſted, between the non-conformiſt miniſters of the metropolis and its neighbourhood, about ſubſcribing or not ſubſcribing to articles of faith, in the words of human device, as a teſt of orthodoxy. In his anſwer to the gentleman who tranſmitted the invitation to him, he diſplayed the liberality of his own mind; for after mentioning ſome other objections to the propoſal, he added as follows: "I might alſo have been required to ſubſcribe; which I am re-"ſolved never to do. We have no diſputes on that matter in theſe parts. A neigh-"bouring gentleman once endeavoured to introduce a ſubſcription; but it was effectually "over-ruled by Mr. Some of Harborough, Mr. Norris of Welford, and Mr. Jennings, "my tutor. I ſhall content myſelf here, with being a benevolent well-wiſher to the "intereſts of liberty and peace (*o*)."

(*o*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 40.

In 1726-7, Mr. Doddridge was recommended by his friend Mr. Clark to a vacant congregation at Hertford; the conſequence of which was, that two perſons were ſent to Kibworth, to hear him. The reſult of this matter, which ſtrongly diſplays the ridiculouſly narrow ſpirit of ſome of the Diſſenters of that period, is thus humouroufly related by Mr. Clark in one of his letters. "Not having any other opportunity, I thought it "neceſſary to ſend you without delay by the poſt, to complain of your keeping in your "place of worſhip ſuch ſtumbling-blocks and ſuperſtitious cuſtoms, as are very offenſive "to your Chriſtian brethren. It is no wonder you are thought a legal preacher, when "you have the ten commandments painted upon the walls of your chapel. Beſides, "you have a clerk, it ſeems, ſo impertinent as to ſay, *Amen*, with an audible voice. "*O tempora! O mores!* that ſuch a rag of popery ſhould ever be tolerated in a con-"gregation of Proteſtant Diſſenters; and, to complete all, you, the miniſter, conclude "your prayers with a form called the Lord's Prayer. Do you know what miſchief you "have done? What a blot you have brought upon yourſelf by ſuch offenſive practices? "It may be, you are ſurpriſed at what this means. In a few words then, Mr. Chandler "of Bedford, being on his return home at Mr. Eccles's, deſired him upon my motion "to write to Hertford, to recommend you to them in his name, as a very fit man to "be their miniſter. Upon this, two members of that congregation went over the other "day to hear you preach. But no ſooner did they come into the place, but they found "themſelves diſappointed; and what they heard at the cloſe, confirmed them ſo much "in their prejudices, that they thought it needleſs to ſay any thing of their intention to "you. Going to preach laſt Sunday at Ware, I heard all this there, and afterwards at "Hertford. I cannot but pity them for their weakneſs; and do not know but it is "happy for you not to encounter ſuch odd humours (*p*)." It was indeed happy for Mr. Doddridge, that he had not to encounter with people of ſuch a rigid and capricious diſpoſition. However, it ought to be remembered, that ſome of the Diſſenters at Hertford had ſenſe enough to be angry that two perſons ſhould take upon them to judge for the whole ſociety.

(*p*) Letters to and from the Rev. Dr. Doddridge, p. 14, 15.

Mr. Doddridge, in the year 1728, received a preſſing invitation from one of the diſſenting congregations at Nottingham, and, a few months after, from the other. There were many circumſtances that tended to recommend both the invitations. The ſocieties were large and reſpectable, the ſalary conſiderable, the town populous and flouriſhing, its ſituation delightful, the converſation agreeable, and the proſpect of uſefulneſs very extenſive. Nevertheleſs, after mature deliberation, Mr. Doddridge determined to adhere to the plan of continuing to purſue his ſchemes of improvement in a more private reſidence. In this determination he did not act without conſulting his wiſeſt friends, and ſeeking for divine direction. In 1729, he was choſen aſſiſtant to Mr. Some at Harborough; the congregation at that place being deſirous to enjoy his labours more frequently than before: the reſult of which choice was, that he preached there and at Kibworth alternately. At this time of his life, though he was but little more than twenty-ſeven years of age, the fame of his abilities and worth was ſo much ſpread abroad, that his ſettlement among them was ſought for by various large ſocieties

beſides thoſe already mentioned. But his regard to Mr. Some, his love for the people at Kibworth, and his ſolicitude to have greater leiſure for ſtudy than he could enjoy in a populous town and extenſive connections, ſtill retained their influence in leading him to decline the different propoſals that were made to him for a removal (*p*).

(*p*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 39—41.

When Mr. Doddridge left the academy, Mr. Jennings, a few weeks before his death, which happened in the prime of his days, on the eighth of July, 1723, earneſtly preſſed his pupil to keep in view the improvement of the courſe he had gone through of academical lectures, and to ſtudy that courſe in ſuch a manner as to refer what occurred to him, to the compendiums his tutor had drawn up, that they might be illuſtrated and enriched. Our young divine did not then ſuſpect what was the motive of Mr. Jennings in giving him this advice. But he afterwards was informed, that his tutor had declared it to be his opinion, that, if it ſhould pleaſe GOD to remove him early in life, Mr. Doddridge was the moſt likely of any of his pupils to purſue the ſchemes which he had formed; and which, indeed, were very far from being complete, as he died about eight years after he had undertaken the conduct of a theological academy. Agreeably to Mr. Jennings's advice, Mr. Doddridge, during his ſettlement at Kibworth, reviewed his courſe of lectures with care. About this time an ingenious young gentleman, Mr. Thomas Benyon, ſon of Dr. Samuel Benyon, a celebrated miniſter and tutor at Shrewſbury, who died in 1708, had entertained thoughts of reviving the ſcheme of his father. Converſing one day with Mr. Doddridge, the diſcourſe turned upon the beſt method of conducting the preparatory ſtudies of youth intended for the miniſtry. In concluſion, Mr. Benyon earneſtly requeſted of his friend, that he would write down his ſentiments upon the ſubject. Mr. Doddridge conſented, and drew up his thoughts in the form of a letter, which grew into a conſiderable volume. But when he had juſt finiſhed the work, Mr. Benyon, for whoſe uſe it was deſigned, died, and the treatiſe remained in the writer's own hands. Mr. Saunders of Kettering, happening to ſee it in his ſtudy, deſired to have the peruſal of it; after which he ſhewed it to Dr. Watts, with whom Mr. Doddridge had then no perſonal acquaintance. The doctor, who was much pleaſed with the plan, made ſome remarks upon it, and communicated it to ſeveral of his friends, who all concurred in opinion, that the perſon who had drawn it up was beſt qualified to carry it into execution. Accordingly, application was made to him for that purpoſe; and Mr. Some was the gentleman principally employed in managing the affair. He knew that Mr. Doddridge had every important and deſirable qualification for the inſtruction of youth; and therefore he not only propoſed his undertaking it, but preſſed the matter upon him in the ſtrongeſt terms. Nor would he by any means allow the validity of his plea of incapacity, but urged that, ſuppoſing him leſs capable than his friends believed, he might improve his time in his retirement, when engaged in ſuch a work with a few pupils, to greater advantage than without them. This was a very proper conſideration; for every man who has ſuſtained the character of a preceptor, if he has diſcharged his duty with a ſuitable degree of attention and fidelity, muſt be ſenſible that the employment has highly contributed to the accuracy and increaſe of his own knowledge. Mr. Some had likewiſe, unknown to Mr. Doddridge, obtained from the relations of ſome young men, the promiſe of putting them under his care, by which another objection that might have ariſen was precluded; and Mr. Saunders offered his brother to be the firſt pupil of the intended academy. It was with great humility and diffidence that Mr. Doddridge hearkened to theſe ſolicitations. He was deeply convinced of the importance and difficulty of the undertaking, and devoutly implored the direction and aſſiſtance of the Supreme Being. Whilſt he was ſtill in doubt with regard to his final determination, he eſteemed it a kind providence that the diſſenting miniſters in the neighbourhood had agreed to meet at Lutterworth, on the tenth of April, 1729, to ſpend a day in humiliation and prayer for the revival of religion. To this aſſembly Mr. Some propoſed the ſcheme that had been concerted for the eſtabliſhment of an academy at Harborough, under the care of his young friend; and it met with the entire approbation of the gentlemen preſent. They unanimouſly concurred in their ſentiments of the propriety and uſefulneſs of the deſign, and Mr. Doddridge's qualifications for conducting it; and they promiſed him all the aſſiſtance and encouragement that were in their power. This had great weight in forming his reſolution. Nevertheleſs, before the matter was abſolutely determined, he thought proper to conſult ſome of his brethren and friends at a diſtance, and eſpecially Mr. Clark, who at firſt heſitated on the ſubject, and, on account of Mr. Doddridge's admirable talents for the pulpit, ſeemed rather to wiſh that he might have a ſettlement in London. However, he ſoon approved of the ſcheme, as did the reſt of the perſons whoſe advice had been ſolicited. Mr. Doddridge conſented, therefore, to the execution of a plan which, on every ſide, was ſo zealouſly and earneſtly recommended. What much encouraged him to enter upon the office of an academical tutor, was the circumſtance of his retreat at Harborough; the paſtoral care of the congregation there, and at Kibworth, being fulfilled by Mr. Some; ſo that he had

had little to do as a miniſter, excepting to make one ſermon a week, which, conſidering the vigour and celerity of his mind, was an eaſy taſk.

Mr. Doddridge having, at length, reſolved to comply with the wiſhes of his friends, he immediately reviewed his plan of Academical Studies, with Dr. Watts's remarks, and correſponded with that eminent divine on the ſubject. He read, likewiſe, every valuable book which he could meet with on the education of youth, and made ſuch extracts as he thought might be conducive to the execution of his deſign. Beſides this, he wrote many letters to the miniſters of different denominations, with whom he was acquainted, requeſting their advice in his great undertaking. One Gentleman whom he particularly conſulted was the Rev. Dr. Samuel Wright, of London, who favoured him with his ſentiments at large, eſpecially on the head of divinity lectures. Mr. Clark communicated to him various tranſcripts from the lectures of Mr. Jones, who had been a tutor of diſtinguiſhed ability and learning at Tewkſbury in Gloceſterſhire. With all theſe preparations, Mr. Doddridge thought it his wiſdom to make a trial firſt in a private way, with only two or three ſtudents, declining to receive others that offered. At Midſummer, 1729, he opened his academy. The ſubject of his firſt lecture to his pupils was of a religious kind, ſhewing the nature, reaſonableneſs, and advantages, of their acknowledging God in their ſtudies. In the ſecond, he gave directions for their behaviour to him, to each other, to the family, and all around them; with proper motives to excite their attention to a right conduct in theſe reſpects. After this he proceeded to his ordinary courſe (*q*). Thus was he led to a ſituation of life which formed the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſcene of his uſefulneſs. The late Rev. Hugh Farmer, ſo well known among the Diſſenters as a moſt excellent preacher, and by the literary world in general for his extenſive learning and valuable publications, was one of Mr. Doddridge's earlieſt ſtudents.

(*q*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 41—47. Doddridge's Letters, p. 19, 20.

Our young tutor had been employed in his preceptorial capacity but a few months, when he was directed by Providence to a ſituation of greater uſefulneſs as a Chriſtian miniſter. There being a vacancy in the diſſenting congregation at Caſtle-Hill, in Northampton, in conſequence of the removal of Mr. Tingey to London, Mr. Doddridge preached occaſionally to them, as did others of his brethren. In doing this, his ſervices were ſo acceptable to the people, that he was invited and ſtrongly urged by them to become their Paſtor. Some of his friends, and particularly Mr. Some, adviſed his continuance at Harborough. The arguments alledged by them were, that he would have more time to apply to his work as a tutor, than if he had the ſole care of a large ſociety; and that there was another miniſter, who, it was thought, might well ſupply the vacancy, though, perhaps, not in every reſpect equally to the ſatisfaction of the congregation. Theſe conſiderations had ſuch weight with him, that he determined to continue in his preſent ſtation. In purſuance of this view of the caſe, Mr. Some went to Northampton, to perſuade the people to wave their application. But when he came there, and ſaw their zeal and affection in the affair, and heard the motives by which they acted, and the circumſtances in which they ſtood, he was, as he expreſſed it, like Saul among the prophets, and immediately wrote to Mr. Doddridge to preſs his acceptance of the invitation. The ſame thing was ſtrongly urged by his friend Mr. Clark. Still, however, he was averſe, on many accounts, to a change in his ſituation. But, being deſirous of teſtifying his gratitude and regard to the congregation, he made them a viſit, on purpoſe to explain in perſon his reaſons for declining their propoſal. Whilſt he was on this viſit, ſeveral events occurred, which ſtrongly tended to prevail upon him to alter his reſolution. One or two of them, perhaps, may be deemed, by ſome of thoſe who may read Mr. Orton's account of them, to have a tincture of enthuſiaſtic weakneſs; but there was an argument preſented to him, which muſt be allowed to have had very great weight. Before he returned to Harborough, the young perſons of the ſociety came to him in a body; earneſtly entreated his ſettlement among them; and promiſed to ſubmit to all ſuch methods of inſtruction as he ſhould think proper. This laſt circumſtance was the conſideration that turned the ſcales for his going to Northampton, after they had long hovered in uncertainty.

On the twenty-fourth of December, 1729, Mr. Doddridge removed, with his academy, from Harborough to Northampton, and in the ſpace of two or three weeks commenced houſe-keeping. This important change in his ſituation was not ſuffered to paſs without his entering into a ſevere examination of his own mind, and forming the moſt pious and ſacred reſolutions with reſpect to his conduct, both as a maſter of a family and a miniſter of the goſpel. That he might be the better prepared for the large paſtoral work now devolved upon him, he employed part of the time between his ſettlement and his ordination in reading the beſt treatiſes on the qualifications and duties of the miniſterial office. The books particularly ſtudied by him were Chryſoſtom on the Prieſthood, Bowles's Paſtor Evangelicus, Burnet on the Paſtoral Care, and Baxter's Gildas Salvianus. He read, likewiſe, the lives of ſome pious and active miniſters, among which that of the Rev. Mr. Philip Henry afforded him much inſtruction and encouragement.

courageement. Beſides this, he ſelected, from the works which he peruſed, the moſt important advices, reflections, and motives; and made a collection of thoſe maxims of prudence and diſcretion, an attention to which he thought would be calculated to ſecure eſteem and uſefulneſs.

About two months after Mr. Doddridge's ſettlement at Northampton, he was ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, which gave many painful fears to his friends, leſt a life of ſuch diſtinguiſhed excellence, and ſuch promiſing utility, ſhould be ſpeedily cut off. But, through a merciful Providence, he recovered from the diſorder, and, in due time, his health was completely reſtored. While he was yet in a very weak ſtate, the day arrived, which had been fixed upon for his ordination; and it was a day to him of great ſolemnity and importance, and which exerciſed his moſt devout meditations. This event took place on the nineteenth of March, 1729-30. It is but an act of juſtice to record the names of the worthy miniſters who were engaged in ſetting apart for the paſtoral office ſo eminent an inſtrument of ſervice to the church and the world. Mr. Goodrich of Oundle began with prayer and reading the Scriptures. Mr. Dawſon of Hinckley prayed before ſermon. Then Mr. Watſon of Leiceſter preached a diſcourſe from 1 Timothy iii. 1. "This is a true ſaying, if a man deſire the office of a biſhop, he "deſireth a good work." After this, the call of the church was read by Mr. Norris of Welford; and when Mr. Doddridge had declared his acceptance of it, he delivered his confeſſion of faith, which was followed by what is uſually called the ordination prayer. The charge to Mr. Doddridge was given by Mr. Clark of St. Alban's, and the exhortation to the people by Mr. Saunders of Kettering; and the whole ſolemnity was concluded with a prayer by Mr. Mattock of Daventry (*r*). It is rather ſurpriſing that we do not meet with the name of Mr. Some on this occaſion. Some particular incident, now not known, perhaps a ſudden illneſs, might have deprived Mr. Doddridge of the aſſiſtance of ſo valuable and intimate a friend. That the cauſe ſhould not have been mentioned by Mr. Orton in his Memoirs, or by Mr. Doddridge in his Diary, is an omiſſion that could ſcarcely have been expected.

(*r*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 47—55.

It would carry us beyond the limits that muſt be aſſigned to the preſent narrative, to deſcribe, at large, the diligence, zeal, and fervour, with which Mr. Doddridge diſcharged his paſtoral duty. This matter is fully inſiſted upon by Mr. Orton, to whom we muſt refer for a more minute detail of particulars. However, we ſhall inſiſt upon a few leading circumſtances. Mr. Doddridge's firſt care was to know the ſtate of his flock; for which purpoſe he made diligent enquiry into the members and ſtated hearers of which it conſiſted, and entered in a book their names, families, places of abode, connections, and characters. By this he was better enabled to adapt his viſits and advices to their reſpective ſituations, and their religious improvement. With regard to the compoſition of ſermons, his work as a tutor, and the paſtoral inſpection of a very numerous congregation, rendered it next to impoſſible that his diſcourſes for the pulpit ſhould be ſo exact and accurate as they were in the former part of his miniſtry. "Nor was it," ſays Mr. Orton, "needful. Having habituated himſelf, for ſeveral years, to correct "compoſitions, having laid up ſuch a fund of knowledge, eſpecially of the Scriptures, "which was daily increaſing by his ſtudies and lectures, he ſometimes only wrote down "the heads and leading thoughts of his ſermons, and the principal texts of Scripture "he deſigned to introduce. But he was ſo thoroughly maſter of his ſubject, and had "ſuch a ready utterance and ſo warm a heart, that perhaps few miniſters can compoſe "better diſcourſes than he delivered from theſe ſhort hints (*s*)." This encomium is, I think, to be admitted with ſome ſlight degree of abatement. The ſermons of Dr. Doddridge were different, as he was differently circumſtanced. When he had leiſure to draw out his plan, and the hints of what he propoſed to ſay, to a conſiderable extent, his diſcourſes were often excellent in a high degree. But, at other times, when he could but juſt lay down his ſcheme, with only a very few thoughts under it, his ſermons, eſpecially if he was not in a full flow of ſpirits, were leſs valuable. Once, during my reſidence with him, a number of pupils complained, through the medium of Mr. Orton, that, though their revered tutor's academical lectures were admirable, they had not in him a ſufficiently correct model of pulpit compoſition. The conſequence of the intimation was, that his ſermons became far ſuperior to what they had ſometimes formerly been; for he was the moſt candid of all men to the voice of gentle admonition. When, however, he took the leaſt pains, he was always perſpicuous in his method, and natural and orderly in the arrangement of his ſentiments; and hence he furniſhed an example, from which many of the young men educated under him derived no ſmall benefit in their future labours. I remember a remarkable inſtance of his power in extemporaneous ſpeaking. Akenſide the poet, who in early life was ſettled, for a ſhort time, at Northampton, being viſited by ſome relations from Newcaſtle upon Tyne who were diſſenters, came with them, unexpectedly, one Sunday morning, to Dr. Doddridge's meeting. The ſubject he preached upon was a common orthodox topic, for which he had ſcarcely made any preparation. But he rouſed his faculties on the occaſion, and ſpoke with ſuch

(*s*) Ibid. P. 57, 58.

energy, variety, and eloquence, as excited my warmeſt admiration, and muſt have impreſſed Dr. Akenſide with a high opinion of his abilities. The ingenious poet and the learned divine were in the habits of conſiderable intimacy while the former reſided at Northampton. A matter of controverſy between them was, how far the ancient heathen philoſophers were acquainted with, and had inculcated, the doctrine of immortality. Akenſide contended for the honour of the philoſophers, and Doddridge for that of the Chriſtian revelation. The ſubject was purſued, in expreſs conferences, for two or three evenings; and both the gentlemen exerted their talents, and collected their literature on the different ſides of the queſtion. Dr. Doddridge, who loved to inform his pupils of whatever he met with which he thought would contribute to their inſtruction and pleaſure, related to us, on the ſucceeding mornings, the arguments that had been produced, and the reſult of the debate.

Without entering into a particular detail of many things which might be ſaid of Dr. Doddridge as a preacher, I cannot help taking notice that he was always warm and affectionate in the applications of his ſermons. His ſentiments on this head he has thus expreſſed: "It is indeed unworthy the character of a man and a Chriſtian, to endeavour "to tranſport men's paſſions, while the underſtanding is left uninformed, and the reaſon unconvinced. But, ſo far as is conſiſtent with a proper regard to this leading power "of our nature, I would ſpeak and write of divine truths with a holy fervency. Nor "can I imagine that it would bode well to the intereſt of religion to endeavour to lay "all theſe paſſions aſleep, which ſurely GOD implanted in our hearts to ſerve the re"ligious as well as the civil life, and which, after all, will probably be employed to "ſome very excellent or very pernicious purpoſes (*t*)." This is the language of wiſdom. True eloquence conſiſts in an union of the rational, the forcible, and the pathetic; and to addreſs to the affections, as well as to the reaſon, of mankind, is the dictate of the ſoundeſt philoſophy. The cold and feeble concluſions of many diſcourſes from the pulpit, are as diſguſting to a juſt taſte, as they are unprofitable with regard to religious improvement.

(*t*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 61.

It muſt not be omitted, that Mr. Doddridge thought it a part of miniſterial prudence to take public notice of remarkable providential occurrences. He endeavoured, in his ſermons, to deduce leſſons of wiſdom and piety from important tranſactions, affecting the nation, town, or any conſiderable number of his hearers. Nor did he neglect uncommon appearances of nature, or other events, that were the ſubjects of general converſation; to which may be added, the ſeaſons of the year, and eſpecially the mercies of harveſt. From an attention to theſe different circumſtances, his diſcourſes were accompanied with a greater extent of variety and uſefulneſs. He was a friend to funeral ſermons, which, if they be not too frequently exerciſed, or converted to the purpoſes of adulation, conſtitute an inſtructive and an affecting part of compoſitions for the pulpit. In his manner of ſpeaking he had an earneſtneſs and pathos which tended greatly to affect his hearers. By ſome perſons his pronunciation and action were judged to be too ſtrong and vehement; but to thoſe who were acquainted with the vivacity of his temper, and his uſual mode of converſation, it appeared quite natural and unaffected.

With reſpect to his conduct, as a miniſter, out of the pulpit, it muſt ſuffice briefly to obſerve, that he was very exact in the exerciſe of Chriſtian diſcipline, and in ſeparating thoſe from the church who were a reproach to their religious profeſſion; that he had a deep concern and affectionate regard for the riſing generation; and that, in the midſt of his numerous duties and engagements, it was matter of ſurpriſe that he could ſpare ſo much time as he did for paſtoral viſits. It was a grief to him to find, that the children of ſome of his hearers, through the ignorance and poverty of their parents, had never been taught to read; and therefore he perſuaded his people, in 1738, to concur with him in eſtabliſhing a charity ſchool. In this benevolent deſign he met with ſo much encouragement, that a foundation was laid for inſtructing and cloathing twenty boys, who were put under the care of a pious and ſkilful maſter. The doctor himſelf often viſited the ſchool, and examined and exhorted the children; accompanying his exhortations with affectionate prayers for their improvement and welfare. With ſuch diſtinguiſhed abilities of the mind, and with ſuch excellent virtues of the heart, it will not be deemed ſurpriſing that he poſſeſſed, in a very high degree, the eſteem and love of his congregation. In his laſt will he bore this teſtimony to their character, "That "he had ſpent the moſt delightful hours of his life in aſſiſting the devotions of as ſerious, "as grateful, and as deſerving a people, as perhaps any miniſter ever had the happi"neſs to ſerve (*u*)." This character was no doubt generally, and indeed almoſt univerſally, true. Nevertheleſs, he was not without his calls for the exerciſe of patience. There were perſons belonging to his ſociety who were narrow bigots, and weak enthuſiaſts; and theſe ſometimes obtruded upon him in a fooliſh and troubleſome manner. He behaved, however, to them with a condeſcenſion and tenderneſs which they ſcarcely deſerved, and of which few miniſters of the Goſpel would be able to ſet an equally ſtriking example.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 62—73.

In 1730, Mr. Doddridge entered into the matrimonial relation with Mrs. Mercy Maris, a native of Worceſter, and a lady in whom he found every qualification that could render marriage deſirable. She was, indeed, a religious, prudent, and affectionate companion. Her conſtitution was delicate, and her health at times precarious, which often gave her huſband no ſmall cauſe of alarm: but ſhe was happily continued to him through his whole life, and ſurvived him a great number of years (*w*). Of his affection and tenderneſs for her much might be ſaid, were it neceſſary to enlarge on the ſubject. A better proof of this cannot be afforded than by a copy of verſes which he once wrote to her from London, when abſent on a journey. They are as follows:

(*w*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 129.

Tedious moments! ſpeed your flying,
Bring *Cordelia* to my arms;
Abſent, all in vain I'm trying
Not to languiſh for her charms.

Buſy crowds in vain ſurround me,
Brighteſt beauties ſhine in vain;
Other pleaſures but confound me,
Pleaſures but renew my pain.

What though three whole years are ended
Since the prieſt has join'd our hands,
Every rolling year has tended
Only to endear our bands.

Let the wanton wits deride it,
*Huſband* is a charming name;
None can ſay, but who has try'd it,
How enjoyment feeds the flame.

*Wives* our better angels are,
Angels in their lovelieſt dreſs,
Gentle ſoothers of our care,
Smiling guardians of our peace.

Happy ſtate of mortal treaſures,
Circling maze of noble love:
Where the ſenſe's higheſt pleaſures
But the meaneſt bleſſing prove.

Dear *Cordelia!* hither flying,
Fold thy huſband in thy arms;
While thus t' amuſe myſelf I'm trying,
More I languiſh for thy charms.

Mr. Doddridge, in younger life, afforded various proofs of a poetic turn, moſt of which are in the poſſeſſion of the preſent biographer. The excellent lines which he wrote on the motto to the arms of his family, "Dum vivimus vivamus," have appeared in ſeveral publications. Dr. Johnſon's opinion of theſe lines was, that they conſtituted one of the fineſt epigrams in the Engliſh language (*x*). Though they are ſo well known, they cannot be omitted in any memoirs of the author's life.

(*x*) Boſwell's Journal, p. 334.

"Live, while you live," the Epicure would ſay,
"And ſeize the pleaſures of the preſent day."
"Live, while you live," the ſacred Preacher cries,
"And give to God each moment as it flies."
Lord, in my views let both united be;
I live in pleaſure when I live to thee.

Mr. Doddridge had a talent at ſatirical epigrams; an inſtance of which is the following, written on one of his pupils, a weak young man, who thought that he had invented a method of flying to the moon.

And will Volatio leave this world ſo ſoon,
To fly to his own native ſeat, the moon?
'Twill ſtand, however, in ſome little ſtead
That he ſets out with ſuch an empty head.

When Mr. Doddridge removed to Northampton, his academy was only in its infancy; but it ſoon grew into great reputation, and the number of ſtudents increaſed every year. In 1734, he found it neceſſary to have a ſtated aſſiſtant, to whom he aſſigned part of the junior pupils, and the ſuperintendence of the whole of them when he happened to be abſent. He was ſolicitous to maintain the reputation and eſteem of the gentlemen who ſucceſſively ſuſtained this character, by his own behaviour towards them, and the reſpect which he required from the ſtudents to them; "and they "thought themſelves happy in his friendſhip, and the opportunities they had, by his "converſe, inſtructions, and example, to improve themſelves, while they were aſſiſting "in the education of others (*y*)." In theſe words, which are Mr. Orton's, he ſpoke from his own experience; and every one who acted in the ſame capacity might adopt ſimilar language. Such of them as I have been acquainted with, were very reſpectable for their knowledge; and in the choice of them a particular regard was paid to their ſkill in the Greek and Latin claſſics, as well as to their ability for inſtructing the young men in certain departments of mathematical and philoſophical ſcience. Among Dr. Doddridge's aſſiſtants, beſides Mr. Orton, may be named the late Rev. Dr. Aikin, and the Rev. Mr. James Robertſon, who has been for many years Profeſſor of Oriental Literature in the Univerſity of Edinburgh. Dr. Aikin was afterwards, firſt, claſſical, and then theological tutor at Warrington; and perhaps, as a lecturer, he was never exceeded. This is the teſtimony that has been uniformly given of him by all who had the advantage of being his pupils. What he was as a parental inſtructor, will be judged of from the excellent and elegant productions of his ſon and daughter, Dr. John Aikin and Mrs. Barbauld.

(y) Orton, ubi ſupra.

Since Dr. Doddridge's office as a tutor was the moſt important ſtation in which he appeared, it is an eſſential part of a life written of him, to relate, ſomewhat minutely, how he conducted himſelf in that capacity. He choſe to have as many pupils as poſſible in his own family, that they might be more immediately under his own eye and government; and latterly, he had a houſe large and commodious enough to contain all of them, two or three excepted. The orders of the ſeminary were ſuch as ſuited ſtudents of a certain age; being a due medium between the rigour of ſchool-diſcipline and an unlimited indulgence. It was an eſtabliſhed law, that every pupil ſhould riſe at ſix o'clock in the ſummer, and at ſeven in the winter. Each young man, in his turn, ſuſtained the weekly office of monitor, part of whoſe buſineſs was to call up the reſt every morning; and they were to appear in the public room, ſoon after the fixed hour. Thoſe who did not attend were ſubject to a pecuniary penalty; but if any repeatedly indulged to a habit of ſloth, they were obliged to prepare an additional academical exerciſe. The puniſhment of the monitor's neglect, which I never recollect to have happened, was a double fine. Their tutor ſet them an example of diligence by being almoſt univerſally preſent with them at theſe early riſings. After a prayer, which ſeldom laſted more than two or three minutes, the young gentlemen retired to their reſpective cloſets till the time of family-worſhip. That ſervice was begun by the Doctor with a ſhort petition for the divine preſence and bleſſing. Some of the ſtudents then read a chapter of the Old Teſtament from Hebrew into Engliſh, which he critically expounded, and practically improved. After this a pſalm was ſung, and he concluded with a longer prayer than at the beginning. On Sunday mornings ſomething entirely devotional and practical was ſubſtituted in the room of the uſual expoſition. In the evening the worſhip was conducted in the ſame method, with only this difference; that a chapter of the New Teſtament was read by the pupils from Greek into Engliſh, and the ſenior ſtudents prayed in rotation. The Doctor, when preſent, which was generally the caſe, expounded the New Teſtament in the ſame manner as he did the Old (*z*). It would give me pleaſure, if I could ſay, that ſome of the young men never ſlily placed an Engliſh Bible by the ſide of the Hebrew one. Such of the pupils as were boarded out of the houſe were obliged to attend and take their parts in the domeſtic devotions; and thoſe, whether in or out of the family, who were not preſent, were ſubject to a fine, or, if their abſence was frequent, to public reprehenſion. By the method which Dr. Doddridge purſued, the ſtudents had an opportunity of hearing him expound moſt of the Old Teſtament, and the whole of the New, more than once. The more diligent among them took hints of what was delivered. One piece of advice given them by the Doctor was, to get the Old Teſtament, and Wetſtein's Greek Teſtament, interleaved, in quarto, in order to write in them the moſt conſiderable remarks for the illuſtration of the Scriptures, which either occurred in their tutor's expoſitions, or were derived from their own reading, converſation, and reflections.

(z) Ibid. p. 75, 76.

Soon after breakfaſt, Dr. Doddridge proceeded to the diſcharge of his academical duty. The ſeveral claſſes were taken by him in their proper order, and he lectured to each of them about the ſpace of an hour. His aſſiſtant was at the ſame time engaged in a ſimilar manner. Rich's ſhort-hand was one of the firſt things which he expected his pupils to learn, that they might be able to tranſcribe his own lectures, and make extracts

extracts from the books they read and conſulted, with greater eaſe and celerity. Indeed, this was a circumſtance from which they might derive great advantage in future life, as the experience of the preſent writer can teſtify. Care was taken, in the firſt year of the young men's courſe, that they ſhould retain and improve that knowledge of Greek and Latin which they had acquired at ſchool. With regard to the Hebrew language, they were either initiated into it, or, if they had learned it before, were carried on to greater improvement. Uſually the attention to claſſical literature was extended through the ſecond year of the courſe. Of late, the diſſenting academies have exerted a far ſuperior zeal with reſpect to this very important object. Whilſt I was one of the tutors at Hoxton, claſſical inſtruction was continued at leaſt for three years; and at the new college, Hackney, it makes a part of the whole courſe. Beſides what was done in a morning, the Greek and Latin lectures, at Dr. Doddridge's, were read every evening, uſually by the aſſiſtant, though ſometimes by himſelf. If any of the pupils were deficient in the knowledge of the Greek, ſuch of the ſeniors as were beſt ſkilled in that language were appointed to be their inſtructors, at ſeparate hours. Thoſe who choſe it were taught the French tongue. The longer Dr. Doddridge lived, the more was he convinced of the great importance of a learned, as well as a pious education, for the Chriſtian miniſtry. Having found that ſome who came under his care were not competently acquainted with the claſſics, he formed a ſcheme for aſſiſting youths, of a promiſing genius and a ſerious temper, in their preparations for academical ſtudies; and he met with good encouragement in the ſcheme from the contributions of many of his friends. As it commenced only two years before his death, much progreſs could not be made in it; but a ſimilar plan has ſince been adopted by Mr. Coward's truſtees, with ſingular utility. Dr. Doddridge was not, in every inſtance, ſo attentive to the claſſical preparation of the ſtudents received into his ſeminary, as could have been wiſhed. Sometimes he admitted ſerious young men, of perhaps three or four and twenty years of age, who had had very little of that preparation, and who never diſtinguiſhed themſelves, in this reſpect, by their ſubſequent improvement. He thought, however, that they might be uſeful in plain country congregations; which was undoubtedly the caſe. Several of them, though not abounding in learning, ſuſtained the miniſterial character with a decent reputation. The doctor, I believe, towards the cloſe of his life, was of opinion that he had gone far enough in this matter.

Other things which were read to the ſtudents, during the firſt year of their courſe, were ſyſtems of logic, rhetoric, geography, and metaphyſics. The logic was Dr. Watts's, which was very fully purſued. On rhetoric the lectures were ſlender and imperfect, being only a ſlight enlargement of a ſmall compendium that had been drawn up by Mr. Jennings. Geography was better taught; but of metaphyſics there was only given at this time a brief epitome, as the great objects it preſents were afterwards more amply conſidered: Under theſe ſeveral heads the pupils were referred to particular paſſages in ſuch authors as treated upon them. This part of the courſe was accompanied with lectures on the principles of geometry and algebra, which, beſides their intrinſic excellence, were happily calculated to form in the young men a fixedneſs of attention, and a habit of rightly diſcriminating, and properly arranging their conceptions. When theſe branches of ſcience were finiſhed, the ſtudents were introduced to the knowledge of trigonometry, conic-ſections, and celeſtial mechanics; under which laſt term was included a collection of important propoſitions, taken chiefly from Sir Iſaac Newton, and relating eſpecially, though not ſolely, to centripetal and centrifugal forces. A ſyſtem of natural and experimental philoſophy, comprehending mechanics, ſtatics, hydroſtatics, optics, pneumatics, and aſtronomy, was likewiſe read, with references to the beſt authors on theſe ſubjects. Muſchenbroek was made uſe of in my time as a text book, and afterwards Rowning. For the particular objects to which they relate, recourſe was had to Clare on Fluids, and Keill's Aſtronomy. The ſyſtem of natural philoſophy was illuſtrated by a neat and pretty large apparatus. As the pupils proceeded in their courſe, ſome other articles were alſo touched upon. Mr. Orton mentions particularly natural and civil hiſtory; but theſe two objects do not fall under my recollection. At moſt, they were ſcarcely enough conſidered to deſerve a diſtinct ſpecification. Such a view was given of the anatomy of the human body as was entitled to applauſe, and well calculated to inſpire the young men with the ſentiments of veneration and love for the Supreme Artificer. In the latter years of their courſe, a large ſyſtem, drawn by Dr. Doddridge himſelf, was read of Jewiſh antiquities, with references to the principal writers on the ſubject; in order to illuſtrate numberleſs paſſages of Scripture, which could not otherwiſe be ſo well underſtood. In eccleſiaſtical hiſtory the Doctor lectured from Lampe's Epitome. On the various ſects and doctrines of the ancient philoſophers he occaſionally gave ſome inſtruction from Buddæus's Compendium; but this matter was never purſued to any conſiderable extent.

All theſe branches of ſtudy, though of no ſmall conſequence, were, however, ſubordinate to what was the grand object of the attention of the young men, during three years of their courſe; which was Dr. Doddridge's Syſtem of Divinity, in the largeſt

ſenſe

ſenſe of the word; including what is moſt material in pneumatology and ethics. In this work were contained, in as few words as perſpicuity would admit, the principal things which had occured to the author's obſervation, relating to the conſtitution and properties of the human mind, the proofs of the exiſtence and attributes of God, the nature of moral virtue, the various parts of it, the means ſubſervient to it, and the ſanctions by which its precepts, conſidered as the natural law of the Supreme Being, are enforced. Under this head the arguments for a future life, deducible from the light of reaſon, were particularly examined. A ſurvey was added of what is, and generally has been, the ſtate of virtue in the world; whence a tranſition was eaſy to the neceſſity of a revelation, the encouragement to hope for it, and the kind of evidence with which it might probably be attended. Hence the work proceeded to the actual evidence that may be produced in favour of that revelation which is contained in the Scriptures. The genuineneſs, credibility, and inſpiration of the ſacred books were then treated upon at large, and vindicated from the moſt material objections that have been urged againſt them by ſceptical writers. This part of Dr. Doddridge's lectures was, perhaps of all others, the moſt important and uſeful. Having laid a firm foundation in ſo ample a ſtatement of the evidences of Chriſtianity, he entered into a copious detail of what were, or, at leaſt, what appeared to him to be, the doctrines of Scripture. In ſo doing, though he ſtated and maintained his own opinions, which in a conſiderable degree were Calviniſtical, he never aſſumed the character of a dogmatiſt. He repreſented the arguments, and referred to the authorities on both ſides. The ſtudents were left to judge for themſelves; and they did judge for themſelves, with his perfect concurrence and approbation; though, no doubt, it was natural for him to be pleaſed when their ſentiments coincided with his own. Where this was not the caſe, it made no alteration in his affection and kind treatment, as the writer of the preſent narrative can gratefully witneſs. What ſeemed moſt evident to Dr. Doddridge on the ſubjects conſidered by him was digeſted into the form of propoſitions, ſome of which were problematical; and the chief controverſies relative to each head were thrown into ſcholia. For the illuſtration of all of them, a large collection was made of references, in which the ſentiments and reaſonings of the principal authors on the points in queſtion might be ſeen in their own words. It was the buſineſs of the pupils to read and abridge theſe references in the intervals between the lectures. Dr. Doddridge's Syſtem of Divinity was his capital work, as a tutor. Much labour was ſpent by him upon it; and he was continually enriching it with his remarks on any new productions upon the various ſubjects to which it extended. It was tranſcribed by the generality of the ſtudents; and it may be truly obſerved concerning it, that it was well calculated to lead them gradually on, from the firſt principles, to the moſt important and difficult parts of theological knowledge.

Beſides Dr. Doddridge's expoſitions in the family, critical lectures on the New Teſtament were delivered once a week, which the young men were permitted and encouraged to tranſcribe. In theſe were contained his obſervations on the language, meaning, and deſign of the Sacred Writings, and the interpretations and criticiſms of the moſt eminent commentators. Many of theſe obſervations occur in his Family Expoſitor. As a ſet of lectures, they never attained to a very full and perfect form.

Polite literature, if not copiouſly inſiſted upon, was not, however, by any means neglected. No inconſiderable advantage was derived from the Doctor's being himſelf a man of taſte, and a maſter of elegant compoſition. Without much direct inſtruction, the remarks which he occaſionally and frequently made on the beſt writers, ancient and modern, were of great utility. The ſtudents, too, eſpecially thoſe of a claſſical turn, cheriſhed in each other, by their diſcuſſions and debates, the principles of diſcernment with regard to the beauties of authors, whether in proſe or verſe.

In the laſt year of Dr. Doddridge's courſe a ſet of lectures was given on preaching and the paſtoral care. Theſe contained directions concerning the method to be taken by the pupils to fit them for appearing with credit in the pulpit; the character of the chief practical divines and commentators; particular rules for the compoſition, ſtile, arrangement, and delivery of ſermons; and inſtructions relating to public prayer, expoſitions, catechiſing, the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, and viſiting. To theſe were added many general maxims for their converſation and conduct as miniſters, and a variety of prudential hints for their behaviour in the particular circumſtances and connections in which they might be placed. A regard to truth obliges me to obſerve, that, in theſe lectures, the Doctor carried his ideas of condeſcenſion to the weakneſs, and accommodation to the prejudices, of mankind, farther than ſome perſons will entirely approve. But in ſo doing he acted, I doubt not, with the moſt upright views, and from a ſincere deſire to be uſeful. His ſentiments on this head had been early ſtated by him in his "Free Thoughts on the moſt probable Means of reviving the Diſſenting "Intereſt."

"While the ſtudents," ſays Mr. Orton, "were purſuing theſe important ſtudies, "ſome lectures were given them on civil law, the hieroglyphics and mythology of the

"ancients, the Engliſh hiſtory, particularly the hiſtory of nonconformity, and the "principles on which a ſeparation from the Church of England is founded." Such lectures might, I doubt not, be occaſionally read; but they made no ſtated and regular part of the academical courſe. None of them, excepting thoſe on nonconformity, were delivered during my reſidence at Northampton. I ſpeak with the greater confidence on the ſubject, as I was never abſent from a ſingle lecture till the laſt month of my courſe, when I was prevented from attending on two or three Mondays, in conſequence of having been engaged at a diſtance as an occaſional preacher. The health which enabled me, and the diligence that led me, to maintain this conſtant attendance, I have reaſon to reflect upon with thankfulneſs and pleaſure.

One day in every week was ſet apart for public exerciſes; at which times the tranſlations and orations of the junior pupils were read and examined. Such of the young men as had entered on the ſtudy of pneumatology and ethics, produced in their turns theſes on the ſeveral ſubjects aſſigned them, which were mutually oppoſed and defended [*D*]. The ſenior ſtudents brought analyſes of Scripture, the ſchemes of ſermons, and afterwards the ſermons themſelves, which they ſubmitted to the Doctor's examination and correction; and in this part of his work he was very exact, careful, and friendly; for he eſteemed his remarks on their diſcourſes more uſeful to the young preachers than any general rules of compoſition which could be offered them by thoſe who were themſelves moſt eminent in the profeſſion.

It was Dr. Doddridge's care, that his pupils, through the whole ſeries of their ſtudies, might have ſuch a variety of lectures weekly, as, without diſtracting them, would entertain and engage their minds. While they were attending and ſtudying objects of the greateſt importance, ſome of ſmaller moment, though beneficial in themſelves, were ſet before them at proper intervals. It was contrived, that they ſhould have as much to read, between each lecture, as might keep them well employed; due time being allowed for neceſſary relaxations, and the reading of practical writers. The habitual peruſal of ſuch writers was recommended by their tutor with peculiar energy, and ſingular propriety; for few things can more effectually contribute to improve the underſtanding and mend the heart, and to fit a young man for miniſterial duty and uſefulneſs, than a large acquaintance with that moſt valuable part of literature, the great body of Engliſh ſermons, and of compoſitions which have a ſimilar nature and tendency. Dr. Doddridge often examined what books the ſtudents read, beſides thoſe to which they were referred in their lectures, and directed them to ſuch as were beſt ſuited to their age, character, and intended profeſſion. In this reſpect they were very advantageouſly ſituated, as they enjoyed the uſe of a valuable library, conſiſting of ſeveral thouſand volumes. To this library, under ſome prudent regulations, they had acceſs at all times. As their tutor was ſenſible that a numerous collection of books might be a ſnare, rather than a benefit, to the ſtudents, unleſs they had an experienced friend to direct them in the choice of them, and in the proper period for their being peruſed, he was particularly ſolicitous that they might have ſuitable advice on the ſubject. With this view, he ſometimes gave to his pupils lectures on the books in the library; going over the ſeveral ſhelves in order, and informing them of the character of each work, and its author, ſo far as he was known. His obſervations were not only inſtructive but pleaſant; being often intermixed with anecdotes of the writers who were mentioned. It may truly be ſaid of the lectures on the library, that they diſplayed the ſurpriſing extent of the Doctor's reading and knowledge, and that they were uſeful in a variety of reſpects. My mind ſtill retains, with advantage and pleaſure, the impreſſion of many of his remarks.

Dr. Doddridge's manner of lecturing was well adapted to engage the attention and love of his pupils, and to promote their diligent ſtudy of the ſubjects upon which he treated. He expected from them, when they aſſembled in their reſpective claſſes, an account of the reaſonings, demonſtrations, ſcriptures, or facts, conſidered in the former lectures and references; and he allowed and encouraged them to propoſe any objections, which might ariſe in their own minds, or had occurred in the authors they peruſed. If, at any time, their objections were petulant or impertinent, he patiently heard and mildly anſwered them; for he put on no magiſterial airs, but always addreſſed them with the freedom and tenderneſs of a father. He frequently and warmly urged them not to take their ſyſtem of divinity from any man or body of men, but from the *Bible*. It was the *Bible* that he always referred and appealed to, upon every point in queſtion, to which it could be ſuppoſed to give any light. The appearances of bigotry and uncharitableneſs were reſolutely checked by him; and he endeavoured to cure thoſe who diſcovered

[*D*] *Which were mutually oppoſed and defended.*] "Thoſe," ſays Mr. Orton, "who had finiſhed ethics "delivered homilies (as they were called, to diſtinguiſh them from ſermons) on the natural and "moral perfections of God, and the ſeveral branches "of moral virtue." But no ſuch homilies, as diſtinct from orations and theſes, occur to my recollection. Indeed, I am convinced that the diſtinction did not take place in my time.

any ſymptoms of this kind, by ſhewing them what might be ſaid in ſupport of the principles they diſliked, and diſplaying the great learning and excellent characters of many by whom they were eſpouſed.

It was Dr. Doddridge's great aim to give his pupils juſt and ſublime views of the Chriſtian miniſtry, and to lead them to direct all their ſtudies ſo as to increaſe their abilities and qualifications for that important office. As he was deſirous that they ſhould be very ſerious preachers, he was particularly anxious that they might have a deep ſenſe of divine things upon their own minds, and be well acquainted with the workings of the human heart with regard to eternal concerns; and he recommended to them, in the choice of the ſubjects upon which they preached, and in the manner of treating them, to have an eſpecial view to the edification of the bulk of the people. Nor did he think this inconſiſtent with a due attention to the elegance of compoſition. That the ſtudents might be qualified to appear with eſteem and honour in the world, and preſide over politer ſocieties with acceptance, he endeavoured to form them to an agreeable addreſs and behaviour. This the œconomy and decorum of his own family was well calculated to produce. He obſerved, likewiſe, their way of ſpeaking, inſtructed them in their proper manner of pronunciation, and laboured to prevent their contracting any unnatural tone or geſture. While he delivered his cautions upon theſe heads, ſuch was his humility, that he warned them not to imitate himſelf in an error of this kind, of which he was ſenſible, but which he could not entirely correct (*a*).

(*a*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 76—90.

Another method taken by Dr. Doddridge, to qualify his pupils for appearing with early advantage in the pulpit, muſt not be forgotten. The ſenior ſtudents, before they began to preach, were accuſtomed, on the Sunday evenings, to viſit the neighbouring villages, and to hold private meetings for religious worſhip in ſome licenſed houſes. It was not uncommon for fifty or ſixty, or perhaps a larger number of people, to aſſemble on theſe occaſions. Two of the young men uſually went together; when a practical ſermon was repeated, and one of them prayed before and the other after it, with proper intervals of ſinging. This cuſtom was eminently uſeful, both in exerciſing the talents of the pupils, and in preparing them to appear with greater courage and freedom when they entered upon the miniſtry. Sometimes diſtinguiſhed abilities, when accompanied with timidity and baſhfulneſs, have been greatly obſcured, from the want of ſuch preparatory exerciſes. The cuſtom was otherwiſe in no ſmall degree beneficial, as it tended to remove the prejudices againſt the Diſſenters, and to promote the ends of ſerious religion.

One proof of Dr. Doddridge's zealous concern for the improvement of his pupils was, that he allowed them a free acceſs to him in his own ſtudy, to aſk his advice with regard to any part of their courſe, and to mention to him ſuch difficulties as occurred to them either in their private reading or their lectures. In theſe caſes he treated them with the utmoſt candour and tenderneſs, and pointed out whatever he thought would contribute to their advancement in knowledge. While he was thus ſolicitous to promote their intellectual acquirements, it was his main care, and what he apprehended to be moſt eſſential to their uſefulneſs, that they might be pious and virtuous men. With this view the ſtricteſt regard was paid to their moral characters; and their behaviour, when not employed in their ſtudies or at lecture, was watchfully inſpected. Inquiry was made what houſes they frequented, and what company they kept; and none of the ſtudents were permitted to be from home after ten o'clock at night, under penalty of a conſiderable forfeiture. When any thing was found irregular in their conduct, or there appeared to be a danger of their falling into temptation, the Doctor privately admoniſhed them in the moſt ſerious and affectionate manner. Nor was he ſatisfied with the external decorum of their behaviour, but was anxious to perceive in them the genuine evidences of real religion (*b*).

(*b*) Ibid. p. 91—96.

Dr. Doddridge "often expreſſed his wiſh," ſays Mr. Orton, "that different places "of education could be provided for perſons intended for the miniſtry and thoſe for "other profeſſions; as he thought it would be better ſecurity for the religious cha- "racter of the former; and ſome indulgences might be allowed to the others, eſpecially "thoſe of rank and fortune, that were not proper for divinity-ſtudents, as few of them "were likely ever to be affluent in their circumſtances (*c*)." Much as I revere the memory of my tutor, and ſincere as the reſpect is which I entertain for his judgment on many points, I do not agree with him in this opinion. Perhaps it might be delivered by him at ſeaſons of peculiar difficulty and embarraſſment. It is certain that he did not ſtrictly accord with it in his own practice; for he took young gentlemen of fortune into his houſe to the end of his life; and during the whole of my pupilage, which was at a time when his academy was in a very flouriſhing ſtate, I do not recollect that any of the theological ſtudents were corrupted by the others. There is no poſſibility of forming any plan of education, with regard to which objections may not be made, and inconveniences ſuggeſted. How many diſſertations and treatiſes have been written concerning the queſtion, Which is moſt preferable, a private or a public education? without having hitherto

(*c*) Ibid. p. 101.

hitherto brought the world to an uniformity of ſentiment upon the ſubject! Different minds, as they are differently conſtituted, and as particular difficulties ſtrike them, will view matters of this kind in a diverſity of lights. For my own part, all the knowledge and experience which I have been able to obtain with reſpect to the point in debate, have convinced me that conſiderable advantages may, and do, ariſe from the connection of lay-pupils with thoſe who are intended for divinity.

So great was Dr. Doddridge's reputation as a tutor, that the number of his ſtudents was large, being one year with another, thirty-four; and the academy was uſually on the increaſe. During the twenty-two years in which he ſuſtained this office, he had about two hundred young men under his care, of whom one hundred and twenty entered upon the miniſtry, and ſome who were deſigned for it died while under his inſtructions. Several of his pupils were from Scotland and Holland. One perſon, who was intended for orders in the Church of England, choſe to ſpend a year or two under his tuition, before he went to the Univerſity. Others, whoſe parents were of that Church, were placed in the Doctor's family, and were readily allowed to attend the eſtabliſhed worſhip; for the conſtitution of his academy was perfectly catholic. Some young divines from Scotland, who had ſtudied and taken the uſual degrees in the Univerſities, and who had even begun to preach, came to attend his divinity lectures, and to receive his inſtructions, before they ſettled with pariſhes in their native country (*d*). (*d*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 102, 103.

Such was the manner in which Dr. Doddridge filled up his difficult and honourable ſtation as a tutor; and from this ſurvey of his conduct, which might have been extended farther, and which is in certain reſpects more copiouſly dwelt upon by Mr. Orton, every pious and judicious reader will acknowledge the wiſdom and goodneſs of Providence, in raiſing up ſo excellent a perſon, and preparing him for ſo large a ſphere of uſefulneſs (*e*). (*e*) Ibid. p. 104.

Mr. Orton takes notice, that Dr. Doddridge's method of education bears a near reſemblance to other ſeminaries of the like kind, among the Proteſtant Diſſenters (*f*). (*f*) Ibid. p. 74. But it is proper to obſerve, that, of late years, there has been a conſiderable enlargement of the plan upon which ſeveral of them have been conſtructed. The academy at Warrington was formed on the ſcheme of three independent Profeſſors, as they might juſtly be entitled; and when we mention among them (not to name other reſpectable perſons) ſuch men as Dr. Taylor, Dr. Aikin, Dr. Prieſtley, Dr. Reinhold Forſter, Mr. Gilbert Wakefield, and Dr. Enfield, we need not ſay how ably it was in ſucceſſion ſupplied. The inſtitution at Hoxton was on the ſame foundation; Dr. Savage, Dr. Rees, and myſelf, being diſtinct and unſubordinate tutors in the theological, mathematical, and philological departments. A ſimilar arrangement takes place at the ſeminary of our congregational brethren in Homerton. The new College at Hackney has gone upon the plan of a ſtill greater number of preceptors. Though the academy heretofore at Daventry, and ſince removed to Northampton, and that at Mancheſter, retain the form of one principal tutor, there are two ſeparate aſſiſtants for the philoſophical and claſſical ſtudies.

May I be permitted to offer a brief ſketch of theological education? A ſolid foundation ought to be laid in a truly grammatical acquaintance with the Latin and Greek tongues; and the higher claſſical writers ſhould be read, more or leſs, through the whole courſe. Hebrew at leaſt, amongſt the Oriental languages, ſhould by no means be neglected. The different branches of mathematical literature, and of natural philoſophy, will demand a ſerious and diligent attention. Logic, metaphyſics, univerſal grammar, rhetoric, criticiſm, chronology, and hiſtory, are objects an acquaintance with which is not a little deſirable. With reſpect to general divinity, including in that term pneumatology and ethics, I cannot help thinking that Dr. Doddridge's courſe of lectures, with proper additions, improvements, and references to more recent authors, might ſtill be made uſe of with eminent advantage. As it points out, in order, the moſt important objects of ſtudy, and the writers on both ſides of the queſtions diſcuſſed, a young man will know where to apply for future information. Jewiſh antiquities and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory need ſcarcely to be mentioned, as they cannot be forgotten. If the ſyſtems of the ancient philoſophers ſhould be thought to merit much regard during academical ſtudies, ample materials may be collected from Dr. Enfield's late moſt valuable work. A ſeries of lectures on the divine diſpenſations would be peculiarly uſeful. Such a ſet of lectures was begun by Dr. Taylor at Warrington, but he did not live to complete the deſign. His work, ſo far as it was carried, is worthy of approbation, though the diſcourſes are ſometimes rather too declamatory, and perhaps not ſufficiently accurate and critical. They have, however, deſervedly found a place in the Biſhop of Landaff's Collection of Theological Tracts. Another thing of conſequence is a ſeries of obſervations on the times and occaſions on which the books, eſpecially of the New Teſtament, were written, the ancient copies and verſions, and the principal commentators. The objects I particularly allude to are thoſe which are particularly treated of by Michaelis, Lardner, Jones, and Campbell. In addition to all theſe, a ſet of preach-

ing lectures, more improved than thoſe of Dr. Doddridge, and more adapted to preſent circumſtances, would be an important acquiſition. With the beſt inſtruction, it is not to be expected that all young men ſhould be equally accompliſhed. It will be ſufficient for many that they have a competent ſtock of knowledge, united with ſerious diſpoſitions. It is, however, very deſirable that ſome ſhould ſo far riſe above the common rank, as to be able, in their day, to ſupport the honour of Revelation againſt the attacks of its enemies, and to appear as defenders of the true Chriſtian doctrines. It would not be amiſs, if a few, of ſuperior capacities and literature, would, after they quit the ſeminaries of education, ſtudy ſomewhat more ſyſtematically than is frequently done. In that caſe, the Diſſenters would not be at a loſs for tutors in peculiar emergencies. If I have aſſumed too great a liberty in ſuggeſting theſe hints, I hope to be forgiven; as I have written not merely from a regard to the honour and benefit of the denomination of Chriſtians to which I more immediately belong, but with a view to the general intereſts of Religion and Learning.

Since the abilities of Mr. Doddridge were ſuch as called him ſo early in life to the important office of a theological tutor, it was natural to expect, from the ſame talents, that it would not be long before he appeared in the world as an author. His firſt diſtinct publication, which was in 1730, and printed without his name, was entituled, "Free Thoughts on the moſt probable Means of reviving the Diſſenting Intereſt, occaſioned by the late Enquiry into the Cauſes of its Decay." The writer of the Enquiry was for a time ſuppoſed to be ſome lay gentleman; but, in fact, it came from the pen of a young diſſenting miniſter, of the name of Gough, who afterwards conformed to the Church; and who, in 1750, publiſhed a volume of ſermons, which have conſiderable merit as judicious and elegant compoſitions. Mr. Doddridges pamphlet, wherein he materially differed from Mr. Gough with regard to the point in queſtion, is a model of that candour and politeneſs with which remarks may be made on another's writings and opinions. The firſt inſtance in which Mr. Doddridge diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a practical divine was in 1732, when he publiſhed "Sermons on the Education of "Children." Theſe were principally intended for the uſe of his own congregation; and they contain, in a little compaſs, a variety of important advices and affecting motives, tending to aſſiſt and animate parents in the diſchare of ſo momentous a duty. They were accompanied with a recommendatory preface by Mr. Some, and have ſince gone through ſeveral editions. In 1735, Mr. Doddridge's concern for the riſing generation was ſtill farther diſplayed, in "Sermons to Young People;" being ſeven in number, and which have met with equal ſucceſs in the world. A diſcourſe was printed by him in the ſame year, entituled, "The Care of the Soul urged as the One Thing needful." This was followed, in 1735-6, by a Sermon on the "Abſurdity and Iniquity of Perſecution for Conſcience-Sake, in all its Forms and Degrees." It had been preached, I believe, on the preceding fifth of November, and, when it came from the preſs, was recommended to the public, in a ſhort Preface, by Mr. Some, as the beſt he had ever ſeen on the ſubject, in ſo narrow a compaſs. In all reſpects it is indeed an elaborate and excellent diſcourſe, diſplaying with great energy and elegance the grand principles of Toleration and Religious Liberty.

In the year 1736 the two Colleges of the Univerſity of Aberdeen, in Scotland, concurred in conferring upon Mr. Doddridge the degree of Doctor in Divinity; upon which occaſion his pupils thought it a proper piece of reſpect to congratulate him in a body. He was gratified by their compliment; but told them, in anſwer to it, that "their "learning, piety, and zeal, would be more to his honour, and give him a thouſand "times more pleaſure, than his degree, or any other token of public eſteem." In the ſame year he publiſhed "Ten Sermons on the Power and Grace of Chriſt," and "the "Evidences of his glorious Goſpel." The three laſt, on the "Evidences of the Goſ-"pel," were afterwards ſeparately printed, at the particular requeſt of one of the firſt dignitaries of the Church of England. They contain a very judicious ſummary of ſeveral of the principal arguments in ſupport of the Chriſtian revelation, and eſpecially of thoſe which prove the genuineneſs and credibility of the evangelical hiſtory. The author had the great ſatisfaction of knowing that theſe diſcourſes were the means of converting to the belief of our holy religion two gentlemen of liberal education and diſtinguiſhed abilities, who had been ſceptical upon this head. One of them, who had endeavoured to prejudice others againſt the evidences and contents of the Goſpel, became a zealous preacher of Chriſtianity, as well as a ſhining ornament to it in his life and manners (g).

(g) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 98, 112, 117, 118.

Dr. Doddridge's next appearance from the preſs was on an occaſion very melancholy and affecting to himſelf and Mrs. Doddridge. This was the loſs of his eldeſt daughter, a very amiable and hopeful child of nearly five years of age. The ſermon which he preached on this event, and which was publiſhed in 1736-7, is entituled "Submiſſion to Divine Providence on the Death of Children, recommended and enforced." It is an admirable diſcourſe, which diſplays in a very ſtrong and ſtriking light the united piety and tenderneſs of the author's mind. Few ſuperior inſtances of pathetic eloquence are

to be met with in the Engliſh language. In 1737 the Doctor engaged in an ordination ſervice at Wiſbeach St. Peter's, in the Iſle of Ely. The part allotted him was the ſermon, which was printed under the title of "The Temper and Conduct of the primitive "Miniſters of the Goſpel illuſtrated and recommended." Mr. William Johnſton, the gentleman ordained, afterwards removed to Harborough, and at length ſettled at Tunbridge-Wells, at which place he died, and where he was well known, and juſtly reſpected, by many conſiderable perſons. He was the author of a pronouncing and ſpelling Dictionary, which appeared in 12mo, in 1764, and which was not, in ſome reſpects, without its utility. It is now, I believe, entirely ſuperſeded by the far more elaborate and perfect works of Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Walker. Dr. Doddridge, in 1737-8, was called to officiate at the funeral of an old and worthy friend, the Rev. Mr. John Norris, of Welford in Northamptonſhire, who had been thirty-eight years diſſenting miniſter at that place. The diſcourſe which the Doctor preached, and printed, on the occaſion, is entitled, "Practical Reflections on the Character and Death of Enoch." On the ninth of November, 1738, a day of faſting and prayer was obſerved at Wellingborough, on account of a dreadful fire which had deſtroyed a conſiderable part of the town; and the ſermon, which was aſſigned to Dr. Doddridge, and was in part delivered extempore, was publiſhed, from the beſt recollection he could make of it, at the earneſt requeſt of the hearers.

In 1739, our author gave to the public the firſt volume, in quarto, of his great work, "The Family Expoſitor; or, a Paraphraſe and Verſion of the New Teſtament: "with Critical Notes, and a practical Improvement of each Section." This volume contained the former part of the Hiſtory of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as recorded in the four Evangeliſts, diſpoſed in the order of an harmony, and was uſhered into the world by a very numerous and honourable liſt of ſubſcribers. The dedication, which was to her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales, affords one of the fineſt ſpecimens which Dr. Doddridge has given of his talents in elegant compoſition. If the praiſes ſhould be thought ſufficiently copious, they are, at the ſame time, mixed with important hints of inſtruction; and nothing appears to be ſaid but what evidently came from the heart. The ſecond volume of the work was publiſhed in 1740, concluding the evangelical hiſtory. During theſe two years, the Doctor printed only one ſermon, which was "On the "Neceſſity of a general Reformation in order to a well grounded Hope of Succeſs in "War;" and which had been preached by him in Northampton, on the ninth of January, 1739-40, being the day appointed by his Majeſty for public humiliation. It was dedicated to his friend Colonel Gardiner. In 1741, our author was called up to pay a tribute of reſpect to the memory of a worthy Diſſenting Miniſter in London, the Rev. Mr. John Newman, by delivering an oration at his grave, and afterwards committing it to the preſs. Soon after, he publiſhed "The Scripture Doctrine of Salvation by "Grace through Faith, illuſtrated and improved in two Sermons, the ſubſtance of which "was preached at Rowell in Northamptonſhire." But the principal production of Dr. Doddridge, during this year, was a ſet of "Practical Diſcourſes on Regeneration," which had been delivered on Sunday evenings, and attended with remarkable diligence, by many perſons of different perſuaſions, to ſome of whom they were eminently uſeful. The character given of them by a foreign divine, on their being tranſlated into Dutch, among other high encomiums, was, that they united orthodoxy with moderation, zeal with meekneſs, and deep, hidden wiſdom with uncommon clearneſs; that ſimplicity ſhone in them without coldneſs, elegance without painting, and ſublimity without bombaſt (*b*).

(*b*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 118, 119.

The publication of theſe diſcourſes was ſucceeded by that of a ſingle ſermon, entituled, "The Evil and Danger of neglecting the Souls of Men plainly and ſeriouſly repreſented." It had been preached in October, 1741, at a meeting of miniſters, at Kettering in Northamptonſhire. When publiſhed, which was in February, 1741-2, it was dedicated to the aſſociated Proteſtant Diſſenting Miniſters in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, with whom the author had an interview at Denton, in the preceding ſummer, and to whom he had propoſed a ſcheme for the revival of religion, the heads of which are given in the dedication. The only compoſition from the pulpit which was printed by Dr. Doddridge in 1742, was a Charge, delivered in St. Ives, Huntingdonſhire, on the twelfth of Auguſt, at the ordination of Mr. John Jennings, the ſon of the Doctor's former tutor. In the latter end of the ſame year, our author began the publication of the ſole controverſial work in which he could properly ever have been ſaid to have engaged. This was occaſioned by a pamphlet, entituled, "Chriſtianity not founded on Argument," which was much ſpoken of at the time of its appearance, and which, under the form of a zeal for orthodoxy, contained a ſevere attack on our holy religion. Dr. Doddridge's anſwer was compriſed in three letters, the ſecond and third of which were publiſhed in 1743. In the firſt he ſtated the degree of rational evidence for the divine authority of Chriſtianity, to which an illiterate, well-diſpoſed perſon may attain. The ſecond was employed in endeavouring to ſhew the reaſonableneſs of annexing a condemnatory ſentence on unbelievers, as a part of the Chriſtian revelation. In the third the doctrine

of divine influences was conſidered (*i*). Theſe anſwers, which are written with the utmoſt politeneſs and candour, met with a very favourable reception in the world, and the Doctor was thanked for them by ſome men of diſtinguiſhed rank and abilities. The laſt letter in particular was eſteemed by many thinking perſons to contain the beſt illuſtration and the moſt rational and full defence of the influences of the Spirit upon the human heart, which had hitherto been publiſhed (*k*). Dr. Doddridge's other publications in 1743 were, "The Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, expreſſed in plain and "eaſy Verſe, and divided into ſhort Leſſons, for the Uſe of Children and Youth;" and, "Compaſſion to the Sick recommended and urged," in a Sermon preached at Northampton in favour of a deſign for erecting a county hoſpital. In the firſt of theſe performances, which was drawn up at the requeſt of Dr. Clark, it has juſtly been obſerved, that eaſe, plainneſs, and elegance, are happily united (*l*). The verſes, in general, are well accommodated to the purpoſe for which they were intended; but they might have had a ſtill wider circulation, and have been more extenſively uſeful, if no doctrine of a diſputable nature had been introduced. There is ſome reaſon to believe that they were made uſe of in the education of the royal children (*m*). I have a full recollection of the zeal and activity with which Dr. Doddridge entered into the ſcheme of erecting an infirmary for Northamptonſhire. The ſucceſs of the deſign was much owing to his exertions. His diſcourſe in recommendation of it, which was dedicated to the Earl of Halifax, is indeed a moſt excellent one, and was characteriſed by Dr. Oliver, in a letter to the author, as follows: "Horace's obſervation, *difficile eſt proprie communia di-*"*cere*, makes your ſermon on the erecting your county infirmary the more valuable. "Public charities have long been ſo trite a ſubject in the pulpit, that we ſcarcely expect "any thing new from the ableſt hands. But you, Sir, have treated this worn-out ſub-"ject in ſo maſterly a manner, that the reader will find many of his ſofteſt paſſions "awakened into tenderneſs and compaſſion towards the ſick and diſtreſſed, which had "ſlept benumbed under the warmeſt influences of the preceding diſcourſes on that affect-"ing topic. You write as if you felt, while ſome others ſeem to deſire that their "brethren ſhould feel what themſelves are inſenſible of. They write from the head, but "you from the heart (*n*)."

(*i*) Doddridge's Letters, p. 82.

(*k*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 113.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 117.

(*m*) Letters, ubi ſupra, p. 89.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 261, 262.

Towards the cloſe of the ſame year, Dr. Doddridge became a member of a Philoſophical Society which was formed at Northampton, conſiſting of ſeveral ingenious and reſpectable gentlemen in that town and its neighbourhood. During the courſe of their meetings in 1744, he exhibited two papers, the one on the doctrine of Pendulums, and the other on the Laws of Communication of Motion, as well in elaſtic as in non-elaſtic bodies. The moſt material propoſitions relating to both were ſet in ſo plain and eaſy a light in theſe papers, that he was requeſted to permit tranſcripts of them to be depoſited among other communications of the gentlemen concerned, ſome of which appear to have been curious and uſeful (*o*). Our author's name occurs in the Tranſactions of the Royal Society. Three papers were written and communicated by him to that Society, which, if they were not of the firſt conſequence, ſerve to ſhew the activity of his mind, and his attention to different branches of ſcience.

(*o*) Gent. Mag. Vol. XVI. p. 475—477.

The year 1745 was diſtinguiſhed in Dr. Doddridge's life by the appearance of one of the moſt popular, and one of the moſt uſeful of his practical works. This was "The "Riſe and Progreſs of Religion in the Soul," illuſtrated in a courſe of ſerious addreſſes, ſuited to perſons of every character and circumſtance, with a devout meditation or prayer added to each chapter. Dr. Watts had formed a ſimilar deſign; but having been prevented from the execution of it by his growing infirmities, he recommended it to our author, as the beſt qualified of all his acquaintance for diſcharging it in the manner that would be acceptable and beneficial to the world. It was with ſome reluctance that Dr. Doddridge, amidſt his various other weighty concerns, agreed to comply with the requeſt of his venerable friend; but it was urged with an importunity that he could not reſiſt; and he had afterwards the higheſt reaſon to rejoice in his compliance. When the work was finiſhed, Dr. Watts reviſed as much of it as his health would permit. This book was not only well received by the Diſſenters, but met with an equal reception, and the warmeſt applauſes, from ſeveral perſons of great eminence for rank, learning, and piety, both clergy and laity, in the Eſtabliſhed Church (*p*). Dr. Ayſcough, formerly preceptor to the children of Frederic Prince of Wales, ſpeaking of it, ſays, "I pre-"ſented your laſt book to her Royal Highneſs, and ought long ago to have acquainted "you with her moſt gracious acceptance of it, and that I was commanded to return "you her thanks for it. There is indeed ſuch a ſpirit of piety in it, as deſerves the "thanks of every good Chriſtian. Pray God grant it may have its proper effect in "awakening this preſent careleſs age, and then I am ſure you will have your end in "publiſhing it (*q*)." Dr. Thomas Hunt, at that time of Hertford College, but afterwards Canon of Chriſt Church, and Regius Profeſſor of Hebrew in the Univerſity of Oxford, thus expreſſed himſelf concerning the ſame work. "With our thanks for the "favour of your good company, be pleaſed to accept of our moſt hearty acknowledg-

(*p*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 119, 120.

(*q*) Letters to and from Dr. Doddridge, p. 321.

" ments for your kind preſent of your excellent piece on the Riſe and Progreſs of Re-
" ligion in the Soul: a performance which cannot fail of doing much good in the world,
" as it is judiciouſly contrived to engage the attention, and improve the minds of all ſorts
" of readers; being ſo plain as to be intelligible to the loweſt underſtanding, at the ſame
" time that it is ſo elegant, as to gratify the higheſt. You may aſſure yourſelf, Sir, that
" it was not in the power of my moſt preſſing engagements to hinder me from reading
" ſuch a work as this, and I hope I am much the better for having done ſo. Nor would
" it have been kind to my dear Mrs. Hunt, not to have given her an opportunity of
" peruſing a book, from which I myſelf had received ſo much benefit. I therefore no
" ſooner laid it out of my own hands, but I put it into her's, where I afterwards often-
" times found it, and cannot eaſily tell you how much ſhe was affected by it, nor deſcribe
" the gratitude ſhe profeſſes to owe to her worthy inſtructor (*r*)." The Ducheſs of Somerſet was equally pleaſed with the work. In a letter, written to Dr. Doddridge in 1750, ſhe ſays, " I had not the pleaſure of being acquainted with any of your writings
" till I was at Bath, three years ago, with my poor Lord, when an old acquaintance of
" mine, the Dowager Lady Hyndford, recommended me to read the Riſe and Progreſs
" of Religion in the Soul: and I may with truth aſſure you, that I never was ſo
" deeply affected with any thing I ever met with as with that book; and I could not be
" eaſy till I had given one to every ſervant in my houſe, who appeared to be of a ſerious
" turn of mind (*s*)." A perſon of diſtinguiſhed literature and goodneſs always carried the work with him, declaring that it was every thing on the ſubject of ſerious and practical religion. It ſoon went through many editions, and ſtill continues to be frequently reprinted. Nor has the publication of it been confined to England, but extended to Scotland and America. It has been tranſlated abroad, and the author received many teſtimonies from foreign parts of its acceptance and uſefulneſs (*t*). If to ſuch a number of encomiums the opinion of a diſſenting miniſter may be ſubjoined, I may give the words of Mr. Barker; " That book ſhould be written in all languages in letters of
" gold (*u*)."

(*r*) Letters to and from Dr. Doddridge, p. 335, 336.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 466.

(*t*) Orton, ubi ſupra.

(*u*) Letters, ubi ſupra, p. 141.

Not, however, entirely to confine myſelf to the voice of praiſe, I cannot forbear adding ſome ſtrictures that came from the pen of a particular and intimate friend of Dr. Doddridge's, Nathaniel Neal, Eſq. an eminent Solicitor in London, who united the virtues of the heart with a very ſuperior underſtanding and judgment, and who preſerved the ſincereſt fidelity in the midſt of the warmeſt affection. " I am," ſays he, in a letter to the author, " much obliged to you for your kind preſent of the *Riſe and*
" *Progreſs of Religion in the Soul.* I read it over with pleaſure; and hope, not without
" ſome advantage from a book, which I truly think is calculated for very conſiderable
" uſefulneſs. The ſerious ſpirit it breathes muſt be acceptable to all who retain any
" ſeeds of piety; and the compaſs of imagination, and force of expreſſion, which diſ-
" tinguiſh themſelves throughout the whole of the performance, ſhow that the beauties
" of the Sacred Writings are not deſpiſed by all the maſters of human eloquence. This
" might ſuffice for me to ſay concerning a book that is ſo univerſally admired by thoſe
" to whoſe judgment and piety I pay the greateſt reverence; and all perhaps that in
" prudence I ought to ſay; if I merely conſulted the preſerving that credit you have
" hitherto been ſo kind as to give to my underſtanding. But, as I had rather deſerve
" your friendſhip than gain your applauſe, and be eſteemed injudicious than inſincere,
" I will venture (ſince you have deſired it) to ſend a remark or two on this perfor-
" mance.

" Your book propoſes to draw a plan of a religious diſpoſition, or habit, from its
" firſt foundation to its higheſt perfection in the preſent ſtate; and to conſider it in its
" various ſtages and circumſtances, agreeably to that variety which there is in the cir-
" cumſtances and attainments of Chriſtians. But is it not a juſt objection to this perfor-
" mance, if there are many Chriſtians who are conſcious to themſelves that the foun-
" dation of their religious temper and practice was not laid in thoſe principles and that
" view of things which you there deſcribe? Which I ſuppoſe muſt be the caſe of thoſe
" who do not in a good degree embrace the Calviniſtical doctrines, and in ſome meaſure
" of many that do; for I am inclined to think, that different principles do not more va-
" rioufly affect and influence the minds of men, than the ſame principles do different
" minds, eſpecially young ones, according to the firmneſs or weakneſs of the mind, or
" as the prevailing turn is ſprightly or melancholy. Conſidering, therefore, the ſtate
" of the Chriſtian church univerſally, may it not be reaſonable to allow a greater variety
" in the methods which Divine Wiſdom and Mercy take to bring ſinful men to the love
" and practice of religion? You will obſerve, the objection does not infer, that the
" method you preſcribe is not the moſt general, or the beſt adapted to begin and carry
" on the Chriſtian life in the ſoul of man, but whether it be the only one.

" If I might venture to add another remark, it ſhould be this: whether your rules
" and directions for promoting the Chriſtian life do not require more time to be ſpent
" in the exerciſe of devotion and in the inſtrumental duties of religion, than is conſiſtent

" with

" with that attention to the affairs of this life, which is neceſſary for the generality of " Chriſtians; and whether the propoſing more to be done than can (from a view of the " capacities and opportunities of Chriſtians in general) be expected ſhould be done, " may not diſcourage ſome not to attempt, and others not to proceed in a courſe of " religion? What is fit to be done by ſome perſons, and in ſome ſpecial circumſtances, " may not be expected from the greater number of Chriſtians: and care ſhould be " taken, that the heights of piety, to which ſome devout ſouls have ſoared, do not be- " come matter of diſcouragement to young Chriſtians, or thoſe of an ordinary rank.

" It is not improbable that I, who read over this book with a view and deſire to diſ- " cover and amend my own faults, and not to find any in that, may not have ſufficiently " attended to ſome paſſages that may ſhow both theſe remarks impertinent; or if there are " not ſuch paſſages in this book, I myſelf can point out to ſome in other of your pieces " (particularly that on Regeneration, if my memory does not greatly fail me) which " guard againſt both theſe objections in very clear and expreſs terms. But whatever " be the fate of my remarks, when I venture to attack the accuracy of your com- " poſitions, I have a ſure and tried retreat in the candour and benevolence of your diſ- " poſition, which conceals all the weakneſſes of your friends; and, I ſpeak it from my " own repeated experience, magnifies any well-intentioned attempt into an act or evi- " dence of conſpicuous wiſdom or virtue (*w*)."

(*w*) Letters, ubi ſupra, p. 364—366.

In the ſummer of 1745, Dr. Doddridge printed a Charge which had been delivered in Norwich, at the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Abraham Tozer; and in the month of October, in the ſame year, he was called to the painful and affecting office of preaching a funeral ſermon on the death of his friend, the Hon. Col. James Gardiner, who was ſlain in the battle at Preſton-Pans, on the twenty-firſt of September preceding. The title of the diſcourſe is " The Chriſtian Warrior animated and crowned:" and it was accompanied with a dedication to the Colonel's pious and excellent widow. This ſermon, as might be expected from the peculiar circumſtances by which it was occa- ſioned, had a very extenſive circulation; and it received, at the ſame time, many en- comiums. " I thank you," ſays Mr. Barker, " for your fine ſermon on the lamentable " death of that gallant Chriſtian, as well as ſoldier, Colonel Gardiner. I believe every " body will allow it to be a fine diſcourſe, and grant that your affection has not tranſ- " ported you beyond the bounds of decency and prudence (*x*)." The applauſe of Dr. Hunt of Oxford was ſtill more ſpecific. " Many thanks to you for your excellent " ſermon on the death of the valiant and worthy Colonel Gardiner. I was moſt ſenſibly " affected with the peruſal of it; nor can I eaſily tell you whether I was more pleaſed " with the ingenuity of the diſcourſe, or moved with the tenderneſs of the application. " Both your lamentation over your dead friend, and your moving epiſtle to his diſcon- " ſolate widow, are plainly formed on Horace's plan, *Si vis me flere*, &c. and therefore " it is no wonder they ſhould draw tears from your readers, as, I aſſure you, they did " not only from my dear Mrs. Hunt, but myſelf, in great abundance. How mournfully " pleaſing to Lady Frances muſt the honour you have done her gallant conſort be! And " as for the deceaſed hero himſelf, methinks, I hear every brave ſoldier in the Britiſh " army ſaluting his aſhes (thus diſtinguiſhed by your praiſes) in the words of Alexander, " when he ſtood before the tomb of Achilles, and reflected on the honour that had been " done that famous warrior by Homer's verſes,

(*x*) Ibid. p. 100.

" O fortunate Gardinere, qui tuæ virtutis
" Talem præconem inveneris!

" At leaſt, I am ſure theſe would be their ſentiments, were your ſermon put into their " hands, as I could heartily wiſh (for the animating the courage of the troops) it were. " I need not tell you how glad I ſhould be to ſee the remarkable paſſages of a life, the " concluſion of which is ſo glorious (*y*)."

(*y*) Ibid, p. 337, 338.

Dr. Doddridge's next appearance from the preſs was likewiſe in a funeral diſcourſe, which was preached at Northampton, in May, 1746, on occaſion of the death of the Rev. Mr. James Shepherd. Mr. Shepherd was a worthy young miniſter, not quite twenty-two years of age, who died, in conſequence of a ſhort illneſs, ſoon after he had finiſhed his academical ſtudies, and had received an invitation to the paſtoral charge of a Diſſenting congregation at Coggeſhall, in Eſſex. Nine ſermons, the whole which he had ever made, were collected together, and printed in a ſmall volume, in 1748.

In 1747, Dr. Doddridge, agreeably to the promiſe he had before made, publiſhed " Some remarkable Paſſages in the Life of the Hon. Colonel James Gardiner;" a work which has gone through various editions. It was the author's deſign, in this work, not merely to perform a tribute of gratitude to the memory of an invaluable friend, but of duty to God and his fellow-creatures; as he had a cheerful hope that the narrative would, under the divine bleſſing, be the means of ſpreading a warm and lively ſenſe of religion. Several of the Doctor's literary correſpondents thought highly of the per-

formance. "I own," says Mr. Barker, "I was not without my fears, lest your love to "that excellent person should have overcharged some of your passages with panegyric; "and the extraordinary manner of his conversion have given some occasion to the "present age to charge him or you with Enthusiasm. But in reading the book I was "agreeably surprised and exceedingly pleased; and have the satisfaction to acquaint "you, that your friends here are of opinion that you have performed what you have "undertaken in a most excellent manner, and that it is suited to do a great deal of "good (z)." Mr. Neal, who wrote to the author before he had read the whole work, expressed himself in the following terms. "The receipt of Colonel Gardiner's Life "calls upon me for a particular acknowledgment. I have yet only had the pleasure of "reading some part of it; and though I know you would rather see me improved by "it, than hear me commend it, yet as the latter will, I hope, be no obstruction to the "former, I must own that, as far as I have gone, I think it is written in a very in-"structive and entertaining manner; and I was charmed with the dedication, the con-"cluding period of which is worthy the eloquence and politeness of Pliny, and the "piety and energy of St. Paul. But I will say no more till I have perused the whole "piece (a)."

(z) Letters, ubi supra, p. 109 110.

(a) bid. p. 470

Perhaps it may be thought somewhat remarkable, that the learned Warburton should express the most unqualified approbation of the whole work. "I had the favour," says this eminent writer, "of your letter, and along with it Colonel Gardiner's Life, which "I have just read through with very great pleasure. Nothing can be better or more "judicious than the writing part. Many considerations made the subject of great im-"portance and expediency. The celebration of worthy men who sacrificed themselves "for the service of their country; the tribute paid to private friendship; the example, "particularly to the soldiery, of so much virtue and piety, as well as courage and pa-"triotism; the service done to the survivors of their families; are such important con-"siderations as equally concern the writer and the public. I had a thousand things to "remark in it which gave me pleasure. But I have room but for two or three. The "distinction you settle between piety and enthusiasm in the 78th page, is highly just "and important, and very necessary for these times, when men are apt to fall into the "opposite extremes. Nor am I less pleased with your observations on the *mutilated form* "*of Christianity*, in the 130th page: we see the terrible effects of it. The same plea-"sure your 162d and 163d pages afforded me. Your hymns are truly pious and "poetical. The note at the bottom of page 176 is fine. I entirely agree with your "sentiments concerning the extraordinary circumstance of the good man's conversion. "On the whole, the book will do you honour; or, what you like better, will be a blessing "to you by its becoming an instrument of public good (b)."

(b) Ibid, p. 204, 205.

The chief observation that Mr. Orton makes on the work is, that "the author had "the pleasure to hear of some instances in which it had answered his desires and hopes; "though many thought, and perhaps justly, that he too much indulged the emotions "of private friendship and affection in the composition (c)." In the truth of this remark I entirely concur. Colonel Gardiner was indeed a man of a most excellent character; but that character was tinctured with enthusiasm and religious bigotry. His virtues were of the awful kind. I remember well that his aspect was the aspect of dignity; but this dignity was mixed with an austerity of appearance and manner, which was not pre-possessing to the minds of the students belonging to the academy at Northampton. The affection of his eldest son to his father, had, I know, more of fear united with it than is usually desirable in a child towards a parent. Dr. Doddridge undoubtedly went too far, when in his funeral sermon for Colonel Gardiner, he deliberately declared, that it was hard for him to say where, but in the book of God, the Colonel *found his example*, or where he had *left his equal* (d). The doctor was himself a superior character. Let it, however, be remembered, that if our author was somewhat extravagant in the praises of his friend, he said nothing of the truth of which he was not fully persuaded.

(c) Orton, ubi supra, p. 114.

(d) Doddridge's Sermons, and religious Tracts, Vol. III. p. 62.

It is not my design to enter specifically into the story of Colonel Gardiner's extraordinary conversion. That the impression made upon his mind was in a dream, is sufficiently intimated to be the opinion of Dr. Doddridge, though the Colonel himself believed it to be a miraculous vision. As a dream it may very rationally be accounted for, from the predisposing circumstances. He had received a strictly pious education; he had never rejected the principles, though he had departed from the practice of Christianity; he often felt the anguish of his course of life; he was alone, in the solemn stillness of the night; a religious book happened to be opened by him; the dreadful crime in which he was going to engage flashed upon his conscience. Falling asleep in this agitation of his spirits, a dream followed, accommodated to his waking reflections. Nor was he, on this account, the less indebted to the goodness of Divine Providence for the happy and effectual change that was produced in his disposition and conduct. The events which are derived through a succession of intermediate causes, are not less the result of the administration of the Supreme Being than more immediate interpositions.

There cannot be a ſurer dictate of Reaſon, than it is of Scripture, that every good and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of Lights.

Two pamphlets were publiſhed, containing remarks on the Life of Colonel Gardiner; ne in London, and the other at Edinburgh. The ſecond was better written than the firſt; but neither of them was deemed of ſufficient conſequence to deſerve an anſwer (*e*).

(*e*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 114—116.

In the year 1748 appeared the third volume of the "Family Expoſitor, containing "the Acts of the Apoſtles, with additional Notes on the Harmony of the Evangeliſts;" and "Two Diſſertations, 1. On Sir Iſaac Newton's Syſtem of the Harmony. 2. On "the Inſpiration of the New Teſtament." This volume is a very valuable part of Dr. Doddridge's great work; being executed with ſingular attention and diligence, and comprehending a large variety of curious and important critical remarks, together with excellent practical obſervations. In ſeveral momentous particulars he differed from Lord Barrington and Dr. Benſon, and co-incided in opinion with Dr. Lardner. Of this the latter gentleman took the following notice in a letter to our author. "You have "happily thrown a great deal of light on the Acts of the Apoſtles. I am particularly "obliged to you for the honourable mention you have been pleaſed to make of me "upon many occaſions. I likewiſe thank you for aſſerting and confirming the opinion "that the Jews had not *Jus Gladii* in the time of our Saviour. I am alſo well pleaſed "to ſee how clear you keep of the now common opinion about *Proſelytes of the Gate*, "and how you ſometimes overthrow it by good reaſons (*f*)." In the diſſertation on Sir Iſaac Newton's ſcheme for reducing the ſeveral hiſtories contained in the Evangeliſts to their proper order, Dr. Doddridge ſucceſsfully combats Sir Iſaac's hypotheſis upon the ſubject. But, at the ſame time, he gladly embraced the opportunity of paying him a very fine compliment. "I cannot," ſays the Doctor, "ſet myſelf to this "taſk, without feeling the fatigue of it ſenſibly allayed by the pleaſure with which I "reflect on the firm perſuaſion which a perſon of his unequaled ſagacity muſt have en"tertained of the truth of Chriſtianity, in order to his being engaged to take ſuch pains "in illuſtrating the ſacred oracles. A pleaſure, which I doubt not every good reader "will ſhare with me; eſpecially as (according to the beſt information, whether public "or private, I could ever get) his firm faith in the divine revelation diſcovered itſelf in "the moſt genuine fruits of ſubſtantial virtue and piety; and conſequently gives us the "juſteſt reaſon to conclude, that he is now rejoicing in the happy effects of it infinitely "more than in all the applauſe which his philoſophical works have procured him; "though they have commanded a fame laſting as the world, the true theory of which "he had diſcovered, and (in ſpite of all the vain efforts of ignorance, pride, and their "offspring bigotry) have arrayed him as it were in the beams of the ſun, and inſcribed "his name among the conſtellations of heaven." Concerning Dr. Doddridge's Diſſertation on the Inſpiration of the Old Teſtament, Warburton pronounced, that it is a well-reaſoned and judicious performance (*g*). Perhaps in ſome reſpects the reaſoning may be rather too hypothetical; but, on the whole, it is a production which abounds with important and uſeful obſervations.

(*f*) Letters, ubi ſupra, p. 273.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 205.

The only ſermon publiſhed by Dr. Doddridge in 1748, was one entituled, "Chriſt's "Invitation to thirſty Souls." It had been preached nearly twenty years before at Northampton, and was now printed at the requeſt of a worthy member of the Eſtabliſhed Church, to whom it had been communicated in the intimacy of friendſhip. Prefixed to it is a dedication, of conſiderable length, to the Rev. James Harvey. This circumſtance, if I conjecture rightly, did not pleaſe the ſtrong-minded Warburton. "I think," ſays he, "you do not ſet a juſt value on yourſelf, when you lend your name or countenance "to ſuch weak, but well-meaning rhapſodies as ———. This may do well enough "with the people; but it is the learned that claim you. And though the inter"mixing with works of this caſt *ſober* books of devotion of your own compoſing, "becomes your character, and is indeed your duty, yet your charity and love of "goodneſs ſuffer you to let yourſelf down in the opinion of thoſe you moſt value, and "whoſe high opinion you have fairly gained by works of learning and reaſoning in"ferior to none. Forgive me this freedom (*h*)." Dr. Hunt thought better, and indeed more juſtly, of the dedication; for he thus expreſſed himſelf, in a letter to the author: "Many thanks to you for your kind preſent of your excellent ſermon. You "have done great honour to our brother Harvey in the dedication, which breathes the "true ſpirit of Chriſtian benevolence, and contains ſuch generous and charitable ſen"timents as muſt charm every reader that has any regard to the true intereſts of our "moſt Holy Religion. I think the account you give of the occaſion of the words "(which is ſomething in my way) is perfectly juſt, and the method in which you "have explained and carried on the metaphor throughout is in the higheſt degree "beautiful, as well as inſtructive (*i*)."

(*h*) Ibid. p. 205, 206.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 346, 347.

The firſt publication of Dr. Doddridge in 1749 was "A plain and ſerious Addreſs "to a Maſter of a Family on the important Subject of Family Religion." This was accompanied with two prayers; one, which might be uſed as an introduction to a

ſtated

ſtated courſe of family-prayer, where it had formerly been neglected; and the other a prayer for a family to be uſed either morning or evening, with ſuch variations as might eaſily be underſtood by any who were able to read it. The Doctor, though a Diſſenter, and himſelf excelling in the variety and copiouſneſs of more extemporaneous adorations, was not, we ſee, averſe to forms of prayer on proper occaſions. Indeed, he recommends them in his "Addreſs," the ſerioufneſs, affection, and momentous nature of which entitle it to great attention and regard. The next appearance of our author from the preſs was in a diſcourſe that had been preached at Northampton on the twenty-fifth of April, 1749; being the day appointed by his Majeſty for a general thankſgiving on account of the peace concluded with France and Spain. It was entituled, "Reflections on the Conduct of Divine Providence in the Series and Con-"cluſion of the late War," and contains many beautiful and important obſervations, adapted to the circumſtances of the time.

In 1749-50, Dr. Doddridge preached, at a meeting of Miniſters at Creaton in Northamptonſhire, and afterwards publiſhed, a Sermon, the title of which is, "Chriſtian "Candour and Unanimity ſtated, illuſtrated, and urged." This is an admirable diſcourſe, and exhibits a fine tranſcript of the author's own mind, which was fully attuned to the virtue he recommended. It was inſcribed to the Counteſs of Huntingdon, and ſtrongly diſplays his admiration of that lady. I inſert the inſcription (which I am ſure was written with the utmoſt ſincerity), rather by way of warning than example; not as at all diſputing the great excellency of the Counteſs's character, but becauſe there is an exceſs in the language which ought to be applied to very few human beings.

"To the Right Honourable
"The Countess of Huntingdon,
"That eminent example of the
"Christian Candour
"Here recommended,
"And of every other virtue and grace,
"Which can inſpire, ſupport, and adorn it,
"The Author,
"Finding himſelf (after repeated attempts)
"Incapable of writing any dedication,
"Under the reſtraints which her humility,
"Amidſt its utmoſt indulgence,
"Has preſcribed him;
"Or to mention any excellence which would not
"Seem an encomium on *her*:
"Has choſen thus moſt reſpectfully
"To inſcribe this diſcourſe;
"Intreating that his farther ſilence,
"In this connection,
"May be interpreted by her Ladyship,
"And by every Reader,
"As the moſt ſenſible and painful proof
"He can give of the deference,
"Veneration, and grateful affection,
"With which he is, her Ladyſhip's
"Moſt obliged, and obedient humble ſervant."

On the twentieth of Auguſt, 1750, Dr. Doddridge preached a ſermon at Salter's-Hall, on occaſion of the late alarm by the ſecond ſhock of an earthquake, which had happened on the eighth of March preceding. The diſcourſe being delivered to a very large and attentive auditory, it was earneſtly requeſted that it might be printed; and accordingly it appeared under the title of "The Guilt and Doom of Capernaum "ſeriouſly recommended to the Conſideration of the Inhabitants of London." Both the ſermon and the preface amply ſhow how ſolicitous our author was, with many other good men, to improve every event of Divine Providence to the beſt of purpoſes. In the December of the ſame year, he was called upon to pay the laſt tribute of reſpect to the memory of his friend and father, Dr. Clark. That gentleman died on the fourth of the month, and on the ſixteenth Dr. Doddridge preached his funeral ſermon at St. Alban's. The diſcourſe is entitled, "Meditations on the Tears of Jeſus over "the Grave of Lazarus;" and the character given of Dr. Clark is as juſt as it is affectionate. It may not be improper to mention, that Dr. Clark was the author of a collection of Scripture Promiſes, which has been very uſeful to many pious Chriſtians, and of three excellent Sermons, on the Nature and Cauſes of Irreſolution in Religion,

printed in 1742. As a proof of the liberality of his mind, I ſhall tranſcribe a paſſage from one of his letters, written in 1727, to Mr. Doddridge. "You have ſeen, I "ſuppoſe, what the public prints inform us of, relating to the proceedings of the "General Aſſembly in Scotland, againſt Mr. Patrick Simpſon. They are going to "deprive that Church of one of the moſt valuable perſons in it, becauſe he does not "think it neceſſary to tie himſelf down exactly to their Shibboleth, nor oblige him-"ſelf to conform to all the ſcholaſtic ways of ſpeaking, concerning ſome things, about "which the Scripture is ſilent. By what I ſaw and heard of him when in Scotland, he "is a much better judge of thoſe matters than the greater part of thoſe who are to "judge him. His crime is, that he is diſpoſed to think for himſelf; but yet he is "very cautious to avoid giving offence, which I perceive is, by the bigots, interpreted "cunning and diſſimulation.

"One would think the experience of ſo many ages ſhould be ſufficient to make "the world wiſer; and that thoſe who pretend to govern in the Church ſhould learn "at laſt that their power might be much better exerciſed, than in deſtroying the "uſefulneſs of the beſt men in it, merely for nice ſpeculations about unrevealed or "diſputable points. Suppoſe a perſon ſhould not ſpeak with exact propriety, con-"cerning the manner of Chriſt's exiſtence, a point ſo much above our reach, if yet he "loves him, truſts in him, and ſincerely obeys him, what harm does religion ſuffer "by it? But I need not enlarge upon this to you, who are ſo well inſtructed in the "unreaſonableneſs of bigotry to a ſet of ſpeculative notions (*k*)."

(*k*) Letters to and from the Rev. Dr. Doddridge, p. 17, 18.

I have now ſpecified the works that were publiſhed by Dr. Doddridge during his life-time, in their chronological order, which has been neglected by Mr. Orton, and very much confounded in the three volumes containing the Doctor's Sermons and religious Tracts. Such of his writings as were printed after his deceaſe will hereafter be mentioned; and, therefore, it only remains at preſent to be added, that he was the author of a few ſmall pieces which appeared in other collections. Theſe were, ſome papers when he was a young man, in "The preſent State of the Republic of Letters;" a recommendatory Preface to the performance, entitled, "Familiar Dialogues for "Children;" a biographical Preface to twelve Sermons, by the Rev. Thomas Steffe, a diſſenting miniſter and former pupil, who died, in early life, at Taunton in Somerſetſhire; an elaborate account, in "The Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned," of the ſecond volume of Warburton's "Divine Legation of Moſes;" and an elegant practical "Paraphraſe of the laſt Words of David," according to the critical interpretation of Dr. Richard Grey, of Hinton, Northamptonſhire.

I ought to have taken notice under the proper year (1748), that Dr. Doddridge reviſed the "Expoſitory Works," and other remains of Archbiſhop Leighton, and tranſlated his "Latin Prelections." Theſe were printed together at Edinburgh, in two volumes. Though the preparing of theſe volumes for the preſs took up ſome of the Doctor's time for ſeveral months, in the intervals of other buſineſs, he was far from repenting of his labour. The delight and edification which he found in the writings of this extraordinary man, were eſteemed by him to be a full equivalent for his pains; ſeparately from all the proſpect of that effect which they might have upon others. He acknowledges in his preface, that he never ſpent a quarter of an hour in reviewing any of them, without feeling, amidſt the interruption which a critical examination of the copy would naturally give, ſome impreſſions which he wiſhed always to retain. Indeed, he found in them ſuch heart-affecting leſſons of ſimplicity and humility, candour and benevolence, and of exalted piety, without the leaſt tincture of enthuſiaſm, as he thought could ſcarcely be equaled any where elſe, excepting in the Sacred Oracles (*l*).

(*l*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 145.

Dr. Henry Miles, of Tooting, ſpeaking of Archbiſhop Leighton's works, ſaid, in a letter to Dr. Doddridge, "I bleſs GOD I ever met with them. There is a ſpirit in "them I never met with in any human writings; nor can I read many lines in them "without being affected: though you know all his works are imperfect and inaccu-"rate (*m*)." Scotland, in the middle of the laſt century, produced ſome divines, who had imbibed, in a wonderful manner, the genuine ſpirit of devotion, and the genuine ſpirit of Chriſtianity. The name of Scougal will occur to every one who is tolerably acquainted either with the hiſtory of theology, or with compoſitions of a practical nature.

(*m*) Letters, ubi ſupra, p. 219.

The journey which Dr. Doddridge took to St. Alban's, for the purpoſe of preaching Dr. Clark's funeral ſermon, laid the foundation of his own death. In that journey, which, as we have ſeen before, was in December, 1750, he unhappily contracted a cold, that hung upon him during the remainder of the Winter. When the Spring advanced, the diſorder conſiderably abated; but in the Summer it returned again with great violence. In this ſtate of his health, he was adviſed by his phyſicians and friends to lay aſide his public work for a time, and to apply himſelf to the uſe of proper medicines and exerciſe for the removal of his complaint. With the former part of this advice he could not be prevailed upon to comply; for, in his eſtimation, to be uſeleſs was

worſe than death. Whilſt he apprehended that there was no immediate danger, he could not be induced to decline, or even to leſſen, the various ſacred employments in which he ſo much delighted; and he was particularly deſirous to complete the fair tranſcript of his Family Expoſitor. The nearer he approached to his diſſolution, the more plainly was obſerved his continual improvement in a ſpiritual and heavenly temper. Indeed, he ſeemed to have gotten above the world, and to be daily breathing after immortality. This diſpoſition of his mind was ardently expreſſed in ſeveral of his letters, and is manifeſt from his will, which was made at this time, and is prefaced in the following language: "Whereas it is cuſtomary on theſe occaſions to begin with "commending the ſoul into the hands of God through Chriſt, I do it; not in mere "form, but with ſincerity and joy; eſteeming it my greateſt happineſs, that I am "taught and encouraged to do it by that glorious Goſpel, which, having moſt aſſuredly "believed, I have ſpent my life in preaching to others; and which I eſteem an in-"finitely greater treaſure than all my little worldly ſtore, or poſſeſſions ten thouſand "times greater than mine (*n*)."

(*n*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 268—271.

The laſt time that Dr. Doddridge adminiſtered the Lord's Supper to his congregation at Northampton, was on the ſecond of June, 1751. In the ſermon which he delivered previouſly to the celebration of the ordinance, and which was from Hebrews xii. 23. he expatiated on the illuſtrious and innumerable aſſembly that would meet together in the celeſtial world; and in the concluſion of the whole ſervice, he mentioned, with marks of uncommon pleaſure, the authority of Chriſt over miniſters and churches. He dropped, likewiſe, ſome hints of his approaching deceaſe, and ſpoke with great tenderneſs and affection to his people on the proſpect of their final ſeparation. After this he ſpent ſome weeks in London, where the hurries and fatigues he went through contributed to increaſe his diſorder. On his return from the metropolis, which was nearly the middle of July, he determined, notwithſtanding the earneſt entreaties of his friends to the contrary, to addreſs his flock once more from the pulpit. The diſcourſe, which proved in fact to be his farewell ſermon, was from Romans xiv. 8. and was well adapted, not only to the ſtate of his congregation, but to that of his pupils, for whoſe future improvement and welfare he was tenderly concerned.

The laſt public ſervice, in which Dr. Doddridge was ever engaged, was on the eighteenth of July, at the ordination of the Reverend Mr. Adams, at Bewdley, in Worceſterſhire. How unfit he was at this time for taking any part in the duties of the day, was diſplayed in his pale countenance, and in his languid, trembling voice; but he had promiſed his aſſiſtance, and was unwilling to be abſent or unemployed on the occaſion. From Bewdley he went to Shrewſbury, where he reſided ſeveral weeks, at the houſe of his friend Mr. Orton, for the convenience of air, exerciſe, and an entire receſs from buſineſs and company. By this retirement he ſeemed to be a little recruited. Whilſt he was at Shrewſbury, he received many letters from his friends, expreſſive of their high eſteem and affection for him, and of their deep concern for his dangerous illneſs (*o*). A very pathetic one, written by Mr. Neal, will be found in the collection lately publiſhed. Part of what he wrote is as follows: "You may be ſure, we are all greatly "affected with the danger that threatens a life ſo univerſally deſirable, and to us ſo "peculiarly endeared: and our invaluable friend (*Mr. Barker*) diſſolved not only us, "but great part of his numerous audience, into tears, by a kind of inſpired eloquence, "with which he offered up ſtrong pleas and cries, for your ſupport and revival, to "Him who is able to deliver from death.—My dear friend, I beſeech you not to think "of returning to Northampton, even though you ſhould receive all imaginable bene-"fit at Shrewſbury in the enſuing fortnight, till you have viſited Briſtol; and in prepar-"ing for that expedition, I conceive no time ſhould be loſt, as the ſeaſon for the "waters, as well as of the year, is ſo far advanced. I ſhould tremble for your return "to Northampton at preſent, notwithſtanding ſome encouraging ſymptoms; for a "relapſe could hardly fail of being fatal, and in ſuch a circumſtance would be next "to certain, conſidering your various engagements, and active temper." Speaking of the academy, Mr. Neal adds, "Mr. Clark, I am perſuaded, is able to do what is "fully ſufficient, and will be very acceptable to the truſtees. And I rejoice in his "ability (which I do not at all diſtruſt) to keep the pupils very profitably employed "for ſome time: though I ſhould much rather hear the academy was all diſbanded, "than that you ſhould read a ſingle lecture between this and Michaelmas. In one "word, your whole duty to God and man is comprehended in the care of your health (*p*)." Another letter, written ſome weeks before by Mr. Barker, though it has been inſerted, at large, both in the Collection mentioned above, and in Mr. Orton's Memoirs, is too intereſting to be omitted, and therefore it ſhall be inſerted in a note [*D*].

(*o*) Ibid. p. 271—274.

(*p*) Letters, ubi ſupra, p. 396, 397.

In

[*D*] *And therefore it ſhall be inſerted in a note.*] "Leſſingham, Neal, and Barker, are too nearly in-"tereſted in that precious life, which now appears "in danger of being cut off in the midſt of its days, "to hear of its waſte and languiſhing without great "concern and fervent prayer to God. How your "letter affected my heart in public, your friends are "witneſs: but what I felt for my dear brother and "the

In autumn Dr. Doddridge's phyſicians judged it proper that he ſhould make a trial of the waters of Briſtol; and accordingly he went thither in the month of Auguſt. Upon his arrival at that place, a worthy clergyman of the Eſtabliſhed Church, with whom he had only a ſlight acquaintance, entertained him in the moſt hoſpitable manner, and with a fraternal affection, till he could be accommodated with ſuitable apartments near the wells; and Dr. Maddox, Biſhop of Worceſter, paid him a friendly viſit, and, in very obliging terms, offered to convey him in his chariot at the ſtated times of drinking the water. Little hope of his deriving benefit from it was given him by the phyſicians at Briſtol; and he received their report of the great hazard of his caſe with a fortitude, reſignation, and chearfulneſs, which never forſook him to the laſt, in any place, or on any occaſion. Here he met with ſeveral of his friends, who were deſirous to do all in their power to teſtify their regard for him; and offers of ſervice and aſſiſtance were made to him by ſtrangers, and even by perſons who had formerly conceived prejudices againſt him. A worthy nobleman intereſted himſelf as kindly about the Doctor's health, as if he had long been his intimate friend. Whilſt Dr. Doddridge was at Briſtol, he was viſited by ſome of the principal people of his congregation, who expreſſed an affection for him not to be deſcribed, and who brought with them aſſurances of the ſame affection from the reſt of his flock, and of their ardent and repeated prayers for his recovery. This new proof of their regard afforded him great ſatisfaction and refreſhment. He was directed by his phyſicians to ſpeak and write as little as poſſible; but he could not content himſelf without ſometimes ſending letters, in ſhort hand, to a few choſen friends, expreſſive of the excellent frame of his mind (*q*).

(*q*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 277—281.

" the miniſters and churches of Chriſt, God and my-
" ſelf only know. I will not now ſay, Why did you
" ſpend ſo faſt? Why did you not ſpare yourſelf a
" little ſooner? I will rather heartily thank you, that
" you uſe all the means you can to repair your frame,
" and reſtore and prolong your uſefulneſs. It is the
" kindeſt thing you can do, and the higheſt inſtance
" of friendſhip you can now ſhew us; and I acknow-
" ledge your goodneſs to us in this point with tears
" of joy. Conſent and chooſe to ſtay with us a
" while longer, my dear friend, if it pleaſe God.
" This is not only needful to Northampton and its
" adjacent towns and villages, but deſirable to us all,
" and beneficial to our whole intereſt. Stay, Dodd-
" ridge!. O, ſtay and ſtrenghten our hands, whoſe
" ſhadows grow long. Fifty is but the height
" of vigour, uſefulneſs, and honour. Don't take
" leave abruptly. Providence hath not directed thee
" yet, on whom to drop thy mantle. Who ſhall in-
" ſtruct our youth, fill our vacant churches; animate
" our aſſociations, and diffuſe a ſpirit of piety, mo-
" deration, candour, and charity, through our villages
" and churches; and a ſpirit of prayer and ſupplica-
" tion into our towns and cities, when thou art re-
" moved from us? Eſpecially, who ſhall unfold the
" ſacred Oracles, teach us the meaning and uſe of
" our Bibles, reſcue us from the bondage of ſyſtems,
" party-opinions, empty, uſeleſs ſpeculations, and
" faſhionable forms and phraſes; and point out to
" us the ſimple, intelligible, conſiſtent, uniform re-
" ligion of our Lord and Saviour? Who ſhall—
" But I am ſilenced by the voice of Him, who ſays,
" Shall I not do what I will with my own? Is it not
" my prerogative to take and leave, as ſeemeth me
" good? I demand the liberty of diſpoſing of my
" own ſervants at my own pleaſure. He hath
" laboured more abundantly. His times are in my
" hand. He hath not ſlept as do others. He hath
" riſen to nobler heights than things below. He
" hopes to inherit glory. He hath laboured for that
" which endureth to eternal life; labour, which the
" more it abounds, the more it exalts and magnifies
" its object, and the more effectually anſwers and
" ſecures its end. It is yours to wait and truſt,—
" mine to diſpoſe and govern. On me be the care
" of miniſters and churches. With me is the re-
" ſidue of the Spirit. Both the vineyard and the
" labourers are mine. I ſet them to work; and,
" when I pleaſe, I call them and give them their
" hire."—With theſe thoughts my paſſions ſubſide,
" my mind is ſoftened and ſatisfied, I reſign thee,
" myſelf and all, to God, ſaying, Thy will be done!
" But now for the wings of faith and contemplation.
" Let me take thy hand, my dear brother, and walk
" a turn or two in yonder ſpacious regions. Yes, it
" is ſo: we read it in the Book of God, that Word
" of Truth and Goſpel of our ſalvation, that as in
" Adam all die, even ſo in Chriſt ſhall all be made
" alive. The one ruined his poſterity by ſin;
" the other raiſed his ſeed to immortality. This
" poiſoned the dart and inflamed the wound of death;
" but Jeſus Chriſt redeemeth us from this captivity.
" See, thou Chriſtian miniſter, thou friend of my
" boſom, and faithful ſervant of God, ſee the im-
" portant period, when the ſurpriſing ſigns, and de-
" ſcending inhabitants of Heaven, proclaim the
" ſecond coming of our divine Saviour! The
" heavens open and diſcloſe his radiant glory. Hear
" the awakening trump. See, the dead in Chriſt
" ariſe glorious and immortal; leave corruption,
" weakneſs, and diſhonour, behind them, and be-
" hold their Lord and Head ſeated on his throne of
" judgment, attended and ſurrounded with the mini-
" ſters of his power and pleaſure, and ſhining in all
" the fulneſs of celeſtial glory: and not only ſee
" but ſhare his victory and luſtre, partake of his
" image and influence. And behold the demoliſhed
" fabric reared again, ſtately and ornamented, ſhining
" and illuſtrious, permanent and durable, to de-
" monſtrate how entirely death is vanquiſhed, all its
" ruins repaired; and what was once meat for worms
" is now a companion of angels; for when "this
" corruptible ſhall have put on incorruption, and this
" mortal, immortality," every eye will be faſtened
" on the mighty conqueror, and every voice and
" harp be tuned for that tranſporting ſong, "O
" Death, where is thy ſting? O Grave, where is thy
" victory?" Yes, Doddridge, it is ſo. The fruit
" of our Redeemer's ſufferings and victory is the en-
" tire and eternal deſtruction of ſin and death. And
" is it not a glorious deſtruction? a moſt bleſſed
" ruin? No enemy ſo formidable, no tyranny ſo
" bitter, no fetters ſo heavy and galling, no priſon
" ſo dark and diſmal, but they are vanquiſhed and
" diſarmed; the unerring dart is blunted and broken,
" the priſon pulled down and raiſed. Our Lord is
" riſen, as the firſt-fruits of them that ſlept.—
" How glad ſhould I be to hear, that God is pleaſed
" to prolong thy life on earth, to declare theſe
" glorious truths, and teach us to improve them!
" In this, your friends with you, and many more
" in every place, join, and make it our common
" petition to the Great Diſpoſer of all events. Uſe
" every means you can for the recovery of your
" health, for the ſake of your friends, among whom
" is your faithful and affectionate

" J. BARKER (4)."

(4) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 274—277. Letters, ubi ſupra, p. 142—145.

Dr. Doddridge was ſo deeply affected with the friendſhip expreſſed in this letter, and the divine conſolations which it adminiſtered, that there was reaſon to be apprehenſive that his tender frame would have ſunk under the emotions of his gratitude and joy.

The health of Dr. Doddridge continuing ſtill more and more to decline, he was adviſed, as the laſt reſort in ſo threatening a diſorder, to remove to a warmer climate for the Winter. It was propoſed that he ſhould go to Liſbon. In deliberating upon this ſcheme, his principal objection to it was the great expence with which the execution of it would neceſſarily be attended. He doubted whether, with ſo very precarious a hope of its being beneficial to him, he ought to purſue the deſign; when his family, which, in caſe of his deceaſe, would be but ſlenderly provided for, would be conſiderably injured by the voyage. "It will," ſays Mr. Orton, "I hope, appear to every "conſiderate reader, a glorious circumſtance in the Doctor's life, that it was ſacrificed "to the generous, diſintereſted ſervice of his Great Maſter, and benevolence to man-"kind; that, with the advantage of a genius and qualifications equal to the higheſt "advancement in the Eſtabliſhment, and without being chargeable with want of œco-"nomy, he ſhould find himſelf under the painful neceſſity of preſerving the little "remainder of his life, by an expence diſproportionate to the proviſion made for his "family, dear to him as his own life." There happened to be at Briſtol a clergyman of the Church of England, who had not been previouſly acquainted with Dr. Doddridge, but who behaved to him in the kindeſt and moſt reſpectful manner. In converſation with this gentleman, the Doctor undeſignedly threw out a hint of the principal reaſon which cauſed him to demur about the voyage. The benevolent clergyman immediately ſeized the hint, and took an opportunity of expreſſing, before a lady of conſiderable fortune, who was a Diſſenter, his eſteem and reſpect for the Doctor, and the concern it gave him, that a perſon who did ſo much honour to Chriſtianity in general, and to his own denomination in particular, and who (as he was pleaſed to expreſs himſelf) "if his conſcience had not prevented, might have been in one of the firſt "dignities in their Church," ſhould, on account of his circumſtances, be diſcouraged from taking a ſtep, on which perhaps his life depended. He added, that, in his opinion, it would be an everlaſting reproach upon the Diſſenters as a body, if thoſe who knew of his ſituation did not take ſome ſpeedy and vigorous meaſures to remove the difficulty. No ſooner had this gentleman given the hint, and ſet a handſome precedent, than it was chearfully purſued; and the generoſity of Dr. Doddridge's acquaintance at Briſtol and in other places, fully equalled his wants and his wiſhes. Mr. Neal was particularly active in the management of the affair, and had the pleaſure of informing the Doctor, that inſtead of ſelling what our author had in the funds, he ſhould be able, through the benevolence of friends, to add ſomething to it, after the expence of the voyage was defrayed.

Whilſt Dr. Doddridge continued at Briſtol, and his journey was in proſpect, many other pleaſing circumſtances occurred, which tended to lighten his affliction. A ſervant, in particular, of the family where he lodged, offered herſelf to attend him to Liſbon on very reaſonable terms; a propoſal which was the more ſeaſonable and acceptable, as infirm perſons, who deſigned the ſame voyage, uſually found it extremely difficult to procure ſuch attendance, even by large offers (*r*). Dr. Oliver was at no ſmall pains to prepare every thing for making the journey as comfortable as poſſible; and Mr. Warburton prevailed upon the ſecretary of the Poſt-Office to write to the captain of the packet-boat at Falmouth, to engage him to give Dr. Doddridge the beſt accommodations in his power (*s*). On the ſeventeenth of September the Doctor left Briſtol, and after a fatiguing journey of ten days, occaſioned partly by the badneſs of the ſeaſon and roads, and partly by his great weakneſs, he arrived at Falmouth. There he was received in the kindeſt manner by Dr. Turner, the phyſician of the place, who generouſly entertained him in his houſe, and recommended him to the care of his nephew, Dr. Cantley, at Liſbon. During Dr. Doddridge's journey and ſtay at Falmouth, his moſt painful and threatening ſymptoms had been ſuſpended; but, on the night before he ſailed, they returned with greater violence then ever. Mrs. Doddridge, therefore, thought it neceſſary to propoſe, that he ſhould either return home, or ſtay a while longer at Falmouth. Having, however, ſome hope from a change of climate, he gave this ſhort anſwer, "The dye is caſt, and I chooſe to go."

(*r*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 281—287.

(*s*) Letters, ubi ſupra, p. 264.

The propriety of Dr. Doddridge's voyage to Liſbon has by ſome perſons been doubted; but in this undertaking he acted by the unanimous advice of the moſt competent judges. At Falmouth much civility was ſhewn him by ſeveral of the inhabitants of the place, to whom his friends had written for that purpoſe, and he parted from them with the utmoſt gratitude and tenderneſs. On Monday the thirtieth of September he went on board the packet; and as the captain of it did not happen to go the voyage, the Doctor had the convenience of his cabin, which was no ſmall comfort and advantage to him in his weak condition. Upon the ſailing of the veſſel, the new ſcene which opened upon him, and the ſoft air and freſh breezes of the ſea, had the moſt pleaſing effect on his ſpirits. The ſea ſickneſs was ſeverely felt by Mrs. Doddridge and the ſervant; but happily he himſelf did not ſuffer from it; ſo that he needed their attendance and aſſiſtance leſs than before. He generally ſat, the greateſt part of the day, in an eaſy chair, in the captain's cabbin; and his mind was admirably ſuſtained by delightful views of the Heavenly world. Such ſacred gratitude and joy appeared in his

his countenance, as often brought to the remembrance of his lady the following lines in one of his hymns:

When Death o'er nature ſhall prevail,
And all the powers of language fail,
Joy through my ſwimming eyes ſhall break,
And *mean* the thanks I cannot ſpeak.

In the Bay of Biſcay the veſſel was unhappily becalmed for ſome days; and the weather proved ſo intenſely hot, that Dr. Doddridge's colliquative ſweats returned, attended with a faintneſs that threatend his ſpeedy diſſolution. Providence, however, ſtill lengthened out the feeble thread of life. When the ſhip came to the deſired haven, and was waiting for the uſual ceremonies of entrance, the fineneſs of the day, the ſoftneſs of the air, and the delightful proſpects by which he was ſurrounded, gave him a freſh flow of ſtrength and ſpirits. He ſtayed upon deck about two hours, and derived from it ſuch a ſenſible degree of refreſhment, as to raiſe even a flattering hope of his recovery. On Sunday the thirteenth of October he landed at Liſbon. The next day he wrote to his aſſiſtant at Northampton, giving him a ſhort account of his voyage, of the magnificent appearance which the city made from the ſea, and of what he obſerved in paſſing through the ſtreets. After mentioning his great weakneſs and danger, he added, "Nevertheleſs, "I bleſs God, the moſt undiſturbed ſerenity continues in my mind, and my ſtrength "holds proportion to my day. I ſtill hope and truſt in God, and joyfully acquieſce "in all he may do with me. When you ſee my dear friends of the congregation, "inform them of my circumſtances, and aſſure them, that I chearfully ſubmit myſelf "to God. If I deſire life may be reſtored, it is chiefly that it may be employed in "ſerving Chriſt among them, and that I am enabled by faith to look upon death as "an enemy that ſhall be deſtroyed, and can chearfully leave my dear Mrs. Doddridge "a widow in a ſtrange land, if ſuch be the appointment of our heavenly Father. I "hope I have done my duty, and the Lord do as ſeemeth good in his ſight (*t*)."

(*t*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 290—293.

At Liſbon, Dr. Doddridge was kindly received and entertained at the houſe of Mr. David King, an Engliſh merchant, whoſe mother was one of the Doctor's congregation, and who had now an opportunity he could never have expected, but which he gladly embraced, of repaying the many ſervices that had been done for his relations at Northampton. In this worthy family our author found the moſt cordial friendſhip, and every accommodation that could tend to alleviate his diſorder. Here he happened to meet with Dr. Watts's Treatiſe on the Happineſs of ſeparate Spirits. which, being a work entirely coincident with his own ſentiments, delighted him in a peculiar manner. In reading this book, Dr. Watts's Hymns, and eſpecially the Scriptures, he employed as much time as his ſtrenglh would admit. At Liſbon he found a family related to Mrs. Doddridge, as well as other kind friends, who, either from a knowledge of his character, or from having received voluntary letters of recommendation, ſhewed him all the civility in their power, and indeed ſeemed to ſtrive who ſhould moſt excel in diſplaying for him an aſſiduous and tender regard. From their company he derived pleaſure, though it was attended with the painful circumſtance of his not being able to converſe with them as freely as he could have wiſhed to have done. The Rev. Mr. Williamſon in particular, then Chaplain to the Britiſh factory, frequently viſited him, with the temper and behaviour of the Gentleman, the Chriſtian, and the Divine.

About a week after Dr. Doddridge's arrival, by the advice of his phyſician, Dr. Cantley, who attended him without receiving the uſual fees, he was removed into the country, a few miles from Liſbon. This, however, was productive of no advantage; for the rainy ſeaſon, which in that climate uſually ſets-in about the latter end of October, came on with ſuch uncommon violence, as not only to preclude any aſſiſtance from air and exerciſe, but to add greatly to his complaints. On the twenty-fourth of October he was ſeized with a colliquative diarrhœa, which ſoon exhauſted his little ſtrength. Nevertheleſs, during the ſucceeding night, which ſeemed the laſt of rational life, he preſerved the ſame calmneſs, vigour, and joy of mind, which he had felt and expreſſed through the whole of his illneſs. The only pain he had in the thought of dying, was the fear of that grief and diſtreſs which Mrs. Doddridge would ſuffer from his removal. To his children, his congregation, and his friends in general, he deſired to be remembered in the moſt affectionate manner; nor did he forget the family where he lodged, or his own ſervant, in the effuſions of his pious benevolence. Many devout ſentiments and aſpirations were uttered by him; but Mrs. Doddridge's heart was too much affected with his approaching change, to be able to recollect them diſtinctly. On the following day he lay in a gentle doſe, in which he continued till an hour before his death. At the laſt ſtruggle he appeared reſtleſs, and fetched ſeveral deep ſighs, ſoon after which he obtained his releaſe. This event took place on Saturday the twenty-ſixth of October, old ſtyle, about three o'clock in the morning;

morning: and though he died in a foreign land, and in a certain ſenſe among ſtrangers, his deceaſe was embalmed with many tears. Not only the principal gentlemen of the factory, but even their ſervants, manifeſted a high ſenſe of Dr. Doddridge's worth, and of the greatneſs of the public loſs. A circumſtance which afforded much ſatisfaction to Mrs. Doddridge, and her Liſbon friends, was, that the Doctor, in his laſt ſcenes, was not moleſted by the officious zeal of any of the prieſts of the Church of Rome. Agreeably to the deſire which he had expreſſed before his death, his body was opened, when his lungs were found in ſo ulcerated a ſtate, that it appeared ſurpriſing to the phyſician that his ſpeaking and breathing had not been far more difficult and painful to him than in fact they were, even to the laſt.

Dr. Doddridge had frequently expreſſed a wiſh of being buried at his meeting-place at Northampton, where his children and ſo many of his congregation and friends were depoſited. However, during his illneſs, he ſpoke of this as a matter quite indifferent to him; and, to avoid increaſing the diſtreſs of his afflicted conſort, was deſirous of being interred wherever he ſhould die. It was found, upon enquiry, that the removal of the body to England would occaſion a very large expence, and therefore it was judged moſt prudent to decline it. Accordingly, his remains were conveyed to the burying ground belonging to the Britiſh factory at Liſbon, with as much decency and reſpect as circumſtances and the place would admit. The greater part of the gentlemen of the factory attended his funeral; and Mr. Williamſon, on the following Sunday, preached a ſermon, in which he gave him a high and honourable character, founded on what he had heard from many, of his worth, and on what he had himſelf ſeen, during the opportunities he had had of converſing with him (*v*).

(*v*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 293—297.

Though Dr. Doddridge's congregation had not the melancholy ſatisfaction of having him interred at his own meeting-houſe, they erected in it a handſome monument to his memory, and made a generous preſent to his widow after her return. The inſcription, which was drawn up by the Doctor's much eſteemed and ingenious friend, Gilbert Weſt, Eſq. was as follows:

To the memory of
PHILIP DODDRIDGE, D. D.
Twenty-one years Paſtor of this church,
Director of a flouriſhing Academy
And Author of many excellent Writings;
By which
His pious, benevolent, and indefatigable zeal
To make men wiſe, good, and happy,
Will far better be made known,
And perpetuated much longer,
Than by this obſcure and periſhable marble;
The humble monument, not of his praiſe,
But of their eſteem, affection, and regret,
Who knew him, loved him, and lament him;
And who are deſirous of recording,
In this inſcription,
Their friendly but faithful teſtimony
To the many amiable and Chriſtian virtues
That adorned his more private character;
By which, though dead, he yet ſpeaketh,
And, ſtill preſent in remembrance,
Forcibly, though ſilently, admoniſheth
His once-beloved and ever grateful flock.
He was born June 26, 1702,
And died Oct. 26, 1751.
Aged 50 (*u*).

(*u*) Ibid. p. 298.

The ſituation of Mrs. Doddridge, during the ſad ſcene through which ſhe paſſed, will juſtly be conſidered as peculiarly melancholy and affecting. She had accompanied her huſband to a foreign land, and had been witneſs to the painful event of his death. Through the goodneſs of God ſhe was enabled to preſerve fortitude and ſerenity in the midſt of her deep affliction. What the ſtate of her mind was, is finely repreſented in a letter which ſhe wrote to her children from Liſbon, a few days after the Doctor's deceaſe, and which has lately been printed, for the firſt time, in the Gentleman's Magazine. It will be found below [*E*]. In her voyage homeward, and upon her return

[*E*] *It will be found below.*

"*Liſbon, Nov.* 11, *N. S.* 1751.

"My dear children,

"How ſhall I addreſs you under this awful and melancholy Providence! I would fain ſay ſomething to comfort you. And I hope God will enable me to ſay ſomething that may alleviate your deep diſtreſs. I went out in a firm dependence that, if Infinite Wiſdom was pleaſed to call me out to duties and trials as yet unknown, he would

return to her family, she was strengthened and supported beyond what could have been expected. By the circumstance of Dr. Doddridge's dying abroad she lost a considerable annuity, which he had provided for her in case of widowhood, and to which she would otherwise have been entitled. To this consequence of his voyage, should he die abroad, the Doctor was totally a stranger; and it was happy for him that he was never acquainted with it, since it must have lien with weight upon his spirits. The generosity of his friends was active to compensate for the loss which Mrs. Doddridge had sustained. A subscription was opened for her, chiefly in London, and, in a great measure, under the direction of Mr. Neal, whose kind offices to Dr. Doddridge's family were eminent and invariable. In a short time a sum was raised, which was more than equal to the forfeiture of the annuity. Besides this, Mrs. Doddridge received several other handsome presents, which were sent her as subscriptions to the Family Expositor, from persons of rank, both among the clergy and laity of the Established Church. The manner in which these benefactions were communicated heightened their value. They were bestowed with so much delicacy, and reflected such high honour on Dr. Doddridge's memory, that she retained a deep impression of them to the latest hour of her life. Another instance of regard that was paid her, was, that the dissenting ministers in the neighbourhood of Northampton, and the pupils who had begun to preach, supplied the doctor's congregation, during his absence, and for half a year after his decease, that the salary might be continued to his family for that time (*w*).

(*w*) Orton, ubi supra, p. 299, 300.

" would grant me those superior aids of strength " that would support and keep me from fainting " under them; persuaded that there was no distress " or sorrow, into which he could lead me, under " which his gracious and all-sufficient arm could not " support me. He has not disappointed me, nor " suffered the heart and eyes directed to him to fail. " God all-sufficient, and my only hope," is my " motto: let it be yours. Such, indeed, have I " found him; and such, I verily believe, you will " find him too in this time of deep distress.

" Oh! my dear children, help me to praise him! " Such supports, such consolations, such comforts " has he granted to the meanest of his creatures " that my mind, at times, is held in perfect astonish- " ment, and is ready to burst into songs of praise " under its most exquisite distress.

" As to outward comforts, God has withheld no " good thing from me, but has given me all the " assistance, and all the supports, that the tendercst " friendship was capable of affording me, and which " I think my dear Northampton friends could not " have exceeded. Their prayers are not lost. I doubt " not but I am reaping the benefit of them, and hope " that you will do the same.

" I am returned to good Mr. King's. Be good to " poor Mrs. King. It is a debt of gratitude I owe " for the great obligations I am under to that worthy " family here. Such a solicitude of friendship was " surely hardly ever known as I meet with here. " I have the offers of friendship more than I can " employ; and it gives a real concern to many here " that they cannot find out a way to serve me. These " are great honours conferred on the dear deceased, " and great comforts to me. It is impossible to say " how much these mercies are endeared to me, as " coming in such an immediate manner from the " Divine Hand. To his name be the praise and " glory of all!

" And now, my dear children, what shall I say to " you? Ours is no common loss. I mourn the best " of husbands and of friends, removed from this " world of sin and sorrow to the regions of immortal " bliss and light. What a glory! What a mercy " is it that I am enabled with my thoughts to pursue " him there! You have lost the dearest and best of " parents, the guide of your youth! and whose " pleasure it would have been to have introduced you " into life with great advantages.

" Our loss is great indeed! But I really think " the loss the public has sustained is still greater. " But God can never want instruments to carry on " his work. Yet, let us be thankful that God ever " gave us such a friend; that he has continued him " so long with us. Perhaps, if we had been to have " judged, we should have thought that we nor the " world could never less have spared him than at " the present time. But I see the hand of Heaven, " the appointment of his wise Providence, in every " step of this awful dispensation. It is his hand " that has put the bitter cup into ours. And what " does he now expect from us but a meek, humble, " entire submission to his will! We know this is " our duty. Let us pray for those aids of his Spirit, " which can only enable us to attain it. A father " of the fatherless is God in his holy habitation. " As such may your eyes be directed to him! He " will support you. He will comfort you. And " that he may, is not only my daily, but hourly " prayer.

" We have never deserved so great a good as " that we have lost. And let us remember, that " the best respect we can pay to his memory is to " endeavour, as far as we can, to follow his example, " to cultivate those amiable qualities that rendered " him so justly dear to us, and so greatly esteemed " by the world. Particularly I would recommend " this to my dear P. May I have the joy to see " him acting the part worthy the relation to so " amiable and excellent a parent, whose memory, I " hope, will ever be valuable and sacred to him and " to us all! Under God, may he be a comfort to " me, and a support to the family! Much depends " on him. His loss I think peculiarly great. But " I know an all-sufficient God can over-rule it as " the means of the greatest good to him.

" It is impossible for me to tell you how ten- " derly my heart feels for you all! how much I " long to be with you to comfort and assist you. " Indeed, you are the only inducements I now have " left to wish for life, that I may do what little is " in my power to form and guide your tender years. " For this purpose I take all possible care of my " health. I eat, sleep, and converse at times with " a tolerable degree of chearfulness. You, my dears, " as the best return you can make me, will do the " same, that I may not have sorrow upon sorrow. " The many kind friends you have around you, I " am sure, will not be wanting in giving you all the " assistance and comfort that is in their power. My " kindest salutations attend them all.

" I hope to leave this place in about fourteen or " twenty days. But the soonest I can reach North- " ampton will not be in less than six weeks or two " months time. May God be with you, and give " us, though a mournful, yet a comfortable meeting! " For your sakes I trust my life will be spared. And, " I bless God, my mind is under no painful anxiety " as to the difficulties and dangers of the voyage.

" The winds and the waves are in his hands, to " whom I resign myself, and all that is dearest to me. " I know I shall have your prayers, and those of " my dearest friends with you.

" Farewell, my dearest children! I am your " afflicted, but most sincere friend, and ever affec- " tionate mother,

" M. DODDRIDGE (5)."

(5) Gent. Mag. Vol. LXI. p. 884, 885.

Dr.

Dr. Doddridge's funeral ſermon was preached by Mr. Orton, who was in every view the propereſt perſon for that ſervice. On what day it was delivered does not appear from the copy now lying before me. The text was, 1 Cor. xv. 54, and the words, "Death is ſwallowed up in victory." In a ſhort time the diſcourſe was publiſhed, and had an extenſive circulation, under the title of "The Chriſtian's Triumph over "Death." It has ſince been annexed to the three volumes of the Doctor's Sermons and religious Tracts. Mr. Orton did not enter largely into the character of his revered and beloved friend, having probably then formed the deſign of writing his life.

The Muſes were not ſilent on Dr. Doddridge's deceaſe. A poem to his memory was publiſhed by a young gentleman, who, at the time of compoſing it, was a pupil at his academy. The author was Mr. Henry More, who afterwards ſettled in Devonſhire, of which county he is a native, and who is now a diſſenting miniſter at Leſkard in Cornwall. By his friends he is known, not only to be an ingenious poet, but a ſound ſcholar, eſpecially in Biblical criticiſm. The following lines will afford an agreeable ſpecimen of the merit of the poem.

Her bays each Science ſcatters on thy bier;
Each ſocial Virtue drops the friendly tear.
Beneath a mould'ring temple's awful ſhade,
Among the ſolemn nodding ruins laid,
Religion weeps; her boſom ſwelled with care
Heaves the ſad ſigh, half yielding to deſpair;
But chearful Faith ſuſtains her drooping head,
And whiſpers comfort to the fainting maid.
But ah! what power of language can expreſs
The widow'd conſort's woe? What keen diſtreſs
Tore all her heart-ſtrings, when thy trembling ſight
Snatch'd a fond farewell glance, and clos'd in night?
When the felt pulſe, that at her touch before
Beat with a fuller tide, now throbbed no more?
In foreign lands, abandon'd, and alone,
She heard a darling huſband's parting groan:
No children there receiv'd his laſt command,
Wept round the couch and kiſs'd his dying hand:
No ſad domeſtic bore the ſable bier;
No mournful pupil pour'd the tender tear:
No ſoothing friend to miniſter relief,
And, by dividing, mitigate her grief:
She ſolitary brooded o'er her care,
Her only refuge placed in Heav'n and prayer.
And when, her native country to regain,
She meaſured back the wide-extended main,
As the fleet veſſel flew before the wind,
How many a melting look ſhe turn'd behind!
How, till in undiſtinguiſh'd vapour loſt,
Caught each faint glance of the receding coaſt,
Where now, for ever from her eyes remov'd,
Lie the bleſt relics of the man ſhe lov'd!
That dear ſad ſight ſhe never more muſt view,
Her longing eyes have look'd their laſt adieu:
That dear ſad ſight ſhe wiſhes now in vain,
While ocean rolls unnumber'd waves between.

Dr. Doddridge was not handſome in his perſon. In ſtature he was ſomewhat above the middle ſize, with a ſtoop in his ſhoulders, and he was very thin and ſlender. But when he was engaged in converſation, or employed in the pulpit, there was a remarkable ſprightlineſs and vivacity in his countenance and manner, which commanded a general attention (*x*). Mrs. Doddridge ſurvived her huſband nearly forty years; all which time ſhe exhibited an eminent pattern of the Chriſtian virtues. She departed this life at Tewkeſbury, in Glouceſterſhire, where ſhe had long reſided. The Doctor left four children; one ſon, and three daughters. Philip, the ſon, was brought up to the law, and ſettled as an attorney at Tewkesbury, where he died ſeveral years ago. The eldeſt daughter married Mr. Humphreys, an attorney of the ſame place. She and her two ſiſters, who are ſingle, are ſtill living.

(*x*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 301.

It was a happy circumſtance, that, at the time of Dr. Doddridge's illneſs and deceaſe, he had for his aſſiſtant in the Academy Mr. Samuel Clark, the ſon of his friend Dr. Clark. In this gentleman were united wiſdom, knowledge, and an uncommon equanimity and ſteadineſs of temper. Indeed, though very young, he was well qualified to

have been chosen to succeed Dr. Doddridge in the office of principal tutor; but this his modesty would not have permitted; and, upon the whole, it was undoubtedly proper that a man of more advanced life should be appointed. The person elected by Mr. Coward's trustees, and who had been recommended by Dr. Doddridge in his will, was the Rev. Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Caleb Ashworth, of Daventry, to which place the academy was removed in the Autumn of 1752. Dr. Ashworth discharged the duties of the trust with great fidelity and diligence, and with an ability that increased as he proceeded in his employment. Mr. Clark continued as his assistant for several years; and, in so doing, contributed, in no small degree, to the usefulness and success of the institution. Whilst he was at Daventry he preached and published a sermon on occasion of the earthquake at Lisbon. He afterwards settled at the Old Meeting at Birmingham, where he was highly and justly respected and esteemed, not only by his own congregation, but by all who knew him. On Sunday the third of December, 1769, he was unhappily killed, in the prime of his days, by a fall from his horse, as he was setting out to preach in the neighbourhood. The funeral discourse for him was delivered and printed by his friend Dr. Ashworth, under the title of "The Regards a Christian "Congregation owe to their deceased Ministers, represented and urged."

Of the writings of Dr. Doddridge, which were published in his life-time, we have already taken notice. With regard to his grand work, the Family Expositor, three volumes were still to make their appearance. Happily he had finished the whole of the copy, in short hand, a few slight notes towards the conclusion excepted; and the larger part had been transcribed for the press. This was the case with all the fourth volume, the preface to which had been written by our author. In 1754 that volume was published, containing St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and his first and second Epistles to the Corinthians. "As far as I know myself," says the Doctor, "I have no "favourite hypothesis to serve, nor a fondness for any unscriptural phrases; in which "so many have, on one side, and on the other, made the very being of orthodoxy to "consist. I have been disposed to let Scripture carry me along with it, wherever it "naturally leads, rather than resolve it should follow me. Instead of labouring to "establish any human system, which has always, I fear, a leaven of imperfection at-"tending it, I have endeavoured to keep controversy as much out of sight as possible, "and to represent what I verily believe to be the Scripture doctrine, in as simple a "manner as I could, and divested of those particular expressions, which some, who "perhaps are not averse to the main doctrine itself, are ready to rise up against." One rule of interpretation laid down by Dr. Doddridge was, when the text and context will bear two meanings, to prefer that which gives the noblest and most extensive sense, and might make the passage in question most universally useful. Plausible, however, as this rule may appear, there is danger, unless it be exercised with peculiar judgment, of its being occasionally productive of error. In fact, the business of a commentator on Scripture is to find out the single original signification of the language used by the sacred writers, and not to indulge his imagination in giving a scope to words beyond what was at first specifically intended.

In the beginning of the year 1755, Mr. Orton published a Collection of Dr. Doddridge's Hymns. Few of the Doctor's works have been more generally acceptable, the sixth edition of them having appeared in 1788. Indeed, they are, upon the whole well calculated to answer the purposes of Christian devotion; and, being all of them founded upon particular texts of Scripture, cannot fail of being useful to ministers who preach on the same texts. With respect to poetical merit, if they cannot be placed in a high rank, they have enough of it for the immediate view which they were intended to answer. As the author had not so good an ear as Dr. Watts, his numbers are not equally flowing and harmonious. It may be mentioned to his praise, that he has not indulged to the extravagancies which Dr. Watts has fallen into, especially in the first book of his hymns. I observe with pleasure, that Dr. Doddridge has not taken a single subject from the Canticles.

The two remaining volumes of the Family Expositor, being the fifth and sixth, were published by Mr. Orton in 1756. From the editor's advertisement it appears, that Dr. Doddridge had himself transcribed for the press the paraphrase, improvements, and notes, of the fourth and fifth volumes, and the paraphrase and improvements of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the two first Epistles of St. John. The notes on these three Epistles, together with the paraphrase, improvements, and notes, on the remaining Epistles and the "Revelation," were carefully transcribed either by Mr. Orton himself, or by some of the Doctor's pupils, and the transcript was compared several times with the short-hand copy. An accident which, during the author's life, happened to part of the original manuscript, deserves to be recorded. In June 1750, a fire broke out in his study, occasioned by a wax candle's being left on his writing-desk, and consumed many of his papers, and, in particular, part of one volume of the short-hand copy of the Family Expositor. The light of the fire being, however, providentially discovered by an opposite neighbour, who gave an immediate alarm, it was

ſpeedily extinguiſhed. When the Doctor was informed of the accident, he ſeemed moſt anxious about the preſervation of this manuſcript; and, when the flames were quenched, it appeared, to his great joy and ſurpriſe, that only that part of the volume which had been tranſcribed was deſtroyed; that the tranſcript lay in another place out of danger; and that all the untranſcribed pages were perfectly legible, the edges of them only being ſinged. "Being an eye-witneſs," ſays Mr. Orton, "of the danger and deliver-"ance, I record this account of it,—chiefly as it ſeems to denote a particular care of "Providence in preſerving this work, and a favourable omen, that God intends it for "extenſive and laſting uſefulneſs." Thoſe who may not carry their reflections ſo far as Mr. Orton has done, will ſympathize with Dr. Doddridge in the pleaſure which he received in having his manuſcript preſerved.

Of all our author's writings, the Family Expoſitor is the moſt important and valuable. It is the work in which he took the greateſt pains, and on which his literary reputation principally depends. Many of his notes diſplay a ſagacious and judicious ſpirit of criticiſm; and the practical reflections are of general utility. How well the work has been received by the learned and pious world, is apparent from the continued demand for it down to the preſent time; nor is its popularity likely to decreaſe. It is the ſeventh edition which is now called for by the public; not to mention the ſeparate impreſſions of it that have appeared in Scotland and Ireland. In paſſing a juſt encomium on the Family Expoſitor, it will not be underſtood that there is any deſign of aſſerting that it is a performance which is totally exempt from imperfections and errors. Such is not the character of the beſt human productions. Diverſities of ſentiment will occur with regard to Dr. Doddridge's interpretations of particular paſſages, and his criticiſms upon them. Perhaps likewiſe, in ſome inſtances, his paraphraſes may be deemed rather too redundant. But no obſervations of this kind are inconſiſtent with allowing to the work the praiſe of its contributing, in a high degree, to Chriſtian inſtruction and improvement. The proper inference to be drawn from any miſtakes into which the moſt ſucceſsful elucidations of the Scriptures have fallen, is, not to depreciate their general merit, but to avoid placing an undue confidence on their authority. While we thankfully derive from them the aſſiſtance they are capable of affording us in our enquiries into the meaning of the ſacred oracles, we ſhould freely examine, and impartially judge for ourſelves.

Dr. Doddridge thought it would contribute to the uſefulneſs of his expoſition, to digeſt the hiſtory of the four Evangeliſts into one continued ſeries, or, in other words, to throw it into the order of an harmony. If ſuch an harmony could be effectually and deciſively aſcertained, each ſtory and diſcourſe would be exhibited with all its concurrent circumſtances, as recorded by the ſacred penmen; frequent repetitions would be prevented; and a multitude of ſeeming oppoſitions be ſo evidently reconciled as to ſuperſede many objections. Theſe undoubtedly are deſirable objects, and the attainment of them is worthy of being ſought for. We are indebted to the exertions of thoſe gentlemen who have laboured in this field of theological literature. Where they have not ſufficiently ſucceeded in the main point, they have, by their reſearches, been enabled to throw a new and beautiful light on many paſſages of the evangelical hiſtorians. That there is no ſmall difficulty in the general ſubject, is manifeſt from the various ſyſtems that have been formed upon it by the ableſt ſcholars, and the moſt judicious critics.

One part of Dr. Doddridge's Family Expoſitor, which muſt have coſt him uncommon pains, was his having every where interwoven the text with the paraphraſe, and carefully diſtinguiſhed the former from the latter by the italic character. By this method it is impoſſible to read the paraphraſe without the text; and every one may immediately ſee, not only the particular clauſe to which any explication anſwers, but alſo what are the words of the original, and what merely the ſenſe of the commentator. Nor was our author content with barely inſerting the old tranſlation, but gave an entire new verſion of the whole Teſtament, the merit and uſefulneſs of which will in many reſpects be acknowledged. This tranſlation was extracted from the paraphraſe, and publiſhed in 1765, in two volumes, 12mo, with ſome alterations and improvements by the editor, together with an introduction, and a number of very ſhort notes.

The laſt work of Dr. Doddridge which was given to the public, was his "Courſe of "Lectures on the principal Subjects of Pneumatology, Ethics, and Divinity; with "References to the moſt conſiderable Authors on each Subject." Of the nature and value of theſe Lectures, which appeared in 1763, in one volume, quarto, I have already ſpoken. As another edition may probably ſoon be demanded, it may not be amiſs to ſuggeſt, that it would be extremely uſeful to enlarge the liſt of references, by introducing the names and productions of thoſe writers who have treated upon the ſeveral matters in queſtion ſince the Doctor's deceaſe. To a perſon converſant in the hiſtory of controverſies this would be no very difficult taſk; and it might, in particular, eaſily be executed by any gentleman who, as a tutor, has made uſe of the Lectures as a text-book, and who conſequently has been in the habit of referring to ſucceeding authors.

If Providence had continued Dr. Doddridge's life, he would undoubtedly have endeavoured to extend his usefulness by many other publications. He intended to print a sermon to children, and some sacramental meditations. A considerable progress had been made by him in a "Dissertation on the Jewish Proselytes," the design of which was to defend that opinion concerning them which he mentions in some of his notes upon the Acts of the Apostles. Another work, which he had nearly completed, and in which he displayed his critical knowledge of the Hebrew language, was a new Translation of the minor Prophets. Neither the Dissertation on the Jewish Proselytes, nor the Translation of the minor Prophets, were thought to be left in a sufficient state of perfection to be given to the world (*y*). The loss with regard to the last of these objects is the less to be regretted, as the business hath since been executed with so much judgment and learning by the excellent Bishop Newcome.

(*y*) Orton, ubi supra, p. 107. 124.

Upon Dr. Doddridge's works in general it would be easy to produce a variety of encomiums. The applauses he received were numerous; and what added to their value was, that they came from men by whom it was an honour to be applauded. Nor was it by the learned among the Dissenters only that his abilities and writings were held in high estimation, but by many illustrious ornaments of the Church of England. This is abundantly apparent from the collection of letters lately published. There will be found, together with the praises of a Barker, a Miles, a Neal, a Leland, and a Lardner, those of a Costard, a Warburton, an Oliver, a Newton, a Secker, an Ayscough, a Grey, a Hunt, a Gilbert West, a Maddox, a Sherlock, a Hildesley, a Duchess of Somerset, and a Lord Lyttelton. "I have read," says Bishop Secker, "your works with great satisfaction, and, "I hope, some benefit; and both rejoice and wonder that, in the midst of your other "occupations, you continue able, as I pray God you long may, to oblige your fellow Chris- "tians so often and so highly from the press. Indeed it must and ought to be owned in "general, that the Dissenters have done excellently of late years in the service of Chris- "tianity; and I hope our common welfare will make us chiefly attentive to our common "interest, and unite us in a closer alliance." By the way, the Bishop, in the same letter, has gently and properly rebuked Dr. Doddridge for the extravagantly complimental strain of his epistles. "I return you many thanks for your favourable opinion "both of my sermon and its author, though expressed in a manner which you would "have forborn, if you had known me better. Plain men should be treated in a plain "way: and nobody should have things said to him which he doth not deserve; and "ought not to hear if he did. Let us all endeavour to do what good we can; and "give those who seem to endeavour it faithfully, the comfort of knowing we think they "do; but never tempt one another to forget we are unprofitable servants (*z*)."

(*z*) Letters, ubi supra, p. 278.

The reception which Dr. Doddridge's writings met with abroad deserves to be specifically noticed. It appears that the most considerable of them have been translated into foreign languages. His Sermons on Regeneration, Salvation by Grace, on the Power and Grace of Christ, and his Letter on Family Prayer, have been published in the Dutch tongue. The Memoirs of Colonel Gardiner have appeared in the Dutch, French, and German languages; and the Rise and Progress of Religion in the same languages, to which may be added the Danish. It is observable, that the translation of the last work into French was undertaken by the particular encouragement of the late Prince and Princess of Orange, and a number of the gentry in Holland. A Protestant Prince of the Empire promised to recommend it to those about him; and it was subscribed for by many persons of quality and rich citizens in Germany and Switzerland. Some learned men undertook to translate the former volumes of the Family Expositor into German; but the publication of it was opposed by several of the Lutheran clergy, from an apprehension that Dr. Doddridge's interpretation of particular passages, and his reflections upon them, might not agree with their established principles, or form of Church government. To remove their terrors, the persons concerned in the translation first published the Sermons on Regeneration in that language; the candour and moderation of which had such an effect in quieting the opposition that the other work was completed (*a*)."

(*a*) Orton, ubi supra, p. 123, 124.

Such was the estimation in which Dr. Doddridge's writings have been held, and continue to be held, both at home and abroad. It does not, however, hence follow, that his most sincere admirers will think themselves obliged to concur with him in every sentiment and every expression. Many judicious persons have wished that his devotional treatises had been more accommodated to universal use, by a less Calvinistical turn of opinion and language. "I reckon it one unhappiness," says Mr. Jones of Welwyn, "of this excellent man (my much respected friend) that, having early imbibed the no- "tions of some particular systems, he could not dislodge them out of his mind in his "age of riper judgment. This hath been observed by others." Mr. Jones adds, that the Doctor's parts were uncommon, his learning great, his moderation equally so, and his life and conduct truly Christian (*b*). Upon the whole, whatever diversity of judgment may be formed on different points, the grand end which Dr. Doddridge had in view,

(*b*) Gent. Mag. Vol. LIII. p. 103.

view, and the generally ufeful tendency of his works, cannot be denied. In every thing which he wrote, his aim was to promote the great purpoſes of practical religion.

The narrative which has now been given of Dr. Doddridge's life, has diſplayed the principal circumſtances that illuſtrate his temper and conduct. Neverthelefs, I cannot diſmiſs the ſubject without entering into a general view of his character. This I am induced to do, partly as it will afford me an opportunity of mentioning ſome things not hitherto noticed, and partly becauſe I have the felicity, in the preſent caſe, of writing from an intimate perſonal knowledge; which is a ſatisfaction that has not frequently occurred in the numerous lives I have had occaſion to lay before the public. The view which I ſhall take of our author will be of his intellectual, and of his religious and moral qualities.

I do not know that genius can be aſcribed to Dr. Doddridge, taking that word in its higheſt ſignification, as employing either a great inventive faculty in ſcience, or that boldneſs of imagination which is productive of original imagery and combinations. In a lower and more popular ſenſe of the term, he might be ſaid to have been a man of genius; for he had a quick conception and a lively fancy. He had a comprehenſion of mind that enabled him to proceed with celerity and vigour in the acquiſition of knowledge; and that activity of his mental frame, which put it into his power to learn much in a little time, was happily accompanied with an invincible reſolution and perſeverance in the proſecution of his ſtudies. In conſequence of his uncommon application, he might even with moderate abilities have laid up a large ſtock of various learning; and therefore it is not ſurpriſing that this ſhould be the caſe with him, when it is conſidered that he was endued with a quickneſs of apprehenſion, and a remarkable ſtrength of memory. So extenſive was his acquaintance with books, that there were few on the general ſubjects of literature which he had not peruſed with attention; and he could retain and eaſily recollect what in them was moſt worthy to be remembered. Of ancient knowledge he had a conſiderable ſtore. With regard to the learned languages, if he could not be called a profound linguiſt, he was ſufficiently verſed in them to read the moſt valuable pieces of antiquity with taſte and pleaſure. This is apparent from his paraphraſe and notes on the New Teſtament, in which he has frequently illuſtrated the force and beauty of the originals with great judgment, and in the true ſpirit of criticiſm (*c*).

Dr. Doddridge was well acquainted with the Greek philoſophers and orators, among the laſt of whom he was particularly devoted to Demoſthenes. To the poets of Greece he was far from being a ſtranger; but he was not, I think, deeply converſant with its tragedians. I remember, while I reſided with him, his having read Pindar with much admiration. With the Latin claſſics he was largely acquainted. As became a divine and a theological tutor, he diligently ſtudied the ancient fathers, eſpecially of the three firſt centuries. He paid particular regard to the apologiſts for Chriſtianity, and was a great maſter of Origen and Euſebius. Beyond the fourth century his knowledge of this ſpecies of literature did not, I believe, widely extend, though it did not wholly ſtop there. With eccleſiaſtical hiſtory he had a large acquaintance, and civil hiſtory engaged no ſmall degree of his attention. To this he applied not only to enrich his memory with facts, but to make ſuch reflections upon them, as tended either to promote his inſight into human nature, to exemplify the interpoſitions of Providence, or to explain and illuſtrate the Sacred Writings.

Though Dr. Doddridge's diſpoſition rather led him to cultivate the more polite than the abſtruſer parts of ſcience, he was far from being a ſtranger to mathematical and philoſophical ſtudies. The ſyſtem of Algebra which he read to his pupils was of his own compoſition. But the favourite object of his application, and that in which his principal excellency lay, was divinity, taking that word in its largeſt ſenſe. Whatever could tend to ſtrengthen the proofs of natural or revealed religion, to aſſiſt our conceptions of the divine nature, or enable us more perfectly to underſtand the doctrines and diſcoveries of Scripture, he thought deſerving of the moſt attentive regard. To the evidences of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian revelation he had paid uncommon attention, and how complete a maſter he was of the ſubject is apparent from his Lectures. Perhaps there were few men who had more carefully ſtudied the different ſyſtems of theology, or who could point out their ſeveral defects with greater accuracy and judgment. While he was not one of thoſe who affect to treat with contempt the labours of the wiſe and the learned who have gone before them, but was always ready to receive whatever light they could afford him, neverthelefs, without a ſlaviſh regard to human ſchemes, he took the ſacred oracles for his guide, and always referred to them for the proofs of the doctrinal ſentiments which he maintained. Upon the whole, I entirely agree with Mr. Orton, that, though others might exceed him in their acquaintance with antiquity, or their ſkill in the languages, he was ſurpaſſed by few in the extent of his learning, and in the variety of uſeful and important knowledge of which he was poſſeſſed (*d*).

(*c*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 105—107.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 107—110.

With

With theſe ſtores of information, it was a great advantage to Dr. Doddridge that he had an uncommon facility of ſpeaking and of writing. He uſed to deſcant, in his Lectures, on the ſubjects treated of with ſurpriſing perſpicuity and freedom; and the ſame perſpicuity and freedom attended him when he took the pen in hand. This was owing to the orderly diſpoſition in which things lay in his mind. As his own ideas on the points he had ſtudied were clear and diſtinct, ſo his method of arranging his thoughts was uncommonly juſt and natural. There are, perhaps, few diſcourſes in our language which excel thoſe which were uſually delivered by our author, either in the accuracy of the diviſions, or the adaptation of the ſentiments to the ſubject diſcuſſed. According to the faſhion that now prevails, he may poſſibly be thought to have ſometimes laid down and recapitulated his ſcheme in too formal a manner. But, if he rather exceeded in this reſpect, his error had the advantage of aſſiſting the memory, and contributing to the inſtruction of his hearers and readers.

Though Dr. Doddridge's invincible perſeverance in ſtudy has already been mentioned, I am deſirous of enlarging a little farther upon it. Literary diligence is a matter which I have always earneſtly wiſhed to preſs on every young man of liberal education with whom I have had acquaintance. When accompanied with original genius, it is the parent of all that is great and valuable in ſcience; and where there is not much of original genius, provided there be a tolerable capacity, it is endued with the power of producing valuable attainments, and of rendering eminent ſervices to the learned world. Of this diligence Dr. Doddridge was a ſtriking example. The ſmalleſt portions of time were precious to him; and he was eager to ſeize every moment, even while he was waiting for dinner, company, or his pupils aſſembling together, that he might make ſome advance in any work in which he was engaged. So ſolicitous was he for continual improvement, that one of his ſtudents generally read to him when he was ſhaving and dreſſing. This was a benefit to the pupils, as he took occaſion to inſtruct them, by remarking on their manner of reading, and pointing out the excellencies and defects, either in ſentiment or language, of the book before them. When he was upon a journey, or on occaſional viſits to his friends, where he ſpent the night, he took his papers with him, and employed at leaſt part of the morning in carrying on ſome one or other of his important deſigns. From the time that he began to write his Family Expoſitor, ſomething was done every day in it towards preparing it for the preſs. To all this it may be added, that his employments as an author and a tutor never obſtructed his moſt abundant labours as a miniſter and a paſtor.

But what places Dr. Doddridge's diligence in a ſtill more conſpicuous point of view, is the extent of his correſpondence. This alone would have been almoſt ſufficient to have employed the whole time of an ordinary perſon. Beſides his correſpondence with the parents and guardians of his pupils, he had a number of letters to write, in anſwer to queſtions of moment which were propoſed to him by his brethren, and eſpecially by thoſe who had ſtudied under him. Theſe laſt naturally applied to him for advice and direction, under the various difficulties which occurred to them in their reſpective ſituations. Many were the congregations that had recourſe to him for miniſters, or upon other accounts. His judgment, likewiſe, was frequently deſired by learned men concerning critical queſtions, or works which they were preparing for the preſs; and his own publications gave occaſion for enquiries of this nature. Several foreign gentlemen and divines, who had heard of his character, and peruſed his writings, ſought his epiſtolary acquaintance; and to correſpond with them in Latin or French, was an object that demanded particular attention. It is, indeed, ſurpriſing to find how many hundred letters were received and anſwered by him in the ſpace of a ſingle year (*e*).

(*e*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 143, 144.

A very honourable part of Dr. Doddridge's correſpondence was that which he maintained with ſome of the brighteſt ornaments, both among the clergy and laity of the Eſtabliſhed Church. This is apparent from the Collection of Letters lately publiſhed. We there ſee how much he was eſteemed, and how highly he was thought of, by the firſt religious and literary characters of the age. In the collection referred to, the letters of Warburton make a diſtinguiſhed figure, and ſhew that great man in a new and very amiable light. They diſplay not only his learning, but the piety, benevolence, and goodneſs of his mind. The ſeverity, or rather the arrogance, with which he treated his literary antagoniſts muſt undoubtedly have afforded too juſt cauſe for leaving an unfavourable impreſſion of him in the eſtimation of the world. But in private life he appears in a far more agreeable point of view. The only time I had ever the honour of being in his company, which was an hour and a half in his own ſtudy, I found him remarkably condeſcending in his manner, and admirably inſtructive and entertaining in his converſation.

Dr. Doddridge's correſpondence was, I think, in ſome inſtances carried to an extent that might have been ſpared; and it is now certain that his friend Mr. Neal was ſo far of the ſame opinion, as to give him a gentle rebuke upon the ſubject (*f*).

(*f*) Letters, ubi ſupra, p. 390, 391.

There were people, whoſe good intentions were ſuperior to their wiſdom, and who had very little valuable to communicate, that were proud of writing letters to him, and of receiving his anſwers; and ſuch was the eaſineſs of his diſpoſition, that he was more profuſe in his returns to their kind affections, than convenience or even a regard to his health would admit. Sometimes he lightened his burden, by making uſe of the pen of his pupils, to whom he dictated his letters, while he himſelf went on with his Family Expoſitor, or any other work in which he was employed. I was not unfrequently either his amanuenſis on theſe occaſions, or read to him while he anſwered his correſpondents.

I am next to take a ſurvey of Dr. Doddridge in his religious and moral character. And here the prime and leading feature of his ſoul was that of devotion. This was the pervading principle of his actions, whether private or public. What Dr. Johnſon has obſerved with regard to Dr. Watts, that as piety predominated in his mind, it was diffuſed over his works; and that whatever he took in hand was, by his inceſſant ſolicitude for ſouls, converted to theology (g), may, with equal propriety, be applied to Dr. Doddridge. The greateſt pains were taken by him to keep up an habitual ſenſe of the Supreme Being; to maintain and increaſe the ardour of religion in his heart; and to furniſh himſelf, by devout exerciſes, for the important labours of his ſtation. Nor was it to his ſecret retirements that his piety was limited: it was manifeſted in every part of the day, and appeared in his uſual intercourſe with men. In the little vacancies of time which occur to the buſieſt of mankind, he was frequently lifting up his ſoul to GOD. When he lectured on philoſophy, hiſtory, anatomy, or other ſubjects not immediately theological, he would endeavour to graft ſome religious inſtructions upon them, that he might raiſe the minds of his pupils to devotion, as well as to knowledge; and in his viſits to his people the Chriſtian friend and miniſter were united (b).

(g) Johnſon's Lives of the Poets, Vol. IV. p. 280.

(b) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 269, 263.

Dr. Doddridge entertained a high idea of the efficacy of prayer (i). It is a point upon which I would ſpeak with great humility and deference; but I cannot avoid thinking that, in this reſpect, he carried his ſentiments ſomewhat farther than reaſon and truth will warrant. Of the importance of prayer, as a natural and juſt tribute to the Deity, as an admirable method of cheriſhing the virtues of the religious life, and as connected with the divine approbation and favour, no one, I truſt, can be more truly ſenſible than myſelf. My views of the matter have lately been ſo fully diſplayed, that they cannot be liable to any miſconſtruction (k). But ſtill I am obliged to obſerve, that Dr. Doddridge did not, in my apprehenſion, ſufficiently limit his notions of the efficacy of prayer. He appeared to aſcribe to it ſuch an immediate influence upon the Supreme Mind, and to expect from it ſuch interpoſitions, as are ſcarcely conſiſtent with the regular order of Providence, and the ſtated courſe of events in the world. If, however, he erred upon this head, he has erred with many wiſe and good men who have gone before him, and by whom he has been ſucceeded. Perhaps Dr. Price and Dr. Ogden may be added to the number.

(i) Ibid. p. 241.

(k) Sermons on Practical Subjects, Sermon the Seventh.

The piety of Dr. Doddridge was accompanied with the warmeſt benevolence to his fellow-creatures. No one could more ſtrongly feel that the love of God was to be united with love to man. Nor was this a principle that reſted in kind wiſhes and pathetic feelings for the happineſs of others, but was manifeſted in the moſt active exertions for their welfare. No ſcheme of doing good was ever propoſed to him into which he did not enter with ardour. This was apparent from many circumſtances that might copiouſly be enlarged upon, did it comport with my preſent purpoſe. His Sermon for the benefit of the County Hoſpital at Northampton has been ſpoken of before; and it may here be added, that he not only contributed generouſly to that hoſpital, but ſpent much time in ripening the deſign. He often reflected, with great ſatisfaction, on the pains he had taken to eſtabliſh this charity, and on the good effects which it had produced, both in relieving many objects of diſtreſs, and in promoting a ſocial and catholic ſpirit among perſons of different parties and perſuaſions. It was at his own expence that he printed and diſtributed his "Friendly Letter to the Private "Soldiers of a Regiment of Foot." During the Rebellion of 1745, he was remarkably zealous in the cauſe of his king and his country, and contributed to the raiſing of a regiment under the command of the Earl of Halifax, by his own liberality, as well as by his influence over others. In the caſe of a poor Iriſhman, whom he thought to be unjuſtly condemned for murder, he exerted himſelf in a very extraordinary manner, though without ſucceſs. But the generoſity of his mind was the moſt diſplayed when any ſchemes for propagating religion, and for ſpreading the goſpel among thoſe who were ſtrangers to it, were propoſed. In every thing of this kind he was always ready to take the lead, and was ardent in endeavouring to inſpire his friends with the ſame ſpirit (l).

(l) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 178—181.

No one could be more amiable than Dr. Doddridge was in his private virtues and manners. It would be needleſs to enlarge on the tenderneſs of his affections as a huſ-

band, a father, and a relation: nor is it neceſſary to inſiſt upon his conduct to his pupils. If he occaſionally diſtinguiſhed any one of them by his particular favour, this did not hinder his behaving to all of them with the kindneſs of a parent; and his regard to them was never abated, excepting from their own fault. In the character of a friend he ſhone with diſtinguiſhed luſtre. Of friendſhip he entertained a ſublime idea, and his heart was admirably fitted for diſcharging all the offices, and reliſhing all the delights, of this endearing connection. It was the happy lot of his life to be honoured with many valuable and faithful friends; and how ſenſible he was of his felicity in this reſpect was diſplayed in every return of gratitude, eſteem, and affection (*m*). His deportment in company was ſtrikingly polite, affable, and agreeable; and in converſation he greatly excelled, his diſcourſe being at once inſtructive and entertaining, and not unfrequently riſing to the ſplendid.

(*m*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 132.

The candour of Dr. Doddridge's mind relative to his ſentiments of other perſons' merit, was carried to the higheſt pitch, and indeed was ſometimes ſo exceſſive as to lead him to form a far better opinion of ſeveral of his acquaintance than in fact they deſerved. This fault was gently and pleaſantly touched upon by Mr. Barker, in one of his letters. "But are you aware," ſays he, "what a creature you are? I love you be-
"yond expreſſion, and admire your abilities, furniture, ſpirits, &c. more than you
"imagine; and not a man in the world rejoices more in your uſefulneſs than I do;
"and yet I often make myſelf merry with your character and conduct. You are ſo en-
"tirely devoted to God, to truth, and holineſs, that it is very eaſy to impoſe upon
"you under the appearance of any of theſe. And you are ſo perfectly made up of
"civility, candour, and good-nature, that a pious enthuſiaſt, or a godly dunce, is
"welcome to your table, arms, and heart. You are ſo good yourſelf, that you think
"every body ten times better than they are; ſee merit in the darkneſs of midnight;
"cannot ſee faults without a noon-day ſun; forgive injuries before they are confeſſed;
"and confer favours as a reward for affronts (*n*)." With ſuch a diſpoſition of mind, it is not ſurpriſing that Dr. Doddridge ſhould frequently be unable to reſiſt the arts of deception: and yet this did not proceed from a general ignorance of the world. He was well acquainted with men and with manners, and could often enter into, and diſcriminate, with no ſmall degree of penetration, the characters of mankind. But, at the ſame time, ſo ardent were the feelings of his piety, and ſuch was the ſuavity of his temper, that he could not eaſily perſuade himſelf that any perſons were inſincere, who made a profeſſion of religion and goodneſs. There is a conſiderable difference between a ſpeculative and a practical knowledge of the world. A man may poſſeſs much of the former, and yet, from a certain flexibility and tenderneſs of mind, have little of the latter. In particular inſtances, he may have ſagacity enough to ſuſpect deceit, while he refuſes to indulge the ſuſpicion, leſt it ſhould lead him to err in his judgment, and be a motive for obſtructing the exertions of his benevolence. Such was the caſe with Dr. Doddridge, and ſuch, alſo, was the caſe with George Lord Lyttelton. They would both of them rather have choſen to be miſtaken, than to have loſt an opportunity of contributing to the relief of real diſtreſs.

(*n*) Letters, ubi ſupra, p. 139.

In his ſentiments of thoſe who differed from him in religious opinions, Dr. Doddridge exerciſed great moderation. He never confined truth or goodneſs to one particular ſect; and he behaved with the utmoſt candour to the members of the Church of England. Of the Eſtabliſhed Religion of his country he always ſpoke with reſpect; and he never made any petulant objections to its worſhip or diſcipline, or uttered againſt it any ſevere or unkind reflections. His correſpondence with various clergymen of the higheſt rank and merit has heretofore been noticed. It was deeply lamented by him, that a ſeparation from the Eſtabliſhment was, in his apprehenſion, and that of many other good men, rendered ſo neceſſary; and he ſincerely wiſhed and prayed for a greater union amongſt Proteſtants. A like candid and friendly ſpirit he endeavoured to promote among his pupils; and he did it with ſucceſs; for few of them, I believe, can be mentioned, who have not, in this reſpect, followed the inſtructions, and imitated the example of their tutor (*o*). With all Dr. Doddridge's moderation of temper, he did not in every caſe meet with a ſuitable return. Some time after he had ſet up his academy at Northampton, a proſecution was commenced againſt him in the Eccleſiaſtical Court, by the inſtigation of ſeveral dignitaries of the Church. The ſtep, however was totally diſapproved of by many other eminent members of the Eſtabliſhment. Nevertheleſs, the perſons who had engaged in the buſineſs ſeemed determined to carry it on with vigour: and, as the laws then ſtood, they muſt have ſucceeded in their deſign, had not an application been made to King George the Second, who received, from ſome gentlemen of rank and influence, ſuch a juſt repreſentation of the Doctor's loyal, peaceable, and moderate principles and character, as induced his Majeſty to give an expreſs order for putting a ſtop to the proſecution (*p*).

(*o*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 158—160, 161, 164.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 203.

That candour of mind which Dr. Doddridge exerciſed towards the members of the Eſtabliſhed Church, was cultivated by him with regard to his diſſenting brethren of

different denominations. He was ſolicitous to be upon friendly terms, as far as poſſible, with all of them; and by the generality of them he was held in high eſtimation. If this was not the caſe without exception, it will not appear ſurpriſing to thoſe who reflect upon the diverſities of ſentiment that are found among the Diſſenters. There were a few among them who even went ſo far as to charge him with inſincerity. The accuſation they brought againſt him was, that he uſed ſome particular phraſes in his writings, in a ſenſe different from that in which he himſelf underſtood them, in order to pleaſe a party. A friend having acquainted him with this charge, he anſwered as follows: "My conſcience doth not tell me that I am at all to blame on the head you "mention. I write for the public (as I would alſo do in every private correſpondence) "as in the preſence of God, and in the views of his judgment. I would not purchaſe "that phantom, popularity, which is often owing to the very worſt part of a man's "character or performances, by any compliances beneath the dignity of a Chriſtian "miniſter; an office, of which I think ſo highly, as to be deeply ſenſible how un-"worthy I am to bear it. On the other hand, I do indeed deſire to give as little of-"fence as I honeſtly can; and I have high authorities for it: and though I am, and "always declare that I am, in my judgment, greatly againſt the impoſition of human "phraſes, yet, as ſome can hardly be avoided on the one hand or the other, I chooſe "to adopt and uſe ſome that are ambiguous, in what I take to be a fair ſenſe, though "not the only ſenſe they might bear; and by declaring it, to endeavour to fix a good "idea to them, rather than abſolutely to declare againſt, or even totally to diſuſe them. "Others, wider by far in their ſentiments than I, are indulged in this, and even ap-"plauded for it: I have the misfortune (I cannot uſe the word more properly) to be "condemned (*q*)." Whilſt I have a full conviction of Dr. Doddridge's ſincerity in this matter, I cannot agree with him in opinion. Offenſive expreſſions may juſtly be avoided; but ſurely ambiguous ones ſhould never deſignedly be adopted. The language we uſe, in delivering our views of things, ought to be natural, clear, and capable only of one ſignification.

(*q*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 221.

The charge I have mentioned againſt Dr. Doddridge with regard to his writings, has been extended to his preaching. By ſome of his enemies it was aſſerted, that he was a trimmer in the pulpit. The fact, I am ſatisfied, was preciſely as follows. When he preached in different places, he ſo far accommodated himſelf to the diſpoſitions of the people before whom he diſcourſed, as to avoid giving offence. If a congregation conſiſted of perſons who were of free ſentiments in religion, his ſermon was entirely of a practical nature. On the other hand, in preaching before a Calviniſtical ſociety, it was cuſtomary with him to chooſe what was called an evangelical ſubject. In neither caſe did he deliver any thing that was contrary to his ſincere opinion. His accuſers did not ſufficiently recollect that he was far more devoted to what were deemed the orthodox doctrines than they were ready to imagine; and he had an undoubted right to be believed, when he declared, as he has done in the letter before cited, "On the whole, I "know aſſuredly, that I have not on any occaſion belied the real ſentiments of my "heart (*r*)." The perſons who were moſt diſpoſed to find fault with Dr. Doddridge, with reſpect to the point in queſtion, were thoſe who are entitled the Rational Diſſenters. They could not eaſily perſuade themſelves that a man of ſuch abilities, and general liberality of mind, could entertain very different opinions from their own; and they wiſhed to have him rank more explicitly among them. It cannot be denied, that in one or two inſtances they had ſome reaſon to complain of his timidity: but, at the ſame time, there were many occaſions on which he behaved with a very becoming fortitude. Once I remember, ſome narrow-minded people of his congregation gave him no ſmall trouble on account of a gentleman, in communion with the Church, who was a profeſſed Arian, and who otherwiſe departed from the common ſtandard of orthodoxy. This gentleman they wiſhed either to be excluded from the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, or to have his attendance upon it prevented. But the Doctor declared, that he would ſacrifice his place, and even his life, rather than fix any ſuch mark of diſcouragement upon one, who, whatever his doctrinal ſentiments were, appeared to be a real Chriſtian. When our author happened to be in company with perſons of rank and fortune, he never ſuffered the leaſt tendency to profaneneſs or licentiouſneſs to paſs unnoticed; but manifeſted his diſlike to them, with the freedom of the divine, accompanied with the politeneſs of the gentleman. A correſpondent having charged him with unſoundneſs in one of his publications, his anſwer was *Quod ſcripſi, ſcripſi* (*s*); "What I have written, I "have written."

(*r*) Ibid. p. 222.

(*s*) Letters to a young Clergyman, p. 103.

How ſincerely Dr. Doddridge deteſted the want of integrity in character, was diſplayed in the following fact. One of his pupils was in the habit of making a jeſt of what is called orthodoxy, and of ridiculing thoſe who adhered to it; and this he continued to do, up to the time in which he began to preach. Then, to the no ſmall ſurprize of his intimate acquaintance, it was rumoured, that in the congregations where he had officiated in the neighbourhood of Northampton, he had appeared highly Calviniſtical, and indeed much more ſo than almoſt any other of his fellow-ſtudents. For obvious

vious reaſons he declined ever preaching at Northampton. At length, the affair was brought before the Doctor; and both parts of the charge having been proved by deciſive evidence, the young man was diſmiſſed. Being a perſon of ſome fortune, he was not involved by his diſgrace in any pecuniary difficulties.

With that impartiality which is the duty of every biographer, I have mentioned, in the courſe of my narrative, the inſtances wherein it appeared to me that the character of Dr. Doddridge was ſhaded with ſome degree of imperfection. The ſame impartiality obliges me to add, that at times, he had too oſtentatious a manner of ſpeaking concerning the multiplicity of his employments, engagements, and correſpondences; and that he was fonder of applauſe, from every quarter, than was deſirable in one who was ſo juſtly entitled to it, where applauſe was an honour. I have often thought that in certain points he had a reſemblance of Cicero. He reſembled him in the love of fame, and in not poſſeſſing what may be called the ſternneſs of fortitude. He reſembled him likewiſe in more eſtimable qualities; in the copiouſneſs, diffuſion, and pathos of his eloquence; and in the ſenſibilities and tenderneſs of his mind, eſpecially as diſplayed in the loſs of a daughter.

When all Dr. Doddridge's imperfections are collected together, they will be found to have been very trifling in compariſon with his excellencies. One or two more of his virtues I ſhall touch upon before I conclude. Few have exceeded him in the exerciſe of humility, both with relation to God and man. With reſpect to God, it was apparent in the deepeſt expreſſions of concern for the defects of his improvements and his ſervices; and with regard to man, it was manifeſted in his condeſcenſion to the meaneſt perſons, in his behaviour to his pupils, and in the patience with which he ſubmitted to the words of reproof. He was even highly thankful to his friends for pointing out to him what they judged to be amiſs in his conduct. The language of humility that was uſed by him, though undoubtedly ſincere, was ſometimes carried to an exceſs. In a letter to Dr. Wood of Norwich, he thus expreſſes himſelf: "Pity me, and pray for me, as you do, "in the midſt of ſo many hurries. Oh, my poor, poor attempts of ſervice! They "ſhame me continually. My prayers, my ſermons, my lectures, my books (in hand), "my letters, all daily ſhame me (*t*)." Nothing can vindicate ſuch humiliating terms from the charge of affectation, but the remembrance that the letter was written under a peculiar depreſſion of ſpirits, united with that ſtrong ſenſe which Dr. Doddridge always entertained of the ardour, zeal, and diligence, with which the duties of life ought to be performed.

(*t*) Letters to and from Dr. Doddridge, p. 307.

Among the Doctor's other excellencies, I might inſiſt upon the reſignation, ſerenity, and chearfulneſs, with which he ſubmitted to the diſtreſſes of the preſent ſtate. One of his afflictions, and it was an affliction that called for the exerciſe of his meekneſs and patience, was the unkind treatment which he ſometimes met with from thoſe who owed to him a far different kind of behaviour. Few men leſs deſerved to be evil-ſpoken of; but to paſs through the world without reproach is not the lot of the pureſt virtue. Some of his pupils were angry with him, and ſet themſelves to miſrepreſent his character, becauſe he would not recommend them to places they wiſhed for, but for which he conſcientiouſly judged them to be unqualified. His kind behaviour to them in other reſpects did not compenſate, in their eſtimation, for the wound he had given to their ſelf-opinion (*v*). This is a difficulty which has been experienced by others, who, from their ſituations among the Diſſenters, are ſuppoſed to have any influence in recommending to vacant congregations. Dr. Doddridge was even aſperſed in the caſe of a guardianſhip, where he had acted with the utmoſt probity, friendſhip, and benevolence (*u*). Whatever was the ill uſage to which he was expoſed, he ſuſtained it with mildneſs, and was always ready to manifeſt a forgiving temper. Nothing could be farther from his character than a reſentful diſpoſition.

(*v*) Orton, ubi ſupra, p. 229.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 232.

Upon the whole, Dr. Doddridge was not only a great man, but one of the moſt excellent and uſeful Chriſtians, and Chriſtian miniſters, that ever exiſted. The impreſſion of his numerous and amiable virtues will not be effaced from my mind ſo long as it retains any ſenſe of feeling or reflection. So far will be the impreſſion from being loſt upon me, that I ſhall always cheriſh it with the utmoſt ardour; and I eſteem it as no ſmall felicity of my life, that I have been preſerved to give this teſtimony of duty, gratitude and affection, to the memory of my benefactor, my tutor, my friend, and my father.] K.

*** [Mr. Job Orton, the original writer of the Life of Dr. Doddridge, was ſo intimately connected with the Doctor in various reſpects, and was himſelf of ſo excellent and eminent a character, that it is an act of juſtice to his memory, and will be peculiarly acceptable to many of our readers, to give an account of him in this place. Concerning his family he himſelf thus ſpeaks, in a memorial which he left for the uſe of his nephews: 'They will find no lords and 'knights, or perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank, wealth, 'or ſtation among their progenitors. But they will 'learn, (as far as I am capable of judging, by the 'beſt information I could gain, and the knowledge 'of thoſe whom I remember) that there is no one, 'either male or female, in the line of their direct 'anceſtors for many generations, but hath been truly 'ſerious, pious, and good, and filled up ſome uſeful 'ſtation in ſociety with honour.' His grandfather and

and father, who were grocers at Shrewſbury, of conſiderable property, were juſtly held in eſtimation for their piety, their good ſenſe, their generoſity, their uſefulneſs, and their Chriſtian virtues in general. The younger Mr. Orton added to his other valuable qualities the benefit of a liberal education, and an extenſive acquaintance with books. His eldeſt ſon, Job, the ſubject of the preſent note, was born on the 4th of September, 1717, and was early taught to pray, to read the Scriptures, and to keep holy the Sabbath-day. At a proper age he was ſent to the Free-ſchool of his native place, where he went through the whole courſe of grammatical education, having ſtayed there ſomewhat more than eight years. Here he enjoyed as great advantages for claſſical knowledge as in moſt public ſchools, but ſuffered, he tells us, 'not a little 'in the moſt important intereſts, by the example and 'temptations of ſome boys who were very wicked and 'profane.' In May, 1733, he left the ſchool, and went to Warrington, under the care of Dr. Charles Owen, the Diſſenting miniſter of that town, who uſually had two or three young men under his tuition. Mr. John Aſhworth, the eldeſt brother of the late Dr. Caleb Aſhworth, of Daventry, and who afterwards preached with Dr. Foſter, in London, and died young, was Mr. Orton's only fellow ſtudent. This ſituation was to Mr. Orton an agreeable tranſition from his father's houſe to that of a large ſeminary, he and his fellow-pupil being treated by their tutor more like his own children, than with the diſcipline neceſſary in an academy. Dr. Owen was a gentleman of conſiderable learning, great piety, and one of the moſt amiable men ever known for a polite behaviour, ſweetneſs of temper and manner, and a genteel addreſs. Mr. Orton continued with him one year; after which he ſpent the month of June, 1734, in the family of Mr. Colthurſt, a moſt excellent and worthy miniſter at Whitchurch, in Shropſhire. There, by the advice and encouragement of Mr. Colthurſt, he firſt joined in the Lord's Supper, and devoted himſelf to a ſincere compliance with the obligations of Chriſtianity. In Auguſt, 1734, he went to Northampton, under the care of Dr. Doddridge, where he continued above ſeven years, with the interruption of about ſeven months in the year 1736, and the beginning of 1737, which, on account of the ill ſtate of his health, he was obliged to ſpend at home. This time, however, was not quite loſt, as his father kept him as cloſe to reading and ſtudy as he thought was conſiſtent with a due regard to his recovery. Before young Mr. Orton went firſt from home, he had been bound apprentice to his father, that, in caſe he ſhould not incline to any of the learned profeſſions, he might be a freeman of the town of Shrewſbury, and be able to engage there in buſineſs; but his inclinations were always to the Chriſtian Miniſtry. To this he might be led, by obſerving the very reſpectful, obliging, and affectionate manner, in which his grandfather and father always behaved to worthy miniſters, and the honourable terms in which they always ſpoke of them. Indeed, the houſes of the two Ortons were the places where not only the Diſſenting Clergy, but ſeveral of the Church of England were uſually entertained in the moſt hoſpitable manner, when they came to Shrewſbury. But though this circumſtance gave the firſt turn to the inclinations of young Orton, he ſoon formed his reſolutions for the miniſtry upon better motives. It was his deſire to devote himſelf to the ſervice of the ſanctuary, with a view to the religious improvement and everlaſting happineſs, of mankind: and to qualify himſelf for this great work were all his ſtudies directed. In a few weeks after he went to Northampton, he had made himſelf ſo perfect a maſter of Rich's ſhort-hand, which his tutor wrote, that he could take down the whole of moſt of the ſermons which he heard.

Such were the ability and diligence with which Mr. Orton purſued his literary courſe, that in March 1738-9 he was choſen aſſiſtant to Dr. Doddridge in the Academy; and he began his lectures in this capacity, with reading to the junior ſtudents in the claſſics and geography. About the ſame time he was examined before a committee of paſtors in the neighbourhood, as to his qualifications for the miniſterial office, and received an ample teſtimony of ſatisfaction and approbation. His firſt ſermon was preached at Welford, in Northamptonſhire, on the 15th of April 1739. After this he continued to preach occaſionally in all the neighbouring congregations, excepting on the firſt Sunday of every month, when he generally aſſiſted Dr. Doddridge at Northampton. During the vacations, which laſted two months, the Doctor continued at home in the former month, while Mr. Orton paid a viſit to his friends and relations at Shrewſbury. In the ſecond month he returned to Northampton, and took care of the family, the congregation, and ſuch of the pupils as remained, whilſt the Doctor made his excurſions to London, or other places.

In this early part of his life, Mr. Orton was honoured with many teſtimonies of his acceptableneſs as a preacher. He received ſeveral invitations from the congregations at Welford, Rowell, and Harborough, to ſettle with them as their miniſter: and he was applied to, likewiſe, by the Diſſenting Society at Salter's Hall, London, to preach there as a candidate; but he thought it beſt to decline theſe applications, as, while he was aſſiſtant at Northampton, he was engaged in a very uſeful employment, and had daily opportunities of improving himſelf ſuperior to what he ſhould have had in any other ſtation. The enjoyment which he had of Dr. Doddridge's converſation was eſteemed by him as a moſt peculiar advantage.

In April 1741, died Mr. Berry, the miniſter of the Preſbyterian meeting at Shrewſbury; and about the ſame time Mr. Dobſon, the paſtor of the Independent Church, in that town, to which Mr. Orton's father belonged, removed to Walſall, in Staffordſhire. Theſe two Societies being thus vacant, concurred in an invitation to Mr. Orton, to accept the paſtoral charge among them, promiſing that in that caſe they would unite together in one congregation. The circumſtance of ſuch a pleaſing coaleſcence of two different denominations of Chriſtians, the unanimity of the application, and the proſpect of an agreeable ſettlement, and of a conſiderable ſphere of uſefulneſs, induced him to accede to the propoſal, though he did it with fear and trembling, as a prophet hath not, in general, equal honour in his own country, and among his own kindred, with what he meets with in another place. In October 1741, he removed to Shrewſbury, and on the eighteenth of that month preached his firſt ſermon to the united congregations. On the eighteenth of the next month, he had the misfortune to loſe his father, who died at the age of fifty-two. This event was not only a great perſonal affliction to Mr. Orton, but brought upon him ſuch a weight of cares, in addition to his various duties as a miniſter, that his health was materially injured; the conſequence of which was, that he was laid under the neceſſity of having an aſſiſtant. He was obliged, likewiſe, in September 1742, to go to Bath, by which he found ſome relief. The perſon choſen to be his aſſiſtant was Mr. Francis Boult, who continued at Shrewſbury till the end of the year 1745, when he removed to Wrexham, in Denbighſhire. On the eighteenth of September, in the ſame year, Mr. Orton was ſolemnly ordained to the paſtoral office. The ſermon and charge that were delivered upon the occaſion were printed, and the teſtimonial was ſigned by a great number of paſtors. Thirty miniſters were preſent at the ſervice. Upon the removal of Mr. Boult to Wrexham, Mr. Moſes Carter was choſen aſſiſtant to Mr. Orton, and accepted the invitation, but died in 1747. He was a man of uncommon ability, and his early death was greatly to be regretted. In 1746 Mr. Orton was invited by the congregation at the new meeting in Birmingham, to be their co-paſtor with Mr. Bourn. Though he had a high eſteem for the people of that ſociety, he did not dare to undertake ſo much work as was neceſſary in the ſituation; beſides which, he was comfortable and uſeful where he was already ſettled. The invitation from Birmingham was ſigned by nine of the principal perſons of the congregation, who were a committee to manage their church affairs. In 1748 Mr. Joſeph Fownes was choſen Mr. Orton's aſſiſtant, and the connection was highly agreeable to both of them, they having always lived together in the utmoſt harmony and friendſhip. By Dr. Doddridge's death, which happened as before related, Mr. Orton loſt his much honoured tutor, father, and friend. "The great and truly paternal tenderneſs," ſays Mr. Orton (in the memorial from which

which we write), "he had ſhewn to me from my firſt "coming under his care, and the uncommon confi- "dence which he had in ſome inſtances repoſed in "me, led me to the higheſt reſpect and warmeſt af- "fection for him. His appointing me in his will to "preach his funeral ſermon, was a ſignal honour to "me; and as he left me all his papers which I choſe, "I thought myſelf under particular obligations to at- "tempt to give the world an account of his life and "character, and writings, which I at length effected. "I do not repent the pains ſpent in this work for "ſeveral years, though hurtful to my health, be- "cauſe I hope, and believe, it hath been, and will be, "of great uſe to young miniſters, and others who "read it. It was ſoon after its publication tranſlated "into German, and a copy ſent me from Riga, from "an eminent divine there, who tranſlated and pub- "liſhed my Sermons on Eternity. But Doddridge's "Life was tranſlated by Mr. Lindner, a young Lu- "theran Divine of Saxon-hauſen, in Saxony."

In March 1751-2, Mr. Orton was invited to aſſume the paſtoral charge of the congregation belonging to his late friend at Northampton. Upon this his people at Shrewſbury were alarmed; and, apprehending that he might liſten to the application, they ſent him a moſt reſpectful, affectionate, and unanimous addreſs, to intreat that he would not leave them. A ſeparate addreſs, to the ſame purpoſe, was made to him by the young perſons of the ſociety. He had no inclination to quit a ſituation in which he was comfortable and uſeful; eſpecially as there were ſome circumſtances at Northampton that were of a diſcouraging nature. Nevertheleſs, he thought it a proper piece of reſpect to take ſome time to conſider of the invitation, which at length he declined.

Not long after this event, another attempt was made to draw Mr. Orton from Shrewſbury. He was applied to by a conſiderable congregation in Weſtminſter, to ſucceed their late paſtor, the Rev. Dr. Obadiah Hughes; but he immediately rejected the propoſal, as he never had any inclination to ſettle in London, and as he was firmly perſuaded, that neither his health, nor his abilities, nor his ſentiments, qualified him for a ſituation in the metropolis. In the two laſt particulars he was undoubtedly miſtaken. Whether London would have been favourable to his health, might juſtly be queſtioned; but as to his abilities and ſentiments, they would have enabled him to appear with diſtinguiſhed advantage in the pulpit. He was one of the moſt ſtriking preachers that I ever heard; and if he had been fixed in town, he could not have failed of riſing to a high degree of popularity. His popularity, too, would have been of a ſubſtantial and durable kind, not founded on external and artificial accompliſhments, but on diſcourſes that were practical, ſerious, evangelical, and pathetic, accompanied with a plain, unaffected, and manly delivery, which irreſiſtibly commanded attention. There was one reſpect, in which, perhaps, he was not ſo well fitted for London, and that was in his recluſe mode of living, which grew upon him as he advanced in years and his health declined, and which rendered him very particular and exact in his time of dining, and very cautious, not to ſay faſtidious, in his reception of viſiters. The congregation at Weſtminſter, which was refuſed by him, was ſupplied at Midſummer, 1753, by the writer of the preſent narrative.

From this time nothing material occurred, in the courſe of Mr. Orton's miniſtry at Shrewſbury, till the year 1765. He was comfortable and happy among his people, and in the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of Mr. Fownes. But in that year his bodily infirmities had ſo far advanced upon him, that he was quite diſabled from continuing in his public work. On the fifteenth of September, therefore, (which was his birth-day) he delivered his laſt ſermon to his congregation. The Lord's Supper was adminiſtered by him ſeveral times after this; but he durſt not undertake to preach any more.

Mr. Orton's quitting his paſtoral connection with the Diſſenters at Shrewſbury, was attended with unhappy conſequences. A conteſt aroſe with reſpect to the choice of an aſſiſtant to Mr. Fownes, which, at length, ended in a ſeparation. The larger number of the ſociety thought it their duty to provide themſelves with another place of worſhip; and with theſe Mr. Orton concurred in opinion. He eſteemed himſelf bound to countenance them upon every principle of conſcience, as a Chriſtian, a Diſſenter, a Miniſter, and a Friend to Liberty. Though Mr. Fownes continued at the old chapel, this circumſtance did not occaſion any diminution in the friendſhip and affection ſubſiſting between him and Mr. Orton. One almoſt unavoidable effect of the diviſion was its being accompanied with a bad ſpirit, in ſeveral perſons, on both ſides of the queſtion. The height to which the matter was carried, rendered Mr. Orton's ſituation at Shrewſbury greatly uncomfortable, and materially affected his health. He found it neceſſary, therefore, to retire to another place; and at length he fixed at Kidderminſter, to which he was principally led, that he might have the advice of a very able and ſkilful phyſician (Dr. Johnſtone, now of Worceſter), who always proved himſelf a faithful and tender friend. To the care of Dr. Johnſtone, Mr. Orton, under God, owed his life; and, from the regard and affection of the ſame gentleman, he derived ſome of the greateſt preſent conſolations of his exiſtence. It was on the twenty-ſixth of October, 1766, that he came to Kidderminſter, and there he continued for the remainder of his days. His reſidence in that town was as comfortable as he could hope for, in a place comparatively ſtrange to him, and among perſons with moſt of whom he had no previous acquaintance.

Thus far I have been enabled to proceed, from a memorial written by Mr. Orton himſelf, a copy of which has been obligingly communicated to me by the Rev. Mr. Stedman, vicar of St. Chad's, Shrewſbury. To the ſame excellent (though perſonally unknown) friend, I am principally indebted for the materials which have put it into my power to finiſh the remainder of the article.

Though Mr. Orton was prevented by the bad ſtate of his health, from ever again appearing in the pulpit, he ſtill retained the ſame zeal for promoting the great objects of the Chriſtian religion. What he could not perform as a preacher, he was ſolicitous to effect as a practical writer. The following words were written by him in the bible, which he commonly uſed in his ſtudy. 'Si non concedatur ut præco ſim 'publicus, ſim tamen operarius: quod publicè non 'poſſum, faciam, [ut licet, valet] privatim. Quod 'non poſſum prædicando, præſtem ſcribendo. Aux- 'iliare, Domine, ſervum ſenilem.' His whole conduct was in full conformity to theſe pious wiſhes.

Mr. Orton had not appeared much from the preſs, previouſly to his reſignation of the paſtoral office. His only publications before that period were his Funeral Sermon for Dr. Doddridge, printed in 1752; a Faſt Sermon in 1756, occaſioned by the earthquake at Liſbon, entitled, "Noah's Faith and Obedience to the Divine Warnings, and his Preſervation from the Deluge conſidered;" and "Three Diſcourſes on Eternity, and the Importance and Advantage of looking at Eternal Things," publiſhed in 1764. Theſe three Diſcourſes have gone through ſix editions, and have been tranſlated into Welch. Such was Mr. Orton's ill ſtate of health, together with his attention to the duties of his profeſſion, that it was not till 1766 that he was enabled to give to the world his "Memoirs of the Life, Character, and Writings of Dr. Doddridge;" a work to which we have been greatly indebted in the courſe of the preceding article. In 1769, he publiſhed a ſet of Sermons, under the title of "Religious Exerciſes recommended: or, Diſcourſes on the Heavenly State, conſidered under the Idea of a Sabbath." 'Theſe Sermons,' ſay the Monthly Reviewers, 'are not diſtinguiſhed by any remarkable 'elegance of ſtyle, or accuracy of language and com- 'poſition; but they have a much truer recommenda- 'tion: they are ſerious and practical; well adapted 'to do real ſervice to every attentive reader, and 'evidently flowing from a heart under the warm in- 'fluences of benevolence and piety.' After ſome other encomiums, the ſame writers add, 'We are per- 'ſuaded that the preſent work is calculated to pro- 'duce real advantage to mankind; and we ſincerely 'join our wiſhes with thoſe of the author, that it may 'contribute to revive and promote the cauſe of true 'religion, with which the intereſts of virtue and 'morality are eſſentially connected' (1). In 1771, Mr. Orton publiſhed "Diſcourſes to the Aged;" the

(1) Monthly Review. vol. xlii. p. 41-43.

the subjects of which were admirably adapted to the situation of the persons for whom they were intended, and concerning which, it was justly observed, that they breathe an excellent spirit, and shew an earnest desire in the writer to advance the interests of genuine piety and practical religion (2). Our author's next publication, which appeared in 1774, was entitled "Christian Zeal; or, Three Discourses on the Importance of seeking the Things of Christ, more than our own." At a time when many valuable Treatises had been published in defence of Toleration and Liberty, he thought there was great room to complain of the want of zeal for the support and advancement of real practical religion, and for the good of souls. To revive, therefore, this zeal, was the object of the Discourses in question. In 1775, Mr. Orton committed to the press three farther Discourses, under the title of "Christian Worship." The subjects treated of in this piece, which has been translated into Welch, are the profitable hearing of the word; the joining in public prayer; and the singing of the praises of God. Two volumes of "Discourses on Practical Subjects" were the production of the next year. The Sermons are thirty-six in number, and testify, in the strongest manner, the ardent solicitude with which the author endeavoured to inspire mankind with the principles of piety and virtue. Mr. Orton's last publication, which appeared in 1777, was entitled, "Sacramental Meditations; or, Devout Reflections on various Passages of Scripture, designed to assist Christians in their Attendance on the Lord's Supper, and their Improvement of it." These meditations, which are fifty in number, are all founded on different texts of the Sacred Writings, and are, what the author himself used in the administration of the sacrament, according to the method observed among Dissenters from the Church of England. 'The reader,' say the Monthly Reviewers, 'will not find in this work any rapturous flights, 'or wild chimeras: he will meet with nothing but 'what is rational and pious, tending to form the 'heart to the love of God, and to the practice of what 'is excellent and praise-worthy (3).

Several eminent divines of the establishment expressed their high approbation of the "Sacramental Meditations." 'I think,' said the Rev. Mr. Hunter, vicar of Weaverham, in Cheshire, and the author of several ingenious publications, 'I never read a book 'better calculated for the purposes of spiritual improvement. The shortness of the sections, the 'plainness of the style, the clearness of the method, 'render it peculiarly fit for the reading and retention 'of the uninstructed in low, and the indolent in high, 'life: whilst a flow of piety, an apt and happy application of Scripture, an experimental sense of religion, and a profound knowledge of the divine 'life, and of the deep things of God, must recommend it to the perusal and approbation of those 'who have made the greatest progress in goodness.' Dr. Tucker, dean of Gloucester, wrote as follows to a friend: 'Pray thank Mr. Orton for his book in my 'name. I am charmed, and I hope edified too with 'it; which I make my constant companion. As I 'read, I am delighted to find the great Divine, and 'the able Controversialist, concealing himself under 'the better character of the pious and humble Christian, and avoiding all the parade of human learning. 'A man who was less a scholar, and less a Christian, 'would have stuffed his book with a thousand quotations.' We shall add the important testimony of Dr. Adams, Master of Pembroke College, Oxford, which he gave in a letter to Mr. Orton. 'The design,' says the Doctor, 'of your book, was quite 'new to me, and is, I think, happily executed. In 'our large communions (such as I have often seen at 'St. Chad's), it is the very book I should wish in 'every one's hands. You have, perhaps, done 'more good of the best sort, under the necessity of 'retirement, than you could have done in better 'health, which universally brings dissipation alone 'with it. This is a consolation of the highest and 'noblest kind, which I am persuaded you have a 'right to, and I hope God will, in your weakest 'hours, enable you to take to yourself (4).'

Besides these several publications, all of which appeared with his name, Mr. Orton, in 1770, was the author of two anonymous tracts, entitled, "Diotrophes admonished," and "Diotrophes re-admonished." They were written in defence of his excellent friend, Dr. Adams, at that time vicar of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, who had been violently attacked by some of the high-flown Calvinistical Methodists, and especially by the writer of a piece, which made a considerable noise in its day, called "Pietas Oxoniensis." Mr. Orton's two pamphlets reflected great credit on his understanding and affections, being written with much knowledge, and in the spirit of Christian candour. With the most ardent zeal in the vindication of his friend, he appears to have steered something of a middle way between Dr. Adams and his antagonists, respecting certain theological niceties and distinctions. The controversy, he hoped, might do good, by exciting a disposition to enquire into the contents of the Gospel, and by leading many to read and think on religious subjects who otherwise would not probably have done it. Nor was his expectation disappointed: for he had the pleasure of hearing that his tracts had been serviceable in this view, especially in Shropshire; and that they were much valued by many respectable Clergymen, particularly those of evangelical principles (5).

There is one small publication by Mr. Orton, which, from not having known of it, we have omitted to mention in its proper place. It was the earliest piece printed by him, having first appeared in 1749, and we apprehend without his name. The title of it is, "A Summary of Doctrinal and Practical Religion, by way of Question and Answer; with an Introduction, shewing the Importance and Advantage of a Religious Education." So well has this tract been received, that it has gone through seven editions (6).

As we are speaking of Mr. Orton's writings, we shall here finish our account of them, by taking notice of his posthumous works. In the course of his ministerial service, he delivered a short and plain exposition of the Old Testament, with devotional and practical reflections; which exposition and reflections have recently been published, from the author's manuscripts, for the use of families, by the Reverend Robert Gentleman, of Kidderminster, Worcestershire, in six large volumes, octavo. The first volume appeared in 1788, and the last in 1791. This work has met with a very favourable reception from the pious world, and is calculated for general utility. Of the notes it cannot be said that they are eminently critical; but they often convey valuable instruction; and the reflections are admirably adapted to promote the purposes of serious religion.

The last production of Mr. Orton that has been given to the publick, is, "Letters to a young Clergyman," 12mo, 1791. Mr. Stedman, to whom the letters were written, is the editor, and he has performed an acceptable service in committing them to the press. The advice contained in them is, in general, excellently fitted for the direction and improvement of the younger Clergy, of every denomination. We cannot help taking notice of a few detached passages. In the fourth letter, he thus expresses himself:

'I know not what to say about *extemporary preach-* 'ing. It may on some accounts be desirable and 'useful: But I dare not encourage it in *Young Divines*. 'I never knew an instance of it, but the preacher was 'careless in his studies, slovenly and incorrect in his 'discourses; and losing the habit of accurate compositions could never recover it afterwards. Yet I 'would by no means desire you to confine yourself 'entirely to your notes. When a thought strikes you, 'or something in your sermon seems to strike your 'hearers, you may add a few sentences, as you find 'matter arising in your mind: And if you are thoroughly master of your subject, and have a good 'deal of your sermon, especially the application of it, 'committed to memory, thus much will be easy, 'and you will not hesitate and appear at a loss. But 'suppose you preach at your new church Sermons 'which you have delivered at *Little Cheverel* half a 'year ago; not exactly as written, but commit the 'substance, every leading thought, and the text which 'you have introduced into them, to memory, and 'then enlarge *pro re natâ*. Or, you may compose 'and write out one new sermon every week, and let 'it be preached at your churches alternately; and then,

'on

(2) Monthly Review. vol. xlv. p. 501.

(3) Monthly Review. vol. lix. p. 317.

(4) Letters to a young Clergyman, from the late Rev. Mr. Job Orton, p. 128, 129.

(5) Ibid. p. 151.

(6) From the information of Mr. Eddowes.

'on the other part of the day, have at the other 'church your plan, texts, and leading thoughts, 'only written down, and discourse to your people 'from them: so that each place will have a compleat 'and a kind of *extemporary* discourse alternately. But 'then, if you do this as it ought to be done, it will 'very little lessen your labour: for it will require as 'much pains in studying your plan, texts, and sub-'ordinate thoughts, and putting them down, as in 'writing a sermon at large. But let me caution you, 'never to venture without a finished discourse in your 'pocket, lest any indisposition of your own, or cir-'cumstance relating to the congregation, should dis-'qualify you for ready conception and utterance. I 'have known so many Ministers become injudicious 'and unacceptable by a careless habit of composing, 'or rather of not composing at all, in their younger 'days, and in small country places, that I make 'these concessions, guarded as they are, with fear. 'The other extreme is best for a young divine to err 'in. Besides, there is no way by which you will so 'speedily and effectually increase your fund of the-'ological knowledge, as by accurate compositions. 'Thus you will study your subject carefully, view-'ing and examining it on every side; consulting all 'the commentators you may have upon your text and 'parallel places, and reading what other divines '(whose writings you may be possessed of) have said 'upon the subject. So that, were you to read nothing 'for a whole week but what you would read in this 'method (except History, Classicks, &c. by way of 'relaxation), I shall commend your diligence, and 'say, you had kept to the good maxim, *Hoc age* (7).

(7) Letters to a young Clergyman, p. 14—16.

In the ninth letter, we have the following morcel of literary history.

'I am now reading the works of Mr. WILLIAM 'PERKINS, an eminent tutor and divine at *Cambridge* 'in QUEEN ELIZABETH's reign. They are three 'volumes in folio, and I have got thro' one of them. 'What leads me more particularly to read him was, 'that his elder brother was one of my ancestors, from 'whom I am in a direct line, by my mother's side, 'descended. I think him an excellent writer: his 'style is the best of any of that age, or the next, and 'many passages in his writings are equal to those of 'the best writers in modern times. He is judicious, 'clear, full of matter, and deep Christian experience. 'He wrote all his works with his *left* hand, being 'lame of his *right*, and died about forty-four. I 'could wish *all* Ministers, especially *young* ones, would 'read him, as they would find large materials for 'composition. He hath some tracts against the Pa-'pists; appears to have been a pretty high Calvinist, 'but he hath many admirable things in *practical* di-'vinity. His works are little known in *England*, but 'they are still in estimation in *Germany*, *many* of 'them being written in elegant Latin, and others 'translated into German (8).

(8) Ibid. p. 39, 40.

The twelfth letter contains some admirable remarks on religious conversions.

'Whether I have been the instrument of much 'good I know not. I have not seen those good 'effects of my ministry, which some ministers have had. 'There were *few*, if *any*, of my congregation, who 'were profligate and abandoned; and whose conver-'sion, when that happens, is very remarkable, and 'engages much attention. I hope many aged per-'sons have been edified by my services, and not a few 'young people trained up in sentiments of wisdom 'and piety; who are now useful in their families and 'stations, and ornaments to religion. Indeed, I lay 'very little stress upon what some divines call *Con-'versions*; I have seen so many instances of 'their coming to nothing; or, that their converts have 'only been converted from the sins of men to the sins 'of devils, from drunkenness and debauchery to 'spiritual pride, bitterness, and uncharitableness; 'and this I cannot call a saving change. I see little 'alteration for the better in the conduct of *many*, who 'have been *said* to be converted. I am cautious of 'calling any thing by that name, where there is not 'a regular, consistent conduct following it. Hasty 'impressions, which some ministers are very ready to 'observe and admire, are often lost in a little time, 'and those who have been under them become worse 'than they were before. I have no idea of con-'version, as passing a certain line, and then getting 'into a saving state. Conversion is *a work of time*, 'and I see *no right* we have to say any are converted 'or become good, till one hath *a longer* season of 'trial to observe whether they *continue* steadfast in 'the practice of righteousness, and act in every cir-'cumstance and relation, in the main, consistent with 'the demands of the Gospel. I wish you may have 'the pleasure to see many such converts (9).'

(9) Ibid. p. 65, 66.

We shall content ourselves with only referring to the fourteenth letter for some excellent observations on œconomy.

Besides Mr. Orton's publication of Dr. Doddridge's hymns, and of the three last volumes of the Family Expositor, he printed, in 1764, a new edition of the life and death of the Rev. Mr. Philip Henry, and prefixed to it an address to the descendants of that eminently pious and worthy divine. Of religious Biography our author was particularly fond, and he was a great admirer of the two Henrys, Philip and Matthew. Mr. Matthew Henry's exposition was read by Mr. Orton in his family, and he had a most happy faculty, whilst he was doing it, of abridging that diffuse writer. He had been solicited, during his retirement, to form a regular abridgment of Henry's expositions; but his increasing infirmities obliged him to decline the employment.

The nature of Mr. Orton's writings was such as to render them acceptable to serious persons, of different denominations. Dr. Tucker highly approved of them, and said that his sermons were the sermons to do good. Indeed, the Dean had such a great respect for the judgment of Mr. Orton, that he submitted some of his own works to his correction. Dr. Adams read Mr. Orton's sermons in his family at Oxford. It is still more remarkable, that our author's extempore prayers were exceedingly admired by clergymen of the Church of England, who must, in general, be supposed to give a decided preference to precomposed forms. The Rev. Dr. Stonhouse, rector of Great and Little Cheverel, Wiltshire, being at Mr. Orton's house, and joining in his family-worship, was so struck with the propriety and pertinency of his prayer, that he thanked him for it, and told him that it deserved to be written in letters of gold. "I have often," says Mr. Stedman, "learnt my duty from his prayers." We may observe by the way, that a close friendship subsisted between Dr. Stonhouse and Mr. Orton, and that the latter wrote an excellent letter to the other, on the death of a daughter. It was printed for private use, under the title of "A Letter from a Minister to one in Affliction."

After the publication of the "Sacramental Medi-"tations" in 1777, Mr. Orton's bad state of health no longer permitted him to instruct and edify the world from the press. But he still continued to be useful by his pious example, his affectionate exhortations, and his correspondence with his intimate friends. In 1781, he made a present, to the library belonging to the schools of Shrewsbury, of Dr. Kennicott's Hebrew Bible, superbly bound. It was accompanied with the following inscription.

Ut
In hoc municipio,
Dilecto natalium loco,
Quo
Proavi et parentes honeste et sancte vixe
Quo
Cœtus Dissentientium Protestantium pastor constitutus,
ministerio sacro
Annos XXVI. ipse functus est;
Ut
In his scholis,
Quibus et linguarum cognitionem
Studio decennali hausit,
Amoris et benevolentiæ
Pignus aliquod idoneum extaret;
Hoc opus eximium, honori S. S. S. dicatum,
Illustrissimi Ben. Kennicott, S. T. P.
Bibliothecæ donavit
Job Orton, S. T. P.
Et civis Salopiensis,
A. D. M,DCC,LXXXI.

Mr. Orton had before this made some valuable presents of books to the same library. As in the inscription now given, he is stiled S. T. P. it is proper to take notice, that the degree of Doctor in Divinity had been conferred upon him many years previously to his

his deceaſe, but he would never permit himſelf to be addreſſed by that title, or prefix it to any of his writings.

In the ſpring of the year 1783, Mr. Orton's complaints multiplied ſo faſt upon him, that there was no proſpect of his continuing much longer in life. Whilſt he was in this ſituation, the following letter was written to him by Mr. Fownes, and conveyed by Mr. Stedman. Notwithſtanding its length, we cannot condeſcend to make an apology for inſerting it, as, from its excellence, it will delight every pious reader, and others may paſs it over at their pleaſure.

'Shrewſbury, June 11, 1783.

'My dear and much reſpected Friend,

'If I have not written to you for a conſiderable 'time, the reaſon has been that I was unwilling to 'diſquiet you by appearing to lay you under a neceſ'ſity of returning anſwers which I know it would be 'painful for you to ſend. But the very weakneſs, 'which for a time made me think it leſs proper to 'addreſs a letter to you, is what now induces me to 'do it. I cannot tell how to bear the thought of 'receiving repeated accounts of your increaſing in'firmities without letting you know how ſenſibly I ſym'pathize with you under all your burthens and com'plaints, and how earneſtly I wiſh you all thoſe ſup'ports and conſolations to ſuſtain you under your in'firmities which will enable you in patience to poſſeſs 'your ſoul, to enjoy peace and ſerenity in the midſt 'of the afflicting ſymptoms with which you are viſited, 'and to experience the happineſs of that thankful 'hope which you have ſo often recommended to 'pious perſons as their right and duty in circumſtances 'not unlike to yours, and to which all who know 'you are perſuaded that you have the juſteſt title.

'I need not remind you, that the ſufferings of the 'ſervants of God, though very frequently and mate'rially the ſame with thoſe which are endured by 'perſons of a very different character, are neverthele's, 'in the mitigations which accompany them, the en'couragements which are mingled with them, and 'the proſpect which lies beyond them, of a totally 'oppoſite nature. While thoſe, who have no hope 'but in the preſent life, muſt conſider every decay 'they find come upon them as foreboding the de'ſtruction of all their comfort; thoſe who have laid 'up for themſelves a portion in a future world, may 'view every abatement of their ſtrength as the preſage 'of the approach of their felicity. While the hope 'of the one vaniſhes, that of the other advances, and 'aſſumes a brighter aſpect; and thoſe forerunners of 'the total diſſolution of theſe earthly tabernacles, 'which the one cannot ſeriouſly behold without pain'ful apprehenſions, give the other reaſon to rejoice 'that the day of his redemption draws nigh, and that 'his labours, uneaſineſs, and anxiety, will ſoon be 'exchanged for that reſt which remains for the 'people of God. And if it pleaſes the God and 'Father of our ſpirits, who knows the need in which 'his children ſtand of his aſſiſtance to enable them to 'endure the afflictions he lays upon them, to give them 'ſtrength and command of thought, to reflect and 'dwell upon the reviving views which are given them 'of their preſent trials and future enjoyments, in that 'covenant of grace which is well ordered in all things 'and ſure, what cauſe have they to be comforted in 'all their tribulations and to wait with chearfulneſs 'till the days of their mourning ſhall be ended!

'To ſuch pleaſing, animating reflections as theſe, 'dear Sir, it is your happineſs that you may give 'way without ſcruple. And to this it is my wiſh 'to invite you. Nor do all the diſcouraging thoughts 'with which you may ſometimes have been troubled, 'prevent my inviting you to it without the leaſt 'heſitation. It is no ſurprize at all to me, that 'perſons whoſe hearts have been moſt ſincerely de'voted to their great maſter, ſhould feel doubts and 'fears riſing up in their minds, when they think 'they ſee the hour coming on when the change of 'worlds is to be made; and, far from thinking it 'any weakening of the evidence of the ſtrength of 'their concerns to find favour of the Lord, I am 'well perſuaded it is often a confirmation of it. 'Thoſe, who have the fulleſt and moſt powerful 'convictions of the extent and ſanctity of the divine 'law, will be the moſt ſenſible how far the moſt 'eminent of his ſervants come ſhort of it. Thoſe 'who have been moſt converſant with their own 'hearts, and moſt ſolicitous to have them entirely 'united in fulfilling the divine law, will have the 'quickeſt, moſt poignant, ſenſibility of their de'ficiencies in theſe excellent attainments. Thoſe, 'who have the higheſt conception of the value of 'that eternal life, which is the gift of God through 'Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, are ſometimes the moſt 'ready to queſtion whether they ſhall be found meet 'to riſe to ſuch an exalted height of glory. Theſe, 'I am perſuaded, are the real cauſes of thoſe clouds 'and deſponding apprehenſions which may at any 'time have hung over your mind. Suffer them not 'to oppreſs you, but turn your thoughts to that 'grace which is ſet before us by the Father of mercy 'in the Goſpel of his Son. Let the compaſſion of 'the great high prieſt of our profeſſion, who knows 'how to be touched with the feeling of our infirmi'ties, be the ſubject of your meditation. Let the 'tenderneſs of the Great Father of our ſpirits, who 'knows the weakneſs of our frame, the imperfection 'of our knowledge, and the force of the obſtructions 'with which we are called to ſtruggle in our paſſage 'through a world full of ſnares, temptations, and im'pediments to that advancement in the divine life, 'which I am ſatisfied has been the object of your 'wiſhes and labours, be much before you, and I 'truſt you will find light ſpringing up in your mind, 'diſpelling your fears, reviving your hopes, and 'giving you that peace which will keep you from 'fainting under your trials, and aſſiſt you to finiſh 'your courſe with joy.

'It will give me great pleaſure to hear, by the 'friend who brings this, that you find any abatement 'of your complaints, and that you recover any 'ſtrength; as by the laſt information which I heard 'concerning you, I am willing to hope you may. 'My earneſt wiſhes, and my conſtant petitions for 'you, are, that as your day is ſo your ſtrength may 'be, and that God, who knows how to comfort thoſe 'who are caſt down, may fill you with all joy and 'peace in believing. In theſe wiſhes Mrs. Fownes, 'who deſires to be affectionately remembered to you, 'cordially joins with me; and if from theſe aſſurances, 'or from any thing which I have ſaid, you receive 'any comfort in your affliction, it will be a real 'ſatisfaction, to

'Dear Sir,
'your ſincere, and affectionate Friend,
'Brother, and Servant,
'Joſeph Fownes.'

Somewhat more than a month after the receipt of the preceding letter, Mr. Orton departed this life at Kidderminſter, on the nineteenth of July 1783, and in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age. On the twenty-fifth of the ſame month, agreeably to his own requeſt, he was buried in Mr. Bryan's grave, in the Chancel of St. Chad's Church, Shrewſbury. Mr. Bryan had been formerly Vicar of St. Chad's, but had been ejected from his living in 1662. On the removal of the grave-ſtone from under the altar-ſteps the following inſcription was diſcovered:

Parce Cineribus
D. Johannis Bryan, A. M.
Olim paſtoris hujus Eccleſiæ,
cum aliis ejecti,
Aug. 24, 1662.
Qui varias paſſus fortiter tulit,
inculpate vixit, Deoq. inſervivit
Uſque ad ſenectutem, non otioſe peractam,
Licet infirmitatibus gravatam.
Paucis diebus Morte abreptus.
In Chriſto exultans,
Placide tranſmigravit ad vitam meliorem,
Aug. 31. 1699.
Filius ejus unicus ſuperſtes
In memoriam
Digniſſimi parentis
P. M.

At the bottom in Hebrew Characters.

"The memory of the juſt is bleſſed (10)."

Near the ſame place, a neat Monument has been erected to Mr. Orton's memory.

(10) Communicated by the Rev. Mr. Lucas, of Shrewſbury.

With regard to the notice to be taken of him after his deceaſe, Mr. Orton left the ſubſequent directions in his will. 'I deſire Meſſrs. Fownes and Lucas 'would preach the following ſabbath to their re-'ſpective congregations, or to each other's, from, '1 Tim. i. 11, 12. But I deſire they would ſay 'nothing of me, but exhibit the glory of the Goſpel, 'and the honour of the Chriſtian miniſtry. Only 'let them aſſure my former hearers, that ſerving them 'in all their intereſts, eſpecially their beſt, was the 'delightful buſineſs of my life; that all my time and 'ſtudies were directed that way; and that if they 'retain any gratitude and reſpect to me, they would 'ſhew it by their holy converſation, and by eſteeming 'their preſent paſtors highly in love for their works 'ſake; by their wiſe and faithful improvement of 'their labours; and by their candour and love one to 'another.' Mr. Fownes's Sermon was publiſhed.

Our author's talents as a preacher have been thus delineated by Mr. Fownes: 'Mr. Orton was maſter 'of a great variety of ſtyles, and I have frequently 'heard him in the courſe of his public ſervices adopt 'them all with ſucceſs. But the general character of 'his preaching was rather of a practical, ſerious, and 'affectionate turn than diſtinguiſhed by laboured and 'long continued trains of reaſoning. The didactic 'manner, like that of a parent addreſſing his children, 'or an inſtructor his pupils, was that which ſeemed 'moſt adapted to his taſte and inclination; and 'though he acquitted himſelf with general accep-'tance in all the methods in which he addreſſed his 'hearers, it was in that he chiefly excelled.'

The following intereſting teſtimony to the memory and worth of Mr. Orton came from the hand of his friend and phyſician Dr. Johnſtone, in a letter to Mr. Stedman.

"Dear Sir, *Feb.* 26, 1786.

'Lord Bacon reckons it a great deficiency in Bio-'graphy, that it is for the moſt part confined to the 'actions of Kings and Princes, and a few perſons of 'high rank; while the memory of men diſtinguiſhed 'for worth and goodneſs in the lower ranks of life 'has been only preſerved by tradition.——I rejoice 'therefore, that you have undertaken to collect me-'moirs of the late Rev. Job Orton, one of thoſe ex-'cellent perſons, who was as induſtrious in conceal-'ing that worth which was ſo conſpicuous to all who 'knew him, as he was earneſt and ſkilful in applying 'it to the beſt and moſt benevolent purpoſes.—Indeed, 'my friend, we ſhall not ſee his like again: we ſhall 'not ſee knowledge ſo extenſive joined with ſuch 'humility, ſuch wiſdom and diſcernment of the 'human character and of human life, ſo determinately 'employed in doing good to all around him, and to 'diffuſe happineſs to the large circle of human ſociety. 'He truly had the wiſdom of the ſerpent and the 'innocence of the dove. Of the ſeventeen years 'which he paſſed in Kidderminſter, I ſpent moſt 'uſefully and happily daily many hours in his com-'pany: his counſel always ſkilful, was faithful and 'benevolent. I felt the advantage of it, and regret 'the irreparable loſs I have ſuſtained. I do not re-'member I ever ſpent ten minutes in his company, 'without being witneſs to ſome benevolent deſign or 'ſome benevolent action. He comforted and adviſed 'the opulent—he viſited the widow and the fatherleſs, 'the ſick, the poor and needy, in their affliction. 'He applied his fortune in relieving their wants; 'and a mind, ſtill more rich in reſources than his 'fortune was in abundance, in contrivances, as well 'as incitements to others, to adminiſter relief. To 'ſuch as needed, he gave with that generous addreſs, 'and that exquiſite ſkill, in which I think he ſurpaſſed 'moſt perſons I have ever known. I repeat it, I 'never was in his company without perceiving he 'was carrying on ſome uſeful deſign, either of a 'publick or private nature: doing good himſelf and 'impelling others to concur with him in executing 'ſome charitable work, or ſome plan to relieve in-'digence, to alleviate pain, to inform ignorance, 'to check and reform vice: in arbitrating and ſettling 'differences, which had any where taken place among 'his friends or acquaintance he poſſeſſed great in-'fluence, and ſhewed always great addreſs, and gave 'ſatisfaction by his interference. He poſſeſſed a 'happy manner of engaging the affections and con-'fidence of young perſons, and he gave them advice 'in ſuch a manner as had generally a happy in-'fluence in forming their character to habits of vir-'tue and religion. His ability and his zeal as a 'miniſter I do not preſume to mention: his worth 'as a man, his ſincerity as a Chriſtian, need no ſuch 'feeble teſtimony as mine. It is indeed an injury 'to ſo high a character to offer any teſtimony. But 'I cannot forbear calling to your recollection, that 'though he was zealous as a Chriſtian, yet he poſſeſſed 'no warmth of zeal to any thing but real religion. 'A Proteſtant Diſſenter he was upon principle, but 'entertained the moſt liberal communication with 'many individuals belonging to the Eſtabliſhment, 'diſtinguiſhed like himſelf by worth and talents; 'and had the moſt generous and charitable ſentiments 'concerning parties and perſons of different ſocieties 'and perſuaſions in religion in every part of Europe. 'I need not inform you, that a bad ſtate of health 'brought him to Kidderminſter; and that I had the 'honour of being confided in, as his phyſician. His 'complaints were of the nervous and melancholic 'kind: they often interrupted his eaſe and his uſe-'fulneſs; but were prevented from confining him en-'tirely to the houſe till the month of June, 1783. 'He had often complained of failure of memory; 'but yet in particular inſtances, very conſtantly gave 'proofs of his poſſeſſing it with unuſual accuracy 'and extent. At length, however, the defect which 'he perceived appeared to others, now and then in 'expreſſing an improper word, and in making a pauſe 'before he pronounced the intended one. He com-'plained of pain and a growing confuſion in his 'head. About a week before his death, that con-'fuſion became apparent and complete. He knew 'every perſon, but could not expreſs what he in-'tended. In three or four days more he became 'lethargic, and died apoplectic the 19th of July, 1783, 'in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age.—Thus lived, and 'thus died this ſervant of God—this good man—'dear to and revered by all: this counſellor and friend, 'whoſe loſs we muſt ever deplore. But, my friend, 'let us no longer view our loſſes. How ſingular was 'our advantage! He was our counſellor and com-'forter while alive: his memory, ever dear to us, and 'preſent with us, will ſtill ſuſtain and protect us. 'If at any time malediction ſhall perſecute us living or 'dead—it will be replied——"No——this cannot "be true, the honeſteſt and worthieſt of men was "their friend."—In books of piety, and in the lives 'of pious men, we ſee the effects which religion 'ought to have; thoſe who knew Mr. Orton ſaw 'the influence it had, ſaw its ſpirit and precepts 'exemplified in his temper and conduct (11)."

'Were it neceſſary,' ſays Mr. Stedman, 'to add to 'the above, it would be eaſy to produce the teſtimo-'nies of a Kennicott, an Adams, a Tucker, with 'ſeveral others, given by eminent men, both of the 'Eſtabliſhment, and among the Diſſenters: for, to 'uſe the language of the Apoſtle, He had a good re-'port of all men, and of the truth itſelf.'

'Dum memor ipſe mei, dum Spiritus hos reget artus,
'Semper Honos, Nomenque tuum, Laudeſque ma-
'nebunt.' VIRGIL (12).

The ſame gentleman, who rejoices in every opportunity of gratefully and affectionately connecting his name with that of his friend, hath, in other places, ſaid, 'It affords me a kind of pleaſure to think that 'I have his ſacred remains depoſited in my church, 'that ere long I ſhall mingle my duſt with his, ariſe 'with him, and, I hope, be happy together (13).'

'Sic mihi contingat vivere, ſicque mori (14).'

It has occured to us, that Mr. Orton, who ſo long reſided at Kidderminſter, the principal ſeat of Mr. Baxter's miniſterial uſefulneſs, had a conſiderable reſemblance, in certain reſpects, to that famous divine. In extent of abilities, Baxter was undoubtedly greatly ſuperior to Mr. Orton, and he prodigiouſly exceeded him in the multiplicity of his writings: but with regard to the nature of their practical works, and the ſtrictneſs, we had almoſt ſaid the rigidneſs, of their perſonal piety, there was no ſmall degree of ſimilarity. Both of them diſplay, in their productions, the ſame ardent zeal to excite the attention of men to their eternal concerns, and urge theſe concerns with pecu-

(11) Letters to and from the Rev. Dr. Doddridge, p. 354—357. Note.

(12) Ibid.

(13) From Mr. Stedman's communications.

(14) Letters to a young Clergyman, p. 153.

liar energy and pathos. Both of them were animated with a ſeriouſneſs of ſpirit, which ſeems never to have forſaken them in the moſt ordinary occurrences of life: nor could either of them bear to be much interrupted in their ſacred employments. When ſome viſitors to Mr. Baxter, after having ſitten a while with him, ſaid, 'We are afraid, Sir, that we break in 'upon your time; his anſwer was, 'To be ſure 'you do.' What was Mr. Orton's diſpoſition in this reſpect, is expreſſed with great vivacity in one of his letters to Mr. Stedman. The paſſage ſhall conclude the preſent article, 'I am glad I have no viſitors 'like Mr. ***, no ſuch Bath friends;—I would 'not have them:—They are not friends; I would 'not ſubmit to ſuch grievances and inconveniences, 'nor ſhould my wife (if I had ſuch an one as his). 'What muſt we do? they will ſay.—Why break off 'all correſpondence with ſuch. Tell them (as I did 'at Shrewſbury, and do here), "I am old and infirm; "I will have my own hours. At them—I ſhall be "glad to ſee my friends, but they muſt come ſoon, "and go ſoon, or not at all." —— "But we "can't do this at ***." Then I would remove to 'the Land's End, or to a Welch mountain, and 'would not ſacrifice ſuch bleſſings as health, regularity, domeſtic comfort, and family religion, for 'any perſon or perſons whatſoever. I am independent, and will be ſo. A few nights ago I heard 'ſome Weaver's lad ſinging a ſong under my window, 'of which I remember no more than this:

"Let them ſay what they will,
"By Jove I'll be free."

'I have little company and acquaintance. Eaſe and 'quiet, and an interview now and then with a worthy friend, bound my ambition. But I have a 'numerous and excellent ſociety of prophets, apoſtles, 'and practical writers, eſpecially Baxter, Bates, and 'Scudder, with whom I have lately been converſing (15).'] K.

(15) Letters to a young Clergyman, p. 93, 94.

*** [DODSLEY (ROBERT), a poetical, dramatical, and miſcellaneous Writer, was born at Mansfield, in Nottinghamſhire, in the year 1703. The humble ſituation and circumſtances of his parents precluded him from the advantages of a liberal education; and to his misfortune in this reſpect he has alluded in one of his poems.

"O native Sherwood! happy were thy Bard,
"Might theſe his rural notes, to future time,
"Boaſt of tall groves, that nodding o'er thy plain,
"Roſe to their tuneful melody. But ah!
"Beneath the feeble efforts of a Muſe
"Untutored by the lore of Greece or Rome;
"A ſtranger to the fair Caſtalian Springs,
"Whence happier poets inſpiration draw,
"And the ſweet magic of perſuaſive ſong,
"The weak preſumption, the fond hope expires."

When he grew up to manhood, no better mode of ſubſiſtence offered itſelf than that of entering into ſervice; and therefore he became a footman to the Honourable Mrs. Lowther (*a*), in which ſtation his good conduct and abilities ſoon brought him into notice. Several poems were written by him, which excited ſo much attention that he was encouraged to publiſh them; and this he did under the title of "The Muſe in "Livery." The collection is now little known; but the writter of the preſent article remembers to have ſeen it above fifty years ago; and, as far as his memory ſerves him at ſo long a diſtance of time and upon a ſlight inſpection, the work was printed in large 12mo, or what now would be called crown octavo, had a handſome Liſt of Subſcribers prefixed to it, and was dedicated to Mrs. Lowther.

(*a*) New Univerſal, Hiſtorical, and Literary Dictionary. Vol. IV. p. 447.

What contributed ſtill more to Mr. Dodſley's reputation, was his writing a dramatic piece called "The Toyſhop," which being ſhewn in manuſcript to Mr. Pope, he was ſo well pleaſed with the delicacy of its ſatire, and the ſimplicity of its deſign, that he took the author under his protection; and though he had no immediate connection with the theatre, procured ſuch a powerful intereſt in his favour, that his production was brought without delay upon the ſtage. It was acted at Covent-Garden in 1735, and met with great ſucceſs (*b*); and when printed, it was received with much applauſe by the public. 'The Hint,' ſay the writers of the Biographia Dramatica, 'of this elegant and ſenſible little piece ſeems built on "Randolph's Muſes Looking-Glaſs." The author of it, however, has ſo perfectly modernized it, and adapted the Satire to the peculiar manners and follies of the times he writes to, that he has made it perfectly his own, and rendered it one of the juſteſt, and at the ſame time the beſt-natured rebukes that faſhionable abſurdity perhaps ever met with (*c*).'

(*b*) Ibid.

The pecuniary advantages which Mr. Dodſley had derived from his firſt publication, and from the ſucceſs of his dramatic ſatire, were applied by him to a very wiſe and uſeful purpoſe. Inſtead of adopting the precarious ſituation of a town writer, he determined to engage in ſome profitable buſineſs; and the buſineſs he fixed upon was happily ſuited to his literary taſte, and favourable to his connections with men of learning. In 1735, he opened a bookſeller's ſhop in Pall-Mall; and in this ſtation, ſuch was the effect of Mr. Pope's recommendation and aſſiſtance, and of his own good character and behaviour, that he ſoon obtained not only the countenance of perſons of the firſt abilities, but alſo of thoſe of the firſt rank; and in a few years he roſe to great eminence in his profeſſion (*d*). Mr. Dodſley's employment as a bookſeller, did not, however, prevent his purſuing the bent of his genius as an author. In 1736-7, he produced upon the ſtage, at Drury-Lane theatre, a farce, entitled "The King and the Miller of Mansfield," which met with a ſucceſs not inferior to that of "The Toyſhop." The plot of the piece is built

(*c*) Biographia Dramatica. Vol. II. p. 376.

(*d*) New Dictionary, ubi ſupra, p. 448.

on

on a traditional ſtory in the reign of King Henry the Second. Of this ſtory Mr. Dodſley has made a very pleaſing uſe, and has wrought it out into a truly dramatic concluſion. The dialogue is natural, yet elegant; the ſatire poignant, yet genteel; the ſentimental parts are ſuch as do honour both to the head and the heart of the writer; and the cataſtrophe, though ſimple, is affecting and perfectly juſt. The ſcene lies in and near the Miller's houſe in Sherwood Foreſt (*e*); and Mr. Dodſley had probably an additional pleaſure in the choice of his ſubject, from the connection of it with his native place. In 1737-8, he brought forward another farce, entitled "Sir John Cockle at Court." It was acted at Drury-Lane, and is a ſequel to "The King and Miller of Mansfield." The miller, newly made a Knight, comes up to London, with his family, to pay his compliments to the King. This piece is not, however, equal in merit to the firſt part: for though the King's diſguiſing himſelf in order to put Sir John's integrity to the teſt, and the latter's reſiſting every temptation, not only of bribery, but of flattery alſo, is ingenious, and gives an opportunity for many admirable ſtrokes both of ſentiment and ſatire, yet there are a ſimplicity and a fitneſs for the Drama in the ſtory of the former production, which it is ſcarcely poſſible to come up to, in the circumſtances that ariſe from the incidents of the "Sir John Cockle at Court (*f*)."

(*e*) Biographia Dramatica. Vol. II p. 179.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 344.

Mr. Dodſley's next dramatic performance was "The blind Beggar of Bethnal Green," a Ballad Farce, which, according to Mr. Victor, was acted at Drury-Lane, in 1739 (meaning, without doubt, 1739-40), but the writers of the Biographia Dramatica ſay, in 1741. This piece did not meet with much ſucceſs (*g*). In 1745, Mr. Dodſley was the author of "Rex et Pontifex," being an attempt to introduce upon the ſtage a new ſpecies of Pantomime. It does not, however, appear to have been repreſented at any of our theatres. In 1748, our ingenious bookſeller collected together, in one volume, octavo, the ſeveral dramatic productions we have mentioned (and which had all of them been ſeparately printed), and publiſhed them under the modeſt title of "Trifles." The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle afforded to Mr. Dodſley another opportunity of diſplaying his poetical talents, in conjunction with his loyalty. On this occaſion, he wrote "The Triumph of Peace," a Maſque, which was ſet to muſick by Dr. Arne, and performed at Drury-Lane, in 1748-9 (*h*).

(*g*) Ibid. p. 33. Victor's Hiſtory of the Theatres. Vol. II. p. 117.

(*h*) Biographia Dramatica. Vol. II. p. 380.

Mr. Dodſley, in the year 1750, was the concealed author of a ſmall work, which, for a ſhort time, had a very great celebrity. It was publiſhed under the following title; "The Œconomy of Human Life, tranſlated from an Indian Manuſcript; written by an "ancient Bramin. To which is prefixed, an Account of the Manner in which the ſaid "Manuſcript was diſcovered. In a letter from an Engliſh Gentleman, now reſiding in "China to the Earl of ******." According to the pretended hiſtory of the ſaid letter, as dated from Peking, on the twelfth of May, 1749, the Emperor of China, "very "curious of ſearching after the writings of antiquity," commiſſioned one of the Hanlins, or Doctors of the firſt order, to go on a kind of embaſſy to the grand Lama, or immortal high prieſt of Tartary, the chief object of which was to obtain ſome of thoſe ancient books, which were ſuppoſed to have been for many ages ſecreted from public inſpection. He ſucceeded ſo far as to procure a number of valuable pieces of antiquity, amongſt which, however, none had the preference in point of age, or merit, to this ſyſtem of morality, written in the language and character of the ancient Gymnoſophiſts, or Bramins, and tranſlated in a ſtyle remarkable for its energy of diction, and ſhortneſs of the ſentences, and which the tranſlator judged came the neareſt to the force of the original. Beſides this apocryphal introduction of the book into the world, it derived ſome attention from its being elegantly printed on a fine paper, with a ſmall page, and a very large margin, after the French manner. But what chiefly contributed to the popularity of "The Œconomy of Human Life," was its being univerſally aſcribed to the Earl of Cheſterfield. This idea was ſtrengthened by a Letter that had been addreſſed to his Lordſhip by Mrs. Tereſia Conſtantia Philips, in which, to the no ſmall ſurprize of the faſhionable circles, ſhe had complimented him on being the author of "The Whole "Duty of Man." She had probably heard an account of the Earl's Letters to his ſon. However this may have been, the notion that "The Œconomy of Human Life" was written by Lord Cheſterfield procured it a rapidity and extenſiveneſs of ſale, and a height of applauſe, which it would not have obtained, if it had been known that it came from the humble pen of a bookſeller. The Monthly Reviewers, though they gave to the work the praiſe which it deſerved, were not carried away with the general report, but expreſſed their doubts concerning its authenticity (*i*). Neither were the editors of the Gentleman's Magazine among the number of thoſe who were great admirers of the publication. After giving a ſhort ſection from it, they added as follows. 'The foregoing extract takes up ſixty-ſix lines, making four pages of the pamphlet; 'which, beſides twenty-three of preface, conſiſts of a hundred and eleven pages, 'but twenty of theſe are loſt, by freſh titles to the ſeveral parts and ſections. The 'pamphlet is printed on a fine paper, with a large margin, and is induſtriouſly attributed 'to a noble Earl, diſtinguiſhed by his fine genius, and the elegance of his writings and 'ſpeeches. But our readers will perceive, that in the ſentiment there does not appear

(*i*) Monthly Review, Vol. IV. p. 64, 65, 70.

'to be any thing new; and that the ſtile and manner are ſo much beneath the great 'original from which they are copied, that the precept is rather enfeebled than en-'forced by the imitation (*k*)." Upon the whole, "The Œconomy of human life" is not without a conſiderable ſhare of merit. The ſubjects are well choſen; the advice is good; the ſtile is ſuccinct, and frequently nervous: but the work, in general, is deficient in that ſtrength and energy, that vividneſs of imagination, and that luminouſneſs of metaphor which pervade thoſe parts of Scripture that were intended to be imitated, and which occur in many of the genuine oriental writings. The popularity of Mr. Dodſley's performance produced a number of imitations. There ſpeedily came out "The Second Part of the Œconomy of human Life;" and great pains were taken to perſuade the world that it was the production of the author of the former publication. Nay, this was poſitively aſſerted in the title page, though the writer of the firſt work had advertized to the contrary; and indeed had repeated his public diſavowal of making any additions whatſoever to the piece. Another pamphlet was intended as a kind of a Burleſque on "The Œconomy of human Life." It was entitled "The Œconomy "of a Winter's Day;" and, though a ſhort and haſty production, contained ſome pleaſant ſtrokes, and ſome ſenſible remarks. Next followed "The Œconomy of "Female Life;" by a lady, as was pretended; but the work was too dull and too inſipid to have come from a female pen. Concerning another publication, which appeared about the ſame time, it may perhaps be queſtioned whether it aſſumed its title ſolely from a principle of imitation. It was entituled, "The Œconomy of the "Sexes; or, the Doctrine of Divorce, the Plurality of Wives, and the Vow of Celi-"bacy freely examined;" and was a ſenſible and judicious performance (*l*). We have been the longer in our account of Mr. Dodſley's "Œconomy of human Life," as, from the extravagant applauſe given it for a time, founded upon the ſuppoſition of its proceeding from a celebrated nobleman, it affords an inſtance of the power of *literary faſhion*; the hiſtory of which, as it hath appeared in various ages and countries, and as it hath operated with reſpect to the different objects of ſcience, learning, art, and taſte, would form a work that might be highly inſtructive and entertaining.

(*k*) Gent. Mag. Vol. XX. p. 483.

(*l*) Monthly Review. Vol. IV. p. 131, 134, 307. 380.

Our author's next appearance in the world was in his poetical capacity. The ſubject was "Public Virtue," and was intended to be comprized in three books, including 1. Agriculture. 2. Commerce. 3. Arts. The firſt book however, which was publiſhed, in Quarto, in 1754, was all that was accompliſhed by Mr. Dodſley. It is probable that the reception and ſale of the poem did not encourage him to complete his deſign. Indeed, to write a truly excellent Georgic is one of the laſt efforts of the human mind. Perfectly to ſucceed in this ſpecies of poetry requires a Virgil's genius, judgment, exquiſiteneſs of taſte, and power of harmony. With regard to Mr. Dodſley's production, there are, amidſt its imperfections, a number of beauties in it deſerving of applauſe. It contains ſeveral exalted ſentiments, and the deſcriptions are often delicate and well expreſſed. But, at the ſame time, the diction is frequently too proſaic; many of the epithets are inadequate; and, in ſome places, a ſufficient attention is not paid to the harmony of the verſification (*m*). The following addreſs to the genius of Britain is pleaſing:

(*m*) Ibid. Vol. X. p. 30, 31.

"Genius of Britain! pure intelligence!
"Guardian, appointed by the One Supreme,
"With influential energy benign,
"To guide the weal of this diſtinguiſhed iſle;
"O wake the breaſt of her aſpiring ſon.
"Inform his numbers; aid his bold deſign,
"Who in a daring flight preſumes to mark
"The glorious track her Monarch ſhould purſue."

In the year 1758, Mr. Dodſley publiſhed "Melpomene; or the Regions of Terror "and Pity. An Ode." This piece we regard as one of the happieſt efforts of his Muſe. It cannot, indeed, be compared with the odes of a Dryden, an Akenſide, a Maſon, or a Gray; but it contains ſeveral ſtriking and beautiful paſſages. The two firſt ſtanzas will furniſh no unfavourable ſpecimen of the Poem.

I.

"Queen of the human heart! at whoſe command
"The ſwelling tides of mighty paſſion riſe,
"MELPOMENE, ſupport my ventrous hand,
"And aid thy ſuppliant in his bold empriſe.
"From the gay ſcenes of pride
"Do thou his footſteps guide
"To nature's awful courts, where, nurs'd of yore,
"Young Shakſpeare, Fancy's child, was taught his various lore.

II.

" So may his favour'd eye explore the ſource
" To few reveal'd, whence human ſorrows charm:
" So may his numbers, with pathetic force,
" Bid *Terror* ſhake us, or *Compaſſion* warm,
" As different ſtrains controul
" The movements of the ſoul,
" Adjuſt its paſſions, harmonize its tone,
" To feel for others' woe, or nobly bear its own."

It was in the ſame year (1758), that Mr. Dodſley brought upon the ſtage his principal dramatic production, which was "Cleone," a Tragedy, acted at Covent Garden. This play was offered firſt to Mr. Garrick; but it was rejected by him with ſome degree of contempt; principally, as it ſhould ſeem, becauſe there was not a character in it ſufficiently adapted to the diſplay of his own peculiar talents. Nevertheleſs, when it came to be repreſented on a rival theatre, he betrayed a jealouſy concerning it which added no honour to his reputation. To prevent its ſucceſs, he himſelf appeared in a new part on the firſt night of its being acted. This ſcheme had no effect; for the tragedy roſe above all oppoſition, and had a long and crowded run; which, however, was not ſolely owing to its intrinſic merit, but was derived, in a great degree, if not principally, from the exquiſite performance of Mrs. Bellamy, who played the character which gives name to the piece. The Prologue to "Cleone" was written by Mr. Melmoth; and the Epilogue by Mr. Shenſtone.

An imperfect hint towards the fable of this tragedy was taken from the "Legend of "St. Genevieve," written originally in French, and tranſlated into Engliſh, in the laſt century, by Sir William Lower. Mr. Pope, in his very early youth, had attempted a tragedy on the ſame ſubject, which he afterwards burnt; and he it was who had adviſed Mr. Dodſley to extend the plan to five acts. The circumſtance of "Siffroy's" giving his friend directions concerning his wife has ſome degree of ſimilarity to "Poſt-"humus's" orders in Cymbeline. In the two laſt acts, the author appears to the greateſt advantage; Cleone's madneſs, in particular, over her murdered infant, being highly pathetic (*n*). This tragedy has ſince been revived by Mrs. Siddons; but ſo ſtrong were the feelings which her exquiſite performance of the character of Cleone excited on the firſt night of acting, that the houſe was thin on the ſecond night, and the play was dropped. The minds of the audience were affected with ſuch real diſtreſs, that it overpowered the pleaſure ariſing from dramatic fiction, and theatric repreſentation.

(*n*) Monthly Review. Vol. XIX. p. 582, 583. Biographia Dramatica. Vol. II. p. 57, 58.

In 1760, Mr. Dodſley publiſhed his laſt ſeparate Work, and which added greatly to his reputation: we mean his "Select Fables of Eſop and other Fabuliſts. In three "Books." This is indeed a claſſical performance, both in regard to the elegant ſimplicity of the ſtile, and the propriety of ſentiments and characters. The firſt book contains ancient, the ſecond modern, and the third original, Fables. Under the laſt head, the ſtories are wholly invented by the author and his friends; and this third part will not be found to be in the leaſt inferior to the two firſt. There are two farther circumſtances which give an advantage to the work over every former collection of the ſame kind: Firſt, a "Life of Eſop," by Monſ. Meziriac; a very learned and ingenious Frenchman; and which is the only life of Eſop that is conſiſtent with common ſenſe; that of Planudes being a ridiculous medley of abſurd traditions, or equally abſurd inventions. The ſecond is an "Eſſay on Fable;" in which rules are delivered for this ſpecies of compoſition, drawn from nature; and by which theſe ſmall and pleaſing kind of productions, that were thought to have little other ſtandard than the fancy, are brought under the juriſdiction of the judgment. The eſſay conſiders the Fable regularly; firſt, with relation to the moral; ſecondly, the action and incidents; thirdly, the perſons, characters, and ſentiments; and, laſtly, the language. This is one of the firſt pieces which has attempted to introduce a regular criticiſm concerning the ſubject (*o*); and Mr. Dodſley has been ſo eminently ſucceſsful in his deſign, that we recollect only a ſingle inſtance in which the propriety of his remarks has been diſputed [*A*]. Our

(*o*) Monthly Review. Vol. XXIV. p. 150, 151, Annual Regiſter. Vol. III. p. 265, 266.

[*A*] *We recollect only a ſingle inſtance in which the propriety of his remarks has been diſputed.*] The paſſage we refer to occurs in the Gentleman's Magazine, and is as follows: 'Mr. Dodſley, in his ingenious Eſſay 'on Fable, amongſt other requiſites, obſerves, that "a fable ſhould be natural. This rule, ſays he, 'may be infringed by aſcribing to creatures appetites 'and paſſions that are not conſiſtent with their known 'characters.——A Fox ſhould not be ſaid to long 'for grapes." This alludes to the well-known fable 'of the Fox and the Grapes; which, however abſurd 'it may appear in this part of the world, is not ſo 'in the Eaſt. For, Dr. Haſſelquiſt in his travels 'obſerves, that "the fox is an animal common in 'Paleſtine, and that there is plenty of them near the 'convent of St. John in the deſert, about vintage-'time; for they deſtroy all the vines unleſs, they 'are ſtrictly watched." To the ſame effect, Solomon 'ſaith, in the Canticles, ii. 15. *Take us the foxes, 'the little foxes that ſpoil the vines: for our vines have 'tender grapes.* Hence therefore it ſeems as it this 'ancient apologue might be reſtored to its uſual 'rank, without any prejudice to nature or common 'ſenſe (*t*).'

(*t*) Gent. Mag. Vol. XXVII. p. 551.

Author, before he committed his Eſſay on Fable to the preſs, ſubjected it to the reviſal of his literary friends, and eſpecially of Mr. Shenſtone (*p*). When that ingenious and amiable Poet's works were publiſhed in 1763, Mr. Dodſley prefixed to them a ſhort account of his life and writings. A ſpecimen of Mr. Dodſley's talent at ſmaller pieces of poetry may be ſeen at the cloſe of the third volume of his Collection of Poems, by different eminent hands. By this Collection, which was extended to ſix volumes, 12mo, he performed a very acceptable ſervice to the cauſe of genius and taſte; as it has been the means of preſerving ſeveral productions of merit, which might otherwiſe have ſunk into oblivion. Another plan, which was formed and executed by him, was "A Collec-"tion of Plays by old Authors," in twelve volumes, of the ſame ſize. This appeared in 1744, and was a valuable acquiſition to the literary world; but it has been highly improved in the ſecond edition, publiſhed by Mr. Reed, in 1780. In the new edition, beſides Mr. Reed's excellent preface, ſome plays, before inſerted, are rejected; and others, of greater merit, are introduced in their room. That eminently uſeful ſchool-book, "The Preceptor," ought not to be forgotten; the deſign of which was framed by Mr. Dodſley, and the execution of which was accompliſhed by ſeveral of the diſtinguiſhed writers of the age.

(*p*) Hull's Select Letters. Vol. II. p. 109, 110.

In the courſe of his profeſſion Mr. Dodſley acquired a very handſome fortune, which enabled him to retire from the active part of buſineſs. During the latter years of his life, he was much troubled with the gout, to which he at length fell a martyr, whilſt he was upon a viſit to his friend Mr. Spence, at Durham. He was buried in the Abbey-Church-Yard of that city, and the following inſcription was engraved on his tomb-ſtone:

"If you have any reſpect
"for uncommon induſtry and merit,
"regard this place,
"in which are depoſited the remains of
"MR. ROBERT DODSLEY;
"who, as an Author, raiſed himſelf
"much above what could have been expected
"from one in his rank of life,
"and without a learned education;
"and who, as a man, was ſcarce
"exceeded by any in integrity of heart,
"and purity of manners and converſation.
"He left this life for a better
"Sept. 25, 1764,
"In the 61ſt year of his age."

As an author Mr. Dodſley is entitled to conſiderable praiſe. His works are recommended by an eaſe and elegance which are ſometimes more pleaſing than a more laboured and ornamented manner of compoſition. In verſe, his numbers, if not ſublime, are flowing; and his ſubjects are well choſen and entertaining. His proſe is familiar, and yet chaſte; and in his dramatic pieces he has always kept in view the one great principle, *delectando pariterque monendo*. Some general moral is conſtantly conveyed in each of his plans, and particular inſtructions are diſperſed in the particular ſtrokes of ſatire. The dialogue, at the ſame time, is eaſy, the plots ſimple, and the cataſtrophe intereſting and pathetic (*q*). Mr. Dodſley's Eſſay on Fable will be a durable monument of his ingenuity. With regard to his private character, he is equally entitled to applauſe. As a tradeſman he preſerved the greateſt integrity, as a writer the moſt becoming humility. Mindful of the early encouragement which his own talents met with, he was ever ready to give the ſame opportunity of advancement to thoſe of others; and on many occaſions he was not only the publiſher but the patron of genius. There was no circumſtance by which he was more diſtinguiſhed, than by the grateful remembrance which he retained, and always expreſſed, towards the memory of thoſe to whom he owed the obligation of being firſt taken notice of in life. Modeſt, ſenſible, and humane, he acquired the eſteem and reſpect of all with whom he was acquainted; and it was his happineſs to paſs many years in an intimacy with men of the brighteſt abilities, and whoſe names will be revered by poſterity (*r*).

(*q*) New Dictionary, ubi ſupra. p. 448—450.

(*r*) Ibid.

In 1772, a ſecond volume of Mr. Dodſley's works was collected together and publiſhed, under the title of "Miſcellanies." The volume contains "Cleone," "Mel-"pomene," "Agriculture," and the "Œconomy of Human Life."]

K.

DOD.

DODWELL (Henry), a very learned writer, in part of the XVIIth and beginning of the XVIIIth century, was born in the Pariſh of St. Warburgh in Dublin [*A*], towards the latter end of October, 1641 (*a*); and baptized November 4th (*b*). His father had an eſtate at Connaught; but, it being ſeized by the Iriſh rebels, he came, with his wife and child, to England in 1648, to obtain ſome aſſiſtance among their relations. After ſome ſtay in London, they went to York, and placed their ſon in the free-ſchool of that city (*c*), where he continued five years, and laid the foundation of his future great accompliſhments. His father, after having ſettled him with his mother at York, went to Ireland, to look after his eſtate, but died of the plague at Waterford: and his mother, going thither for the ſame purpoſe, fell into a conſumption, of which ſhe died, in her brother Sir Henry Slingſby's houſe (*d*). Being thus deprived of his parents, Mr. Dodwell was reduced to ſuch ſtreights that he had not money enough to buy pen, ink, and paper [*B*]; and ſuffered very much for want of his board being regularly paid (*e*). Thus he continued till 1654, when his uncle, Mr. Henry Dodwell, rector of Newbourn and Hemley in Suffolk, ſent for him, diſcharged his debts [*C*], and not only aſſiſted, but alſo perfected, him in his ſtudies (*f*). With him he remained about a year, and then went to Dublin, where he was at ſchool for a year longer (*g*). In 1656 he was admitted into Trinity-College in that city, of which he was ſucceſſively choſen Scholar and Fellow (*h*). But in 1666 he quitted his Fellowſhip, in order to avoid going into holy orders (*i*), as the ſtatutes of the College require [*D*]. He came the ſame year to England, and reſided at Oxford (*k*) for the ſake of the public library. Thence he returned to his native country for a time (*l*), and in 1672 publiſhed, at Dublin, in 8*vo*. a poſthumous treatiſe of his late learned Tutor John Stearn, M. D. to which he put a preface of his own [*E*]. His ſecond work was, 'Two Letters of Advice. I. For the Suſception of Holy Orders. II. For Studies Theological, eſpecially ſuch as are Rational.' To the ſecond edition of which, in 1681, was added, 'A Diſcourſe concerning the Phœnician Hiſtory of Sanchoniathon [*F*].' In 1673, he wrote a preface, without his name, to 'An Introduction

(*a*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. edit. 1721. col. 232. and Life of Mr. Henry Dodwell, &c. by Fr. Brokeſby, B.D. Lond. 1714. 8vo. p. 11.

(*b*) Brokeſby, p. 12.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Brokeſby, ibid. p. 13, 14, 15.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 15.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 16, 17.

(*g*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) Ibid. and Brokeſby, p. 23.

(*k*) Wood, ibid. and Brokeſby, p. 38.

(*l*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Was born in the pariſh of St. Warburgh in Dublin.*] Though Ireland was the place of his birth, yet by both parents he was of Engliſh extraction. His father, William Dodwell, was in a military office, being Corporal of the Field, a poſt now diſuſed, but equal to a Captain of horſe (1). His grandfather (who firſt of that family ſettled in Ireland) was Henry Dodwell, a Clergyman (2); a native of Oxford, and ſon of William, ſuppoſed to be brother of Alderman Henry Dodwell, Mayor of that city in the year 1592 (3).—As for Mr. Dodwell's mother; ſhe was daughter of Sir Francis Slingſby, uncle to that Sir Henry Slingſby, who was beheaded in 1658, for being concerned in a plot againſt Oliver Cromwell, then Protector. Sir Francis Slingſby was a very brave officer under Sir George Carew, Lord Preſident of Munſter (4).

(1) Brokeſby, as above, p. 7, 8.

(2) Ibid. p. 8.

(3) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(4) Brokeſby, p. 8, &c.

[*B*] *That he had not money enough to buy pen, ink, and paper.*] So that he was forced to uſe ſuch paper as young gentlewomen had covered their work with, and thrown away as no longer fit for their uſe, he having no other to write his exerciſes on; and to make uſe of charcoal, inſtead of pen and ink, which he had not money to purchaſe; and then, when he came to ſchool, to borrow pen and ink of his ſchool-fellows to fit his exerciſes for his maſter's ſight (5).

(5) Brokeſby, ubi ſupra, p. 15.

[*C*] *Diſcharged his debts.*] The non-payment of which, and eſpecially of his board, had procured him a great deal of neglect and ill treatment; which was to him frequently matter of melancholy reflexions, and had made a very great impreſſion upon his tender mind, as appears from the following inſtance. One night, when at his uncle's, he was heard to cry out bitterly, and make a ſad noiſe, in his ſleep. Upon which, his uncle going to him, and awaking him, the young man told him, that he dreamed his landlord Hind was come to fetch him back to York: the thoughts of which gave him inexpreſſible uneaſineſs (6).

(6) Ibid. p. 17.

[*D*] *As the ſtatutes of the College require.*] By the ſtatutes of that college, the Fellows are obliged to take Orders when they are Maſters of Arts of three years ſtanding. The learned Biſhop Jer. Taylor offered to uſe his intereſt for procuring a diſpenſation of the ſtatute. But Mr. Dodwell refuſed to accept of that kind offer; leſt it ſhould be an ill precedent, and of bad conſequence afterwards to the college. The reaſons given for his declining the miniſterial function were, 1. The great weight of that office, and the ſevere account which the Miniſters of Chriſt have to give to their Lord and Maſter. 2. His natural baſhfulneſs, and humble opinion, and diffidence of himſelf; tho' he was, unqueſtionably, very well qualified in point of learning, of every kind. 3. That he thought he could do more ſervice to religion, and the Church, by his writings, whilſt he continued a layman, than if he took Orders; for then the uſual objections made againſt clergymen's writings on thoſe ſubjects, *viz.* 'That 'they plead their own cauſe, and are biaſſed by ſelf-'intereſt,' would be entirely taken off (7).

(7) Ibid. p. 23, 24, &c.

[*E*] *A poſthumous treatiſe of his late learned tutor John Stearn, M. D. to which he put a preface of his own.*] He entituled that book, *De Obſtinatione: Opus poſthumum Pietatem Chriſtiano-Stoicam ſcholaſtico more ſuadens:* and his own preface, *prolegomena Apologetica; de uſu Dogmatum Philoſophicorum*, &c. Wherein he apologizes for his tutor; who, by quoting ſo often in that book, and ſetting a high value upon the writings and maxims of the Heathen Philoſophers, particularly of the Stoics, might ſeem to depreciate the Holy Scriptures. Mr. Dodwell therefore premiſes firſt, that the author's deſign in that work is only to recommend *Moral Duties*, and enforce the practice of them by the authority of the antient Philoſophers; and that he doth not meddle with the great myſteries of Chriſtianity, which are diſcoverable only by divine revelation. After that, he ſhews, that, in things which concern our practice, reaſon is to be regarded, and even in things wherein God hath ſuperadded a farther revelation of his will in the Holy Scriptures: That, in the examination of natural reaſoning, the authority of the great aſſertors and vindicators of Reaſon challenges our regard; and conſequently the Philoſophers.—Moreover, he argues, that the great end of Revelation was to inſtruct us in things, which we could not by our reaſon attain to the knowledge of; but that in ordinary caſes our reaſon is given us by God to be our guide and director, it being the candle of the Lord: That revelation was ſuperadded by God to make a farther diſcovery of his will, and to aſſiſt our natural reaſon, and hence not to be expected in caſes where reaſon is ſufficient to attain the end: That faith, or belief of divine revelation, is founded on reaſon, and that ſome acts of reaſon precede faith, and are ſuppoſed in our belief of divine revelation, &c. Laſtly, he ſhows, that by *Obſtinatio* Dr. Stearn meant what the Greeks call ἀκάθια, εὐκάθια, ἀναμαξήσια, i. e. Firmneſs, the not ſinking under adverſities and misfortunes (8).

(8) See Brokeſby, p. 26, &c.

[*F*] *Two letters of advice——and——concerning the Phœnician Hiſtory of Sanchoniathon.*] One of the two

"troduction to a devout Life," by Francis de Sales, the laſt Biſhop and Prince of Geneva; which was publiſhed at Dublin, in Engliſh, this ſame year, in 12*mo* (*m*). He came over again to England in 1674, and ſettled in London; where he became acquainted with ſeveral learned men; particularly, in 1675, with Dr. William Lloyd, afterwards ſucceſſively Biſhop of St Aſaph, Litchfield and Coventry, and Worceſter. With that eminent Divine he contracted ſo great a friendſhip and intimacy, that he attended him to Holland, when he was appointed Chaplain to the Princeſs of Orange. He was alſo with him at Saliſbury, when he kept his reſidence there as Canon of that Church; and ſpent afterwards a good deal of time with him at St. Aſaph (*n*). In 1675 he publiſhed "Some Conſiderations of preſent Concernment; How far the Romaniſts may be truſted "by Princes of another perſuaſion," in 8*vo* [*G*]. The year following he put out "Two "ſhort Diſcourſes againſt the Romaniſts. 1. An Account of the fundamental Principle "of Popery, and of the Inſufficiency of the Proofs which they have for it. 2. An "Anſwer to ſix Queries propoſed to a Gentlewoman of the Church of England, by an "Emiſſary of the Church of Rome [*H*]." In the year 1679, he publiſhed, in 4*to*, "Separation of Churches from Epiſcopal Government, as practiſed by the preſent Non-"conformiſts, proved ſchiſmatical, from ſuch Principles as are leaſt controverted, and do "withal moſt popularly explain the Sinfulneſs and Miſchief of Schiſm [*I*]. This, being animadverted upon by R. Baxter (*o*), was vindicated, in 1681, by Mr. Dodwell, in "A "Reply to Mr. Baxter's pretended Confutation of a Book, intituled, *Separation of "Churches*, &c." To which were added, "Three Letters to Mr. Baxter, written in the "year 1673, concerning the Poſſibility of Diſcipline under a Dioceſan Government, *&c.*" 8*vo*. In 1682 came out his "Diſſertations on St. Cyprian [*K*]." The year following, he publiſhed "A Diſcourſe concerning the One Altar, and the One Prieſthood, inſiſted "on

(*m*) Brokeſby, as above, p. 33. 36. Mr. Dodwell reviſed it, and left out whatever was Popiſh; publiſhing it under this title. *An Introduction to a Devout Life: containing eſpecially a prudent Method for Spiritual Cloſet Exerciſes, and Remedies againſt the Difficulties ordinarily occurring in the Conduct of a pious Life. Fitted for the uſe of Proteſtants.*

(*n*) Ibid. p. 38, 39.

(*o*) In his True and only Way of Concord of all the Chriſtian Churches. Lond. 1680, 8*vo*.

two letters was written for the uſe of a ſon of Biſhop Leſley, a brother to Mr. Charles Leſley, well known for his writings againſt the Quakers, Deiſts, Papiſts, and Socinians: one for whom Mr. Dodwell had a great eſteem (9).——As for his *Diſcourſe on Sanchoniathon*; it was occaſioned by ſome letters that paſſed between him and the learned Dr. Thos. Smith. This learned perſon having deſired Mr. Dodwell's thoughts concerning that author, Mr. Dodwell wrote this diſcourſe, wherein he delivers it as his opinion, that Philo-Byblius was the forger, or contriver, of that Hiſtory under the name of Sanchoniathon.

(9) Ibid. p. 33.

[*G*] *Some Conſiderations of preſent Concernment, &c.*] This book was chiefly levelled againſt Father P. Walſh, and others concerned in *the Iriſh Remonſtrance*, and *the Controverſial Letters*; which occaſioned a kind of ſchiſm amongſt the Iriſh Papiſts (10). See the *Iriſh Remonſtrance* in Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, *&c.* edit. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 515, 516, 620, *&c.*

(10) Brokeſby, ubi ſupra, p. 40, &c.

[*H*] *An Account of the fundamental Principle of Popery,——and An Anſwer to Six Queries, &c.*] That fundamental principle is, the pretended *Infallible Authority* of that Church. He begins this treatiſe by ſhewing, that the Romaniſts are guilty of formal ſchiſm with reſpect to us in England; ſince they ſeparated from us upon the prohibition of Pius V. by his Bull dated Febr. 25, 1569. There is a very long preface to this ſhort tract, 'concerning the uſe-'fulneſs of the following hypotheſis.'——His *Anſwer to the Six Queries* was occaſioned by their being preſented to a gentlewoman of the Church of England, by a Romaniſt, in order to ſeduce her. Whereupon Mr. Dodwell was deſired to give a ſhort and diſtinct anſwer to them: which he accordingly did. The queries were, 1. 'Whether any one going from the 'Church of England, and dying a Roman Catholick, 'can be ſaved? 2. Whether they be idolaters, or 'not? 3. Where was the Church of England before 'Luther's time? 4. Why all the Churches are not 'united in one? 5. Why the Church of England 'doth not hold up to confeſſion, faſting-days, holy 'oil, which we ourſelves commend? 6. Why was 'Reformation done by Act of Parliament?' Theſe *two Diſcourſes* make but a very ſmall volume in 12*mo*. They were reprinted in 1688, 4*to*, with 'A new 'Preface relating to the Biſhop of Meaux, and other 'modern Complainers of miſrepreſentation.'

[*I*] *Separation of Churches, &c.*] This book was occaſioned by an *Anſwer to a Sermon* of the learned John Sharp (afterwards Archbiſhop of York) on Romans xiv. 19, by a Nonconformiſt. Mr. Dodwell undertook to vindicate the doctrine contained in this ſermon: and that produced the book now before us. In this Mr. Dodwell ſhews, that ſeparation from epiſcopal communion renders perſons unſecure of their eternal ſalvation: that ſalvation is ordinarily to be expected from the participation of the Sacraments of Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, which God has appointed as the ordinary means of obtaining the Goſpel-benefits, not to be obtained merely by hearing the word, and prayer: that the validity of the Sacraments depends on the authority of the perſons adminiſtering them, there being ſuch whom God has commiſſioned to act as his Miniſters, whoſe acts he will ratify in heaven: that God is not obliged to beſtow ſpiritual benefits on any, who receive the Sacraments from perſons not thus authorized, beſides their adminiſtering them being an uſurpation on God's authority, *&c.* In this book he hath learned diſcourſes, on the *Sin unto Death*; and the *Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt*. He intended to write, moreover, "A Hiſtory of the firſt "Schiſms in the Chriſtian Church," as a ſecond part of this work; which he ſtiled the *Hiſtorical* part, as the former the *Rational*. Accordingly he began it, and in Latin, that it might be beneficial to foreigners as well as our nation; but he never finiſhed it (11).

(11) Brokeſby, p. 58, &c.

[*K*] *Diſſertations on St. Cyprian.*] They were compoſed at the requeſt of the excellent Dr. J. Fell, Biſhop of Oxford, who deſired our author to write Obſervations on St. Cyprian, when he was about publiſhing his beautiful edition of that Father. This produced theſe Diſſertations; which were dedicated by the author to that Prelate, on the 7th of April 1682, and printed, that year, in the ſame ſize as Biſhop Fell's St. Cyprian, and deſigned to be bound with it. A ſecond edition of them, under the title of *Diſſertationes Cyprianicæ*, &c. was reprinted at Oxford in 1684, 8*vo*. They are chiefly explanations of ſome paſſages in St. Cyprian. In the XIth Diſſertation he ſhews, 'How ſmall the *number of martyrs* was 'in the firſt perſecutions: and how later Martyro-'logies, eſpecially of the Romaniſts, have multi-'plied then without the authority of antient monu-'ments.' This ſubject he handled particularly at the requeſt of Dr. W. Lloyd, Biſhop of St. Aſaph (12); with a proſpect of the ſucceſſion of King James II (13). And he [Mr. Dodwell] thought, that the leſſening the number of martyrs leſſened not the glory of Chriſtianity, when the heroic conſtancy and patience of them that ſuffered, which tended ſo much to its honour, was the great reaſon the perſecutors put a ſtop to theſe ſlaughters. However, Mr Dodwell was ſeverely, nay rudely, reflected upon for this Diſſertation by Biſhop Burnet, who thus ſpeaks to him: 'in one of theſe [Diſſertations] you laboured 'to leſſen one of the glorious characters of the Chriſ-'tian

(12) Brokeſby, as above, p. 102.

(13) Four Letters which paſſed between the Biſhop of Sarum and Mr. Hen. Dodwell. Publiſhed by Mr. Nelſon, London, 1713, 12*mo*.

" on by the Ancients (p) in the Diſputes againſt Schiſm." *Lond.* 8*vo*. In 1684, a diſſertation of his on a paſſage of Lactantius [*L*], was inſerted in the new edition of that author at Oxford, by Thomas Spark, in 8*vo*. His treatiſe "of the Prieſthood of "Laicks [*M*]" appeared in 1686, in 8*vo*. About the ſame time (q) he was preparing for the preſs the Poſthumous Works of the learned Dr. John Pearſon, Biſhop of Cheſter [*N*]. He publiſhed alſo, "Diſſertations on Irenæus [*O*]." On the 2d of April 1688, he was elected, by the Univerſity of Oxford, Camden's Profeſſor of Hiſtory, without any application of his own, and when he was at a great diſtance from Oxford (r): and the 21ſt of May was incorporated Maſter of Arts in that Univerſity (s). But this beneficial and creditable employment of Profeſſor he did not enjoy long; being deprived of it in November, 1691, for refuſing to take the Oaths of Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary (t). When their Majeſties had ſuſpended thoſe Biſhops who would not acknowledge their authority, Mr. Dodwell publiſhed "A cautionary diſcourſe of Schiſm, "with a particular Regard to the Caſe of the Biſhops, who are ſuſpended for refuſing to "take the new Oath." London, 8*vo* (u). And when thoſe Biſhops were actually deprived, and others put in their ſees [*P*], he joined the former, looking upon the new Biſhops, and their adherents, as Schiſmatics. He wrote likewiſe "A Vindication of the deprived "Biſhops:" and "A Defence of the ſame [*Q*]." After having loſt his Profeſſorſhip, he continued

(p) Particularly by Ignatius. This book was occaſioned by an objection of Mr. R. Baxter. In oppoſition to whom Mr. Dodwell affirms, That the *One Prieſthood* was that of the Biſhop: and the *One Altar*, Epiſcopal Communion.

(q) For the *Imprimatur* bears date Sept. 9. 1686.

(r) He was then in Shropſhire. Brokeſby, p. 181.

(s) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 231. 232. and Brokeſby, as above, p. 180, 181.

(t) About which time he wrote *Concerning the Caſe of taking the new Oath of Allegiance, with a Declaration*, &c. containing only nine pages.

(u) Upon occaſion of this diſcourſe it was ſaid, That, allowing his plea to ſtand, he had made Religion for the Church, not the Church for Religion. See the Life of Mr. John Kettlewell, &c. Lond. 1718. p. 317.

'tian religion from the number of the martyrs; and 'in the next (concerning the ſignal courage aud fortitude of the martyrs) you began the account of the 'patience and fortitude of the martyrs with the wilfulneſs of the firſt Chriſtians, and their deſire of 'fame and vain-glory. It is true, you after that 'gave better reaſons for it: but would a Vaninus, 'a Hobbes, and a Spinoza, ſay any thing more derogatory to that glory of our moſt holy faith than you 'wrote in thoſe two Diſſertations?' In anſwer to that, Mr. Dodwell replies, That he wrote thoſe Diſcourſes with a deſign of advancing, not of undervaluing, martyrdom,'——And that he could have eaſily confuted his adverſaries, had it not been for the 'great veneration he had for the goodneſs and piety 'of ſeveral of the Fathers, who were of too eaſy belief 'of matter of fact not ſufficiently atteſted (14).' This Diſſertation was profeſſedly attacked by Father Thierry Ruinart, a Benedictin; in the General Preface to his "Acta Primorum Martyrum ſincera & ſelecta, ex "Libris cum editis tum manuſcriptis collecta, &c. "Notiſque & obſervationibus illuſtrata. His præ"mittitur Præfatio generalis, in qua refellitur Diſſer"tatio IIma Cyprianica de Paucitate Martyrum." Paris 1689, 4*to*, and Amſtel. 1712, fol. Mr. Dodwell never anſwered this Preface; not that it was unanſwerable, but really out of tenderneſs for religion: becauſe he muſt have been forced to expoſe the *weakneſs* or *credulity* of antient writers, which ſome irreligious wretches would lay hold on to vile purpoſes (15). At the end of theſe Diſſertations are ſome chronological tables, chiefly the Canons of Ptolemy collated with manuſcripts; ſome *Faſti* out of manuſcripts; a fragment of Theon, and another of the Emperor Heraclius, both founded on Ptolemy's Canons.

(14) Four Letters, ibid.

(15) Ibid. p. 103.

[*L*] *A Diſſertation on a paſſage of Lactantius.*] In his treatiſe "de Mortibus Perſecutorum, ſect. 17." the words are——'per circuitum ripæ Strigæ "Nicomediam venit.' In explaining which, Mr. Dodwell obſerves, That "Striga" is firſt uſed for the limit of a Roman camp, and thence for the borders of fields, and limits of countries: that rivers were convenient for all theſe ends: that as Euphrates was the boundary of the Roman empire towards the Parthians, and the Rhine towards the Germans, ſo was the Danube of the Illyrian Province. And, becauſe paſſage by water was the eaſieſt for infirm perſons, Diocleſian made choice of it in his chronical weakneſs to go to Nicomedia, partly by the Danube, and partly by the Euxine ſea, though it was 'per circuitum,' by taking a compaſs about.

[*M*] *Of the Prieſthood of Laicks.*] "De Jure Laicorum Sacerdotali, ex Sententia Tertulliani aliorumque Veterum;" as the title of it is. It was written by way of anſwer to H. Grotius's Diſſertation "De Cœnæ Adminiſtratione ubi paſtores non ſunt, "&c." which was tranſlated about this time into Engliſh by Mr. William Baxter, the Antiquary, and publiſhed under this title, "Anti-Dodwelliſm (16): "being two curious Tracts formerly written by Hugo "Grotius, concerning a Solution of theſe two curious "queſtions: 1. Whether the Euchariſt may be ad"miniſtered in the abſence of, or want of, Paſtors, "&c."

(16) Probably becauſe it was contrary to what Mr. Dodwell had aſſerted in his book of *Schiſm*, and its defences.

[*N*] *The Poſthumous Works of the learned Dr. John Pearſon.*] They were printed at London in 1688, 4*to*. under this title, "V. Cl. Johannis Pearſonii, "S. T. P. Ceſtrienſis nuper Epiſcopi, Opera Poſthuma Chronologica, &c. viz. De Serie & Succeſſione primorum Romæ Epiſcoporum Diſſertationes duæ: quibus præfiguntur Annales Paulini, "& Lectiones in Acta Apoſtolorum. Singula prælo "tradidit, edenda curavit, & Diſſertationis novis "additionibus auxit, H. Dodwellus, &c. Cujus etiam "acceſſit de eadem Succeſſione uſque ad Annales Cl. "Ceſtrienſis Cyprianicos, Diſſertatio Singularis." The additions made by Mr. Dodwell are, a Diſcourſe to ſhew that Theophilus Antiochenus, the author of the Diſcourſe "ad Autolycum," was not Theophilus Biſhop of Antioch: another, to ſhew what St. Jerom meant by this paſſage, 'That the Churches were 'governed by a Council of Preſbyters at firſt, till diviſions aroſe, &c.' another, to prove, how little Euſebius was acquainted with Latin authors or affairs in the Weſt; and how long after his Chronicon he wrote his Hiſtory. A Diſſertation concerning the younger Agrippa's death. A Diſcourſe, ſhewing, that Celibacy and Virginity were not ſo much eſteemed in the firſt ages of the Church as in the following times. A Diſcourſe about Tertullian's Epocha, in his firſt book againſt Marcion, c. 19. A Diſſertation concerning the ſucceſſion of the firſt Biſhops begins his Cyprianic Annals: which Annals are inſerted in Biſhop Fell's edition of St Cyprian (17).

(17) This Diſſertation contains 226 pages.

[*O*] *Diſſertations on Irenæus.*] They were printed at Oxford in 1689, in 8*vo*, under the title of "Diſſertationes in Irenæum. Though they are ſix in number, they are only prolegomena to what the author farther deſigned. He hath joined to his work, "Philippus Sidetes de Catechiſtarum Alexandri"norum Succeſſione," i. e. Of the Readers in the "School of Alexandria; with notes. At the end there is a Chronological Table.

[*P*] *When thoſe Biſhops were actually deprived, and others put in their Sees.*] The deprived Biſhops were, Dr. Will. Sancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; Dr. Will. Lloyd, Biſhop of Norwich; Dr. Fr. Turner, of Ely; Dr. Tho. Kenn, of Bath and Wells; Dr. Rob. Frampton, of Glouceſter; and Dr. Tho. White, of Peterborough. And thoſe put in their Sees were, Dr. John Tillotſon, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; Dr. John Moore, at Norwich; Dr. Sim. Patrick, at Ely; Dr. Rich. Kidder, at Bath and Wells; Dr. Edw. Fowler at Glouceſter; and Dr. Rich. Cumberland, at Peterborough.

[*Q*] *A Vindication of the deprived Biſhops.*] This was printed at London in 1691, 4*to*, being an anſwer to a book publiſhed by *Humphrey Hody*, *B. D.* London 1691, 4*to*, entituled. "The Unreaſonableneſs of a "Separation from the New Biſhops: or, a Treatiſe out "of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ſhewing, that although a "Biſhop was unjuſtly deprived, neither he nor the "Church ever made a Separation, if the Succeſſor was "not

continued for ſome time in Oxford, and then retired to Cookham, a village near Maidenhead, about an equal diſtance between Oxford and London; and therefore convenient to maintain a correſpondence in each place, and to conſult friends and books, as he ſhould have occaſion (*w*). While he lived there, he became acquainted with Mr. Francis Cherry of Shotteſbrooke, a perſon of great learning and virtue, for the ſake of whoſe converſation he removed to Shotteſbrooke, where he chiefly ſpent the remainder of his days (*x*). In 1692, he publiſhed his Camdenian Lectures read at Oxford [*R*]: and, in 1694, "An "Invitation to Gentlemen to acquaint themſelves with ancient Hiſtory;" being a preface to *Degory Wheare*'s "Method of reading Hiſtory," tranſlated into Engliſh by Mr. Bohun. About this time having loſt one or more of the Dodwells, his kinſmen, whom he deſigned for his heirs, he married on the 24th of June 1694, in the 52d year of his age, a perſon, in whoſe father's houſe at Cookham he had boarded ſeveral times, and by her had ten children (*y*). In 1696 he drew up the Annals of Thucydides and Xenophon, to accompany the editions of thoſe two authors by Dr. John Hudſon and Mr. Edward Wells. Having likewiſe compiled the Annals of Velleius Paterculus, and of Quintilian, and Statius, he publiſhed them all together in 1698, in one volume, 8*vo* [*S*]. About the ſame time he wrote an account of the leſſer Geographers, publiſhed by Dr. Hudſon [*T*]: and, "A Treatiſe concerning the Lawfulneſs of inſtrumental Muſick in Holy "Offices (*z*):" occaſioned by an organ being ſet up at Tiverton in 1696: with ſome other things [*U*]. In 1701, he publiſhed his account of the Greek and Roman Cycles [*W*], which was the moſt elaborate of all his pieces, and ſeems to have been the work of the greateſt part of his life (*a*). The ſame year was publiſhed a letter of his [*X*], concerning Mr. Toland's diſingenuous treatment of him (*b*). The year following appeared "A Diſcourſe [of his] concerning the Obligation to marry within the true Commu-"nion, following from their ſtyle of being called a Holy Seed" (*c*); and "An Apology "for the Philoſophical Writings of Cicero," againſt the objections of Mr. Petit; prefixed to Tully's five books *De Finibus*, or, Of Moral Ends, tranſlated into Engliſh by Samuel Parker, gent. as alſo the Annals of Thucydides and Xenophon [*Y*]. In 1703 he publiſhed "A Letter concerning the Immortality of the Soul, againſt Mr. Henry Lay-"ton's Hypotheſis," 4*to*; and, "A Letter to Dr. Tillotſon about Schiſm," 8*vo*. written in the year 1691. The year following came out, his "Chronology of Dionyſius Hali-"car-

(*w*) Brokeſby, as above, p. 223.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 305.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 305, 306. Only ſix ſurvived him; namely, two ſons, and four daughters. One of his ſons was the learned Dr. Wm. Dodwell, Rector of Shotteſbrooke.

(*z*) Publiſhed in 1700. 8vo.

(*a*) Dr. Halley, in his account of that book, at the end of Brokeſby's Life of Mr. Dodwell, p. 638.

(*b*) Brokesby, p. 321, &c.

(*c*) This was annexed to Mr. C. Leſley's Diſcourſe on the ſame ſubject.

"not a Heretick. Tranſlated out of an ancient Greek "Manuſcript in the Public Library at Oxford," viz. among the Baroccian MSS. Mr. Hody writing an anſwer to "The Vindication, &c." Mr. Dodwell publiſhed "A Defence of the Vindication of the Deprived "Biſhops." Lond 1695, 4to. To which he put a preface that was then ſuppreſſed, but printed afterwards, with this title. "The Doctrine of the Church "of England, concerning the Independency of the "Clergy on the Lay-Power, as to thoſe Rights of "theirs which are purely Spiritual, reconciled with our "Oath of Supremacy, and the Lay-Deprivations of "the Popiſh Biſhops in the beginning of the Reforma-"tion (18)."

(18) See the Life of Mr. John Kettlewell, &c. Lond. 1718. 8vo. p. 316.

[*R*] *His Camdenian Lectures read at Oxford.*] The firſt was read May 25, 1688, and the ſixteenth, or laſt, Nov. 6, 1691: beſides which, there are three more, that were prepared, but not read. Theſe Lectures are upon "Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ Scriptores," i. e. thoſe authors, who wrote the Hiſtory of the Roman Emperors, from the time of Trajan to that of Dioclefian. They were printed at Oxford 1692, 8vo, under this title, "Prælectiones Academicæ in Scholâ Rheto-"rices Camdenianâ: cum Fragmentis è Libris Linteis." Theſe Libri Lintei were the Annals, or Commentaries, of the antient Romans, which uſed to be written on linen.

[*S*] *Having likewiſe compiled the Annals of Velleius*, &c.] The title of them was, "Annales Velleiani, "Quinctilianei, Statiani; ſeu Vitæ P. Vellei, M. Fa-"bii Quinctiliani, Papinii Statii (obiterque Juvenalis) "pro temporum ordine diſpoſitæ." Thoſe of Velleius Paterculus, were written at the requeſt of Dr. Charlett, late Maſter of Univerſity-College, Oxon. when he procured an edition of that author in 1692. At the end of theſe Annals is an appendix, concerning Julius Celſus, who digeſted Cæſar's Commentaries; and concerning Commodianus; in two Diſſertations addreſſed to the moſt learned Grævius.

[*T*] *He wrote an account of the Leſſer Geographers.*] The *firſt* volume of theſe Geographers was publiſhed in 1698. 8vo. The *ſecond* in 1703. The *third* and *fourth* in 1712, &c. Mr. Dodwell's account of the ſeveral authors is printed in theſe volumes.

[*U*] *With ſome other things.*] Particularly "De Ta-"bulis Cælorum Diſſert. Et Tabulæ Chronolog. pro "mente XII Patriarch." Theſe are printed in Dr. Grabe's 'Spicilegium,' Vol. I. among the notes. The firſt is a Diſſertation on theſe words, ταις πλαξι των ουρανων. Tabulis Cælorum, uſed in the Teſtament of the XII Patriarchs: whereby Mr. Dodwell underſtands the archetypal and original Law, as it is in the ſupreme Lawgiver in heaven; in oppoſition to the written Law of Moſes; and ſuppoſes it to be alſo part of Enoch's prophecy. The other piece is, 'Chronolo-'gical Tables, according to the author of the Teſtament of the Twelve Patriarchs, inſerted in that collection of Dr. Grabe.

[*W*] *His account of the Greek and Roman Cycles.*] It was printed at Oxford in 1701, 4to, under this title, "De Veteribus Græcorum Romanorumque Cyclis, "obiterque de Cyclo Judæorum ætate Chriſti, Diſſer-"tationes Decem, cum Tabulis neceſſariis. Inſerun-"tur Tabulis Fragmenta Veterum inedita, ad rem "ſpectantia chronologicam. Opus Hiſtoriæ veteri, "tam Græcæ quam Romanæ, quam et Sacræ quoque "neceſſarium." At the end are 'Tabulæ Chronolo-"gicæ ad hoc opus illuſtrandum neceſſariæ." The contents of theſe Diſſertations are, 1. Of Meton's Cycle. 2. Of that of Calippus. 3. Of the Athenian Cycles before Meton. 4. The Cycles of the Olympiads. 5. The Delphic and Bœotian Cycles. 6. Of the Iſthmian Games, and Corinthian and Sicilian Cycles. 7. Of the Nemean Games, and Argolic Cycles. 8. Of the Laconic Cycles. 9. Of the Macedonian and Jewiſh Cycles. 10. Of the antient Roman Cycles.

[*X*] *A Letter of his.*] It was inſerted in the ſecond edition of "The Canon of the New Teſtament vindi-"cated, by J. Richardſon, B. D." in anſwer to J. Toland's Amyntor; who had (19) quoted a long paſſage out of Mr. Dodwell's Diſſertations on Irenæus (20), tending (as that impious author imagined) to invalidate the authority of the Holy Scriptures, and to repreſent the Canon of the New Teſtament as precarious and ill-grounded (21).

(19) Page 69, &c.

(20) Diſſertat. I. ſ. 38, 39.

(21) See Brokeſby, p. 321.

[*Y*] *As alſo the Annals of Thucydides and Xenophon.*] They were printed at Oxford in 4to, under this title; "Annales Thucydidei et Xenophontei. Præmittitur "Apparatus, cum vitæ Thucydidis Synopſi Chrono-"logicâ."

"carnaſſeus," in the Oxford edition of that Hiſtorian by Dr. Hudſon, folio; his "Two "Diſſertations on the age of Phalaris and Pythagoras [Z];" and his "Admonition to "Foreigners, concerning the late Schiſm in England [*AA*]." When the bill for preventing Occaſional Conformity was depending in Parliament, he wrote a treatiſe, intituled, "Occaſional Communion fundamentally deſtructive of the Diſcipline of the Primi- "tive Catholick Church, and contrary to the Doctrine of the lateſt Scriptures concerning "Church Communion;" which was publiſhed in 1705, at London, 8*vo.* About the ſame time, obſerving that the deprived Biſhops were reduced to a ſmall number (*d*), he wrote, "A Caſe in View conſidered: in a Diſcourſe, proving that [in Caſe our preſent "invalidly deprived Fathers ſhall leave all their Sees vacant, either by Death or Reſigna- "tion] we ſhall not then be obliged to keep up our Separation from thoſe Biſhops, who "are as yet involved in the Guilt of the preſent unhappy Schiſm." *Lond.* 1705. 8*vo.* Some time after, he publiſhed "A farther Proſpect of the Caſe in View, in Anſwer to "ſome new Objections not then conſidered." *Lond.* 1707. 8*vo.* Hitherto Mr. Dodwell had acted in ſuch a manner as had procured him the applauſe of all, excepting ſuch as hated or deſpiſed the Nonjurors; but, about this time, he publiſhed ſome opinions that drew upon him almoſt univerſal cenſure. For, in order to exalt the powers and dignity of the Prieſthood, in that *One Communion*, which he imagined to be the *Peculium* of God, and to which he had joined himſelf, he endeavoured to prove, with his uſual perplexity of learning, That the doctrine of the Soul's *Natural Mortality* was the true and original Doctrine; and that Immortality was only at Baptiſm conferred upon the Soul, by the Gift of God, through the Hands of One Set of regularly-ordained Clergy (*e*). In ſupport of this opinion, he wrote "An Epiſtolary Diſcourſe, proving, from the Scriptures "and the firſt Fathers, that the Soul is a Principle naturally mortal; but immortalized "actually by the pleaſure of God, to Puniſhment, or to Reward, by its Union with the "Divine Baptiſmal Spirit. Wherein is proved, That none have the Power of giving this "Divine Immortalizing Spirit, ſince the Apoſtles, but only the Biſhops." *Lond.* 1706. 8vo. At the end of the Preface to the Reader is a Diſſertation, to prove "That Sacer- "dotal Abſolution is neceſſary for the Remiſſion of Sins, even of thoſe who are truly pe- "nitent." This Diſcourſe being attacked by ſeveral perſons [*BB*], our author endeavoured to vindicate himſelf in the three following pieces: namely, 1. "A Preliminary Defence "of the Epiſtolary Diſcourſe, concerning the Diſtinction between Soul and Spirit: in "two Parts. I. Againſt the Charge of favouring Impiety. II. Againſt the Charge of "favouring Hereſy. In the former is inſerted a Digreſſion, proving, that the Collection "of the Code of the Four Goſpels in Trajan's Time is no way derogatory to the ſuf- "ficient Atteſtation of them." *Lond.* 1707, 8*vo.* 2. "The Scripture Account of the "Eternal Rewards or Puniſhments of all that hear of the Goſpel, without an Immorta- "lity neceſſarily reſulting from the Nature of the Souls themſelves that are concerned in "thoſe Rewards or Puniſhments. Shewing particularly, I. How much of this Account "was diſcovered by the beſt Philoſophers. II. How far the Accounts of thoſe Philoſo- "phers were corrected, and improved, by the Helleniſtical Jews, aſſiſted by the Reve- "lations

(*d*) Brokelby, ut ſupra, p. 453.

(*e*) Preface to Dr. Samuel Clarke's Sermons; by Benjamin, Biſhop of Wincheſter. Edit. 1730. 8vo. p. xvi.

[Z] *Two Diſſertations on the age of Phalaris and Pythagoras.*] They were occaſioned by the diſpute between Dr. Bentley and the Honourable Mr. Boyle, concerning the Epiſtles of Phalaris. In the preface, Mr. Dodwell ſhews, that Atoſſa the daughter of Cyrus, was not the firſt inventor of Epiſtles, as the Doctor had aſſerted; but the thing ſhe invented was, the manner of joining the tables, on which they were written, with ſuch exactneſs, that they might be more conveniently carried. Theſe two Diſſertations were printed at Oxford in 8vo, under this title: "Exerci- "tationes duæ: prima de ætate Phalaridis: ſecunda "de ætate Pythagoræ Philoſophi."

[*AA*] *His Admonition to Foreigners, concerning the late Schiſm in England.*] The title of it was, "De "nupero Schiſmate Anglicano Paræneſis ad Exteros, "tam Reformatos quam etiam Pontificios, qua Jura "Epiſcoporum vetera, eorundemque à Magiſtratu "Seculari Independentia, omnibus aſſerenda com- "mendantur." Lond. 8vo. i. e. "An Admonition to "Foreigners, as well of the Reformed Religion as "Papiſts; wherein the ancient Right of Biſhops, and "their Independency on the Secular Magiſtrate, are "aſſerted and recommended." The ſchiſm, here mentioned, is that which was occaſioned by the deprivation of ſome of the Biſhops, and the putting others into their Sees. See above note [*P*].

[*BB*] *This Diſcourſe being attacked by ſeveral perſons.*] The chief books written againſt it were theſe: I. "A Charge of Hereſy maintained againſt Mr. Dod- "well's late *Epiſtolary Diſcourſe*, concerning the Mor- "tality of the Soul: by way of Addreſs to the Clergy "of the Church of England. Laying open his oppo- "ſition to the received Creeds, and his falſification of "all ſacred and profane Antiquity." By Edmund Chiſhull, late Chaplain at Smyrna, and Fellow of C.C.C. Oxon. Lond. 1706, 8vo. In this book the author gives the following character of Mr. Dodwell.——— 'His modeſty will, I hope, excuſe me, if I have expreſſed myſelf ſomewhat freely concerning the ſize of his judgment and underſtanding, and if I rank him only in that lower claſs of learned men, who are indeed fitted for the collecting of materials, but are unqualified to judge rightly of, and to reaſon upon, what they ſhall collect.' The other pieces publiſhed againſt the Epiſtolary Diſcourſe were, II. "A "Letter to Mr Dodwell; wherein all the Arguments "in his Epiſtolary Diſcourſe againſt the Immortality "of the Soul are particularly anſwered, and the Judg- "ment of the Fathers concerning that matter truly "repreſented." By Samuel Clarke, M. A. Lond. 1706, 8vo. III. 'A Philoſophical Diſcourſe con- "cerning the natural Immortality of the Soul; where- "in the great queſtion of the Soul's Immortality is "endeavoured to be rightly ſtated and fully cleared. "Occaſioned by Mr. Dodwell's late Epiſtolary Diſ- "courſe. In two Parts." By John Norris, M. A. rector of Bemerton. Lond. 1708. 8vo. IV. Tho. Mills, M. A. afterwards Biſhop of Waterford and Liſmore, publiſhed alſo an Anſwer to Mr. Dodwell, Oxford 1707, 8vo, intituled, "The Natural Immortality of the Soul aſ- "ſerted and proved from the Scriptures and Firſt Fa- "thers:

" lations of the Old Teſtament. III. How far the Diſcoveries fore-mentioned were im-
" proved by the Revelations of the Goſpel. Wherein the Teſtimonies alſo of S. Irenæus
" and Tertullian are occaſionally conſidered." *Lond.* 1708. 8*vo.* And, 3. 'An Expli-
" cation of a famous Paſſage in the Dialogue of S. Juſtin Martyr with Tryphon, concern-
" ing the Immortality of Human Souls. Being a Letter to the learned Author of a Book,
" intituled, Ἡ Χάρις δοθεῖσα, &c. With an Appendix, conſiſting of a Letter to the Rev.
" Mr. John Norris, of Bemerton; and an Expoſtulation relating to the late Inſults of
" Mr. Clarke and Mr. Chiſhull." *Lond.* 1708. 8*vo.* Upon the death of Dr. William Lloyd, the deprived Biſhop of Norwich, on the firſt of January 1710-11; Mr. Dodwell, with ſome other friends, wrote to Dr. Thomas Kenn, of Bath and Wells, the only ſurviving deprived Biſhop, to know, Whether he challenged their ſubjection? He returned for anſwer, That he did not: and ſignified his deſire that the breach might be cloſed by their joining with the Biſhops poſſeſſed of their ſees; giving his reaſons for it. Accordingly, Mr. Dodwell, and ſeveral of his friends, joined in communion with them (*f*). But others refuſing ſo to do, Mr. Dodwell was exceedingly concerned at it, and wrote, " The Caſe in View now in Fact. Proving, That the Continuance of a ſeparate Commu-
" nion, without Subſtitutes in any of the late invalidly-deprived Sees, ſince the death of
" William late Lord Biſhop of Norwich, is ſchiſmatical. With an Appendix, proving,
" That our late Invalidly-deprived Fathers had no Right to ſubſtitute Succeſſors, who
" might legitimate the Separation, after that the Schiſm had been concluded by the De-
" ceaſe of the laſt Survivor of thoſe ſame Fathers." *Lond.* 1711. 8*vo.* Our author wrote ſome few other things [*CC*], beſides all that has been already mentioned. At length, after a very ſtudious and aſcetic courſe of life, he died at Shotteſbrooke the 7th of June 1711, in the ſeventieth year of his age; and was buried in the chancel of the Church there (*g*), where a monument is erected to him [*DD*]. Mr. Dodwell, as to his perſon, was of a ſmall but well-proportioned ſtature, of a ſanguine and fair complexion, of a grave

(*f*) Brokesby, ut ſupra, p. 460.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 550.

" thers: in anſwer to Mr. Dodwell's Epiſtolary Diſ-
" courſe, in which he endeavours to prove the Soul to
" be a Principle naturally mortal."

[*CC*] *Our author wrote ſome few other things.*] Namely, I. " Diſſertatio ad Fragmentum quoddam T.
" Livii." i. e. 'A Diſſertation on a Fragment ſup-
" poſed to be Livy's;" extant among Archbiſhop Laud's MSS. in the Bodleian Library. This Diſſertation is mentioned by Mr. Hearne, in his notes on Book vi. of Livy, of his edition. Mr. Dodwell likewiſe ſettled the times of the actions related by that author, by the years *ab Urbe Cond.* according to the Varronian account, ſet at the top of each page (22). II. At the requeſt of a Gentleman in the Iſle of Man, who had deſired his thoughts on this point, 'Whether
' the Church of England had juſt reaſons, when ſhe
' reformed, to lay aſide the uſe of Incenſe, which
' was practiſed in all churches before our quarrel with
' the Church of Rome?' he wrote, in 1709, 'A
' Diſcourſe concerning the Uſe of Incenſe in Divine
' Offices. Wherein it is proved, that that practice,
' taken up in the Middle Ages, both by the Eaſtern
' and Weſtern Churches, is, notwithſtanding, an
' Innovation from the Doctrine of the firſt and pureſt
' Churches, and the Traditions derived from the
' Apoſtles. Serving alſo to evince, That even the
' Conſent of thoſe Churches of the Middle Ages is
' no certain Argument, that the particulars, wherein
' they are ſuppoſed to conſent, were faithfully de-
' rived from the Apoſtles, againſt the modern Aſſert-
' ers of the Infallibility of Oral Tradition.' Printed at London in 1711, 8vo. III. " Julii Vitalis Epi-
" taphium, cum Notis Henrici Dodwelli, et Com-
" mentario G. Muſgrave. Accedit Dodwelli Epiſtola
" ad Cl. Goezium de Puteolanâ & Bajanâ Inſcripti-
" onibus." Iſcæ Dunmoniorum & Londini, 1711, 8vo. This epitaph of Julius Vitalis, on which Mr. Dodwell wrote notes, was found at Bath, and publiſhed by Mr. Hearne at the end of his edition of King Alfred's Life by Sir John Spelman, 8vo. The Letter to Mr. Goetz, Profeſſor at Leipſick, was written by Mr. Dodwell in 1700, being an explanation of an inſcription on Memonius Caliſtus, found at Puteoli; and on another found at Baiæ. IV. " De
" ætate & patriâ Dionyſii Periegetæ." On the age and country of Dionyſius the Geographer. Printed in the Oxford Edition of that author in 1710, 8vo. V. " De Parmâ Equeſtri Woodwardianâ Diſſertatio,
" &c." On the ancient Roman ſhield, formerly in Dr. Woodward's poſſeſſion, whereon was repreſented the ſacking of Rome by the Gauls. This Diſſertation Mr. Dodwell was prevented by death from finiſhing; it was publiſhed by Mr. Hearne in 8vo. Oxon. 1713. The learned author ſuppoſes this ſhield to have been made about the time of Nero. VI. Four Letters, which paſſed between the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Sarum, and Mr. Henry Dodwell, were printed from the originals. Lond. 1713, 12mo.

Mr. Dodwell wrote likewiſe, VII. 'A Tract concerning the Death of Judas. Wherein he ſhowed, that ἀπήγξατο does not ſignify his being *ſtrangled with grief*, as Grotius and Dr. Hammond underſtood it, but that he *hanged* himſelf. It was never printed: nor the following, being VIII. " A Diſſertation con-
' cerning the Time of the Greek Tranſlation of the
' Old Teſtament by the LXX.' In which he proved, from the teſtimony of Eupolemus in Clemens Alexandrinus, and others, that it was not in the time of Demetrius Phaleræus a prince, and of Ptolemy Philadelphus the ſon of Ptolemy Lagida; but of Demetrius Phaler, a Grammarian, and of Ptolemy Philopator, who might be ſurnamed Philadelphus as well as the former; as there were ſeveral Phyſcones, Soteres, Philometores, and Euergetæ. This Diſſertation was left unfiniſhed: as alſo IX. " A Diſſertation concerning the Laws of Nature and Nations;" in which the author propoſed to ſhew, that theſe laws were not (as is generally ſuppoſed) the reſult of reaſon, though highly congruous thereto; but laws delivered by Almighty God to Adam, or Noah, the firſt common parents of all mankind, or at leaſt to ſome in thoſe firſt ages, wherein God moſt frequently revealed his Will: that theſe were tranſmitted by tradition; that they muſt proceed from the *arbitrary* pleaſure of the great Governor of the univerſe, &c. X. He deſigned to publiſh " The Epiſtle of St. Barnabas," with a literal tranſlation, and notes; having ever ſince the year 1691, wrote " Prolegomena" to it. But though he reſumed this deſign not long before his deceaſe, yet it was left imperfect. XI. Laſtly, He began to ſettle *the Time and Order in which Tertullian wrote each of his books.* But on this ſubject he made but a very little progreſs (23).

(22) Brokeſby, P. 514.

(23) See Brokeſby, paſſim.

[*DD*] *Where a monument is erected to him.*] On the ſtone over his grave was put this inſcription:

Here lieth
The Learned and Pious
HENRY DODWELL, M. A.
Some time Fellow
Of Trinity College near Dublin,
Camden Profeſſor of Hiſtory in Oxon.
Born at Dublin Oct. MDCXLI.
Died at Shotteſbrooke
The VII. of June, MDCCXI.
Anno Æt. LXX.

grave and ſerious, but a comely, pleaſant countenance: of a piercing eye, of a ſolid judgment, and ready apprehenſion (*b*). He naturally enjoyed ſo ſtrong and vigorous a conſtitution of body, that he knew not, by his own experience, what the head-ach was (*i*). His induſtry was prodigious, as appears by the many books he publiſhed. Extremely frugal he was of his time [*EE*], and indefatigable in his ſtudies, by which means he became acquainted with almoſt all authors, both ſacred and profane, ancient and modern (*k*). He ſtudied, not for his own benefit only, but alſo for that of others: for he was generouſly communicative, and always ready to aſſiſt others in worthy undertakings; very zealous to promote learning, and though learned almoſt beyond any one of his age, yet (what is very uncommon) of ſingular humility and modeſty. Accordingly he was courted and admired by the moſt eminent men abroad (*l*), who beſtow the higheſt encomiums upon him, on all occaſions (*m*). It muſt however be owned, that, as he converſed more with books than men, his *Style* is, for that reaſon, obſcure and intricate, and full of digreſſions: for he often complained to his friends, that he was not able to comprize his thoughts in few words (*n*). With regard to his moral character; he was a perſon of great ſobriety and temperance; of exemplary charity, notwithſtanding the narrowneſs of his fortune; of ſtrict Piety; a great lover of the Clergy, and a zealous Member of the Church of England (*o*). As for his being a Nonjuror, that indeed gives no very advantageous idea of his diſcretion or judgment: but it muſt be conſidered, on the other hand, that conſcience is a ſtubborn thing, that will not always ſtoop to intereſt or ambition.

(*b*) Mr. Hearne, in his edit. of Leland, Vol. V. p. 112.

(*i*) Brokesby, ut ſupra, p. 547.

(*k*) Ibid p. 521.

(*l*) Particularly, Card. Noris, Mr Grævius, Perizonius, Pagi, Magliabecchi, &c. Ibid. p. 543.

(*m*) See at the beginning of the Diſſertation *De Parmâ Wood wardianâ.*

(*n*) Brokesby, p. 535, and Life of J Kettlewell, as above, p. 318.

(*o*) Brokesby, p. 525. 531, &c.

But this inſcription not being thought proportionable to the merit of ſo great a man, a monument was erected to him by his widow; on which was placed the following elegant epitaph, compoſed by Dr. Robert Freind, late Maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool.

Accede Hoſpes quicunque Literarum Studia
Vel Humanarum vel Divinarum ſapis,
Diſce marmor hoc quem ſignet virum.
Hic ille ſua condi oſſa voluit,
Cui inter vivos fruſtra quæſiveris parem,
HENRICUS DODWELLUS,
In quo conjuncta erant
Cum memoriâ rerum propè infinitâ
Et Inventionis Foecunditas
Et Judicii Acumen,
Cum mirifico quodam Pudore,
Animi Firmitas inconcuſſa.
Cum aliquâ in diſputando vehementiâ,
Candor eximius.
Quod difficilimis in re Chronologicâ nodis
Feliciter expeditis,
Novam Antiquæ Hiſtoriæ Lucem affuderit,
Eam Illi Laudem ultrò omnes
Quaſi Suam & Propriam tribuunt.
Sed & Hanc etiam cum paucis communem habuit,
Quod toties in Arenâ Criticâ
Sine Faſtu & Maledicentiâ certaverit;
Omnemque, quaqua patet, Eruditionis ambitum
Capaci Mente comprehenderit,
Iſtius, interim,
Quam aucupari ſolent Eruditorum coryphæi,
Gloriolæ Contemptor.
Ad majora ſcilicet intentus,
Primævæ in Eccleſiâ Diſciplinæ Vindex
Audire maluit
Quam Reipublicæ Literariæ Lumen.
Vetera itaque Patrum Chriſtianorum Monumenta
Indefeſſus perluſtravit;
Et quorum Scripta animo accuratè infixerat,
Eorum Severitatem & Sanctimoniam
In Vitâ accuratius expreſſit.
E Collegio SS. Trinitatis, propè Dubliniam,
Doctorum Suffragiis accerſitus,
Oxonium migravit;
Ubi Camdeniani Prælectoris munus
Multâ cum Laude, quoad potuit, ſuſtinuit;
Inde cum receſſiſſet,
In Ædibus Shotteſbrochianis,
Amiciſſimi Viri Hoſpitio uſus,
Inter Libros delituit, conſenuit, obiit,
Juris Regii & Epiſcopalis
Ad extremum uſque Spiritum Propugnator.
Animam Eruditam, Simplicem, Piam
Deo reddidit, Jun. 7, A. D. 1711. Ætat 70.
Conjugi Optimo ANNA DODWELLA,
M. P. (24).

(24) Brokesby, p. 550, 552, &c.

[*E E*] *Extremely frugal he was of his time.*] How deſirous he was to ſave and improve it, is evident from the care he took not to loſe that part of it wherein he travelled, which was chiefly *on foot*, through his own choice, rather than by ſtage-coaches, that he might thereby be maſter of his own hours, often reading as he walked. For this end, he carried with him, in his journeys, books fitted for his pockets, the Hebrew Bible in four ſmall volumes, the Greek New Teſtament, and the Common Prayer, accordingly. For the ſame purpoſe he had Thomas à Kempis, S. Auguſtine's Meditations, and other books of the like nature and ſize (25). After he was ſettled in Berkſhire, he generally walked from Shotteſbrooke to London, in a day, which is ſix and twenty miles (26). M.

(25) Ibid. p. 523, 524.

(26) Ibid. p. 548.

*** Mr. Ezahred Hamilton, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and Secretary to the Duke of Ormond, informed the correſpondent, whom we have ſo frequently had occaſion to mention with reſpect and gratitude, that Mr. Dodwell, when in London, uſed daily to frequent a coffee-houſe near Temple Bar, where he was willing to anſwer all who aſked his opinion concerning matters of literature. Many of his countrymen reſorted to the ſame coffee-houſe, and regularly ſaw him home every night. The reaſon of his marrying late in life was the offence he took at ſome of his relations, who did not pay him a certain pittance which he had agreed with them ſhould be tranſmitted to him yearly out of the fortune he poſſeſſed. The fact, as ſtated by Mr. Harris, in his edition of Sir James Ware's works, was as follows: 'He had a good eſtate in Ireland, the profits of which 'he gave to his next kinſman, reſerving only a ſmall 'part for his own ſubſiſtence. But upon his marriage 'he took the whole to himſelf; his kinſman having 'raiſed a fair fortune out of the eſtate, while he en-'joyed it (27).'

(27) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. II. p. 265.

Our correſpondent has farther favoured us with the anſwers which he would have given to the ſix queries propoſed to a gentlewoman of the Church of England, by an emiſſary of the Church of Rome. "I 'fancy," ſays he, 'Mr. Dodwell and I would not 'anſwer the ſix queries in the ſame manner. How-'ever, as I never read his book, I ſhall attempt ſuch 'an anſwer to his queries as I apprehend is agree-'able to the fundamental doctrines of real Proteſtants.' To render our friend's communication more perſpicuous, we ſhall give each query (from note H), and then ſubjoin the reply.

1. "Whether any one going from the Church of "England, and dying a Roman Catholic, can be "ſaved?"

Anſwer. "Man ought to be humble, and not "pretend to determine who ſhall be ſaved, or who "ſhall be damned. Thus much in general; more "particularly, if one who has learned his religion "from the Bible ſhall chuſe another guide, he is "guilty of a great ſin, and to the mercy or judgment "of God we leave him."

2. "Whether

2. "Whether they be idolaters or no?"

Anſwer. "They who pay divine honours to images are idolaters. They who, without authority, pay ſuch homage before images as induces others to worſhip images, cauſe ſuch perſons to commit idolatry."

3. "Where was the Church of England before Luther's time?"

Anſwer. "Where the Church of England was, as contradiſtinguiſhed from the Church of Rome, or Conſtantinople, or France, &c, is a captious queſtion. But the Church of Chriſt was in the Bible, and in thoſe who believe the Bible and obey its precepts."

4. "Why all the Churches are not united in one?"

Anſwer. "God knows; we pretend not to judge of the depths of his providence. The moſt obvious reaſons are to be found in the paſſions, ſins, will-worſhip, and uſurpations of men."

5. "Why the Church of England doth not hold up to confeſſion, faſting-days, holy oil, which we ourſelves commend?"

Anſwer. "Let the diſciples of any particular Church anſwer a queſtion concerning a particular Church. As I am of no Church, I ſhall never anſwer any argument *ad hominem*.

6. "Why was reformation done by Act of Parliament?

Anſwer. "That it might have the effect of a Law in the land, juſt as the privileges of the Romiſh Church were frequently confirmed by Law; and that thoſe of the Church of Rome might be *legally* diſpoſſeſſed, and others put in their room."

Whatever may be ſpecifically determined concerning the paucity of Martyrs, for which Mr. Dodwell contended, it is certain, that they were ſufficiently numerous to exhibit a glorious evidence of the ſtrength of principle, and of the admirable efficacy of the Chriſtian Religion. The uſual diviſion of the perſecutions of the three firſt Centuries after Chriſt into the number of ten, has always appeared to us more fanciful than juſt. For ſome of the ten which are commonly enumerated were not general perſecutions; and were we to reckon up all the particular ones, the catalogue would probably be increaſed. There can be no juſt doubt but that the firſt Chriſtians were expoſed to frequent and ſevere perſecutions. Several ſceptical writers have, indeed, repreſented them as trifling and inconſiderable; and this has eſpecially been done by Voltaire, whoſe ſentiments many perſons have been ready to adopt. But Voltaire has been well confuted by Dr. Macknight, in his book upon the truth of the Goſpel Hiſtory. For a juſt account of the primitive perſecutions, recourſe may be had to Moſheim, Lardner, and Prieſtley.

Before Mr. Dodwell committed his book, upon "The One Altar and the One Prieſthood," to the preſs, he brought it to Dr. Tillotſon, and deſired his judgment concerning it. The Doctor freely expreſſed his diſlike of it; and told the author, that though his work was written with ſuch great accuracy and cloſe dependence of one propoſition upon another, as that it ſeemed to be little leſs than demonſtration, 'ſo 'that (added Tillotſon) I can hardly tell you, where 'it is, that you break the chain; yet I am ſure, that 'it is broken ſomewhere: for ſuch and ſuch particulars are ſo palpably falſe, that I wonder you do not 'perceive the abſurdity of them; they are ſo groſs, 'and grate ſo much upon the inward ſenſe (28)." When Dr. Tillotſon, after the Revolution, had conſented to be Archbiſhop of Canterbury, before he was conſecrated to the ſee, Mr. Dodwell wrote him a Letter to diſſuade him from being the aggreſſor in the new-deſigned ſchiſm, and in erecting another altar againſt that of the deprived fathers and brethren. 'If,' ſays he, 'their places be not vacant, the new 'conſecration muſt, by the nature of the ſpiritual 'monarchy, be null, invalid, and ſchiſmatical.' He affirmed, likewiſe, that ſuch as were concerned in this practice, cut themſelves off from the communion of which they were before members; as did all others who joined with them (29).

Mr. Dodwell in his former writings had afforded too much evidence of his attachment to narrow and ſuperſtitious principles; but by his treatiſe on the natural mortality of the ſoul, and on immortality's being conferred upon it only through the medium of the baptiſm of a regularly ordained prieſt, he diſguſted thoſe who had hitherto been his greateſt admirers. His philoſophy was hateful to every orthodox divine, and his theology appeared ridiculous to all who had any liberality of ſentiment. It is ſaid, that he was greatly diſſatisfied with the manner in which he was treated by Dr. Clarke; but he ſeems to have had no good reaſon for his reſentment. When a learned man aſſerts the ſtrangeſt of all paradoxes to ſerve a particular end, he muſt expect a little ſeverity from his antagoniſts. Dr. Clarke, however, was not guilty of any exceſs in this reſpect; for his ſtyle is not remarkably harſh or controverſial (30).

Biſhop Burnet, in one of his Letters to Mr. Dodwell, after ſome other animadverſions, proceeds as follows: 'You are a learned man; and your life has 'been not only without blemiſh, but exemplary. 'But you do not ſeem to remember, or enough to 'conſider the woe our Saviour has denounced againſt 'thoſe by whom ſcandals come; and, according to 'the true notion of ſcandal, I know no man, that has 'laid more in the way of the little ones, or weaker 'Chriſtians, than you have done. I do aſſure you, 'I would rather wiſh that I could neither read nor 'write, than to have read or writ to ſuch purpoſes 'as you have been purſuing now above thirty years. 'You ſeem to love novelties and paradoxes, and to 'employ your learning to ſupport them. I do aſſure 'you, I have a juſt value for many valuable things 'that I know to be in you; and do heartily lament 'every thing that is otherwiſe (31).'

Of Mr. Dodwell's ten children, ſix ſurvived him; four daughters, and two ſons, Henry and William. Henry was brought up to the Law, and became ſceptical in his principles, to which, perhaps, his father's abſurd and peculiar notions might not a little contribute. In 1742, he publiſhed a pamphlet, entitled "Chriſtianity not founded upon Argument," which, under the cover of zeal for Religion, was an attack upon revelation. It was written with ingenuity and ſubtilty; excited great attention for a time; and was anſwered (and indeed effectually) by ſeveral able and learned men. Proper notice has been taken of it in our Life of Dr. Doddridge. This Mr. Henry Dodwell took a very active part in the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, during the early period of that Society; and, from all which the writer of the preſent Note could obſerve concerning him (having often been with him, both at general meetings and in committees) he appeared to be a polite, humane, and benevolent man.

William Dodwell, who followed his father in the general orthodoxy of his principles, but did not, we apprehend, adopt his peculiarities, became a learned and reſpectable divine of the Church of England. He was educated at Trinity-College, Oxford, where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, on the eighth of June, 1732 (32). In the courſe of his Life, he obtained ſeveral conſiderable preferments. He was Rector of Shotteſbroke, and Vicar of Buckleſbury and of White-Waltham. Dr. Sherlock, when Biſhop of Saliſbury, gave him a prebendal ſtall in that Cathedral, and he afterwards became a Canon of the ſame Church. Biſhop Thomas promoted him to the Arch-Deaconry of Berks. The principal works by which he was diſtinguiſhed, were, "A Free Anſwer "to Dr. Middleton's Free Enquiry," publiſhed in 1749; and "A Full and Final Reply to Mr. Toll's "Defence of Dr. Middleton," which appeared in 1751. Both theſe works were written with temper, as well as with learning. Our author was judged to have performed ſuch good ſervice to the cauſe of religion by his anſwer to Dr. Middleton, that the Univerſity of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity by diploma, in full convocation, on the twenty-third of February, 1749-50. He wrote likewiſe, a "Diſſertation on Jephtha's Vow (33)." Beſides theſe productions, he publiſhed a great number of Sermons, a catalogue of which is ſubjoined. Two Sermons on the "Eternity of Hell Torments," from 2 Theſſ. i. 7, 9, 1743. "The Deſirableneſs of the "Chriſtian Faith." "A Viſitation Sermon," from 1 Pet. i. 8. 1744. "Of a Rational Faith," againſt "Chriſtianity not Founded on Argument." Two Sermons,

(28) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 400, 401.

(29) Ibid. p. 246, 247.

(30) From the Remarks of the correſpondent before mentioned.

(31) New Univerſal Dict. vol. IV. p. 460.

(32) Catalogue of Oxford Graduates, p. 102.

(33) Gent. Mag. vol. LV. p. 878. vol. LVI. p. 32, 33. 133. Oxford Graduates, ubi ſupra.

Sermons, from 1. Pet. iii. 15. 1745. "Practical In-" fluence of the Trinity." from 2 Cor. xiii. 14. "Practical Diſcourſes on Moral Subjects." Volume the firſt, 1748. Volume the ſecond, 1749. "The "Nature, Extent, and Support of Human Laws, "an Aſſize Sermon," from Rom. xiii. 3. 1750. "St. Paul's Wiſh explained," from Rom. ix. 3, 1752. "Diſcourſes Preached before the Univerſity of Ox-"ford," 1754. "The Nature, Miſchiefs, and Re-"medy of Superſtition," from Pſ. xxxi. 7. 1754. "Equal and Impartial Diſcharge of Juſtice." An Aſſize Sermon, from Exod. xxxiii. 1. 1758. "A "Particular Providence ſtated." Two Sermons, from Pſ. xxxiii. 13—15. 1760. Before the Sons of the Clergy, from Jerem. xlix. 10. 1760. For the Infirmary at Saliſbury, from Prov. xix. 27. 1768 (34).

Dr. Dodwell departed this life on the twenty-firſt of October, 1785, in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age (35). From the liſt of his works it appears that he was a zealous, diligent, and learned divine; and we ſhould have been glad if we had been furniſhed with materials which would have enabled us to give a larger account of him, and to do farther juſtice to his character.] K.

(34) Cooke's Hiſtorical Regiſter, vol. II. p. 106.

(35) Gent. Mag. vol LV. p. 837.

*** [DOLBEN (JOHN) Archbiſhop of York, was a Prelate of conſiderable worth, abilities, and eminence, in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. a man who, to the courage and fidelity which had firſt deſerved a military reward, united all thoſe talents and qualifications which could juſtify his ſubſequent advancement to the honours of the Church.

(a) Stanwick Reg.

(b) Herald's Office.

(c) Kennet's Chron. and Magn. Brit. North.

(d) Willis Cathed.

He was born at Stonwick, in Northamptonſhire, on the 20th of March, 1625 (*a*), being the fifth in deſcent (*b*) from William Dolben of Denbighſhire; and deſcended from an antient family of that name, ſettled at Segrayd, in the ſame county. Dr. William Dolben, the father of the Archbiſhop, was at that time Rector of Stanwick, and of Benefield, to both of which he was inſtituted in one day (*c*); and Prebendary of Lincoln (*d*), through the intereſt of the Lord Keeper Williams, whoſe niece Elizabeth Williams he had married. Few marriages have been more fortunate in their iſſue: beſides the ſubject of the preſent article, their ſecond ſon William proved highly eminent in the profeſſion to which he was educated. He became Recorder of London, received the honour of Knighthood; and, in 1678, was appointed one of the Judges in the Court of Common Pleas. In 1683 he was removed from that ſituation, very highly to his honour, being the only Judge that gave his opinion againſt the legality of diſſolving corporations by *Quo Warranto* (*e*). His rank was juſtly reſtored by King William; who, in 1689, appointed him a Judge of the King's Bench (*f*); and in that ſtation he remained till his death, which happened in 1693, the 65th year of his age. He was buried in the Temple-Church, and left a character of high eſtimation for ſtrict integrity, and the moſt penetrating diſcernment (*g*). Dr. William Dolben, however, neither lived to ſee the eminence of his ſons, nor to complete his own career of advancement; for he died in 1631, when his eldeſt ſon John was only ſix years old, being himſelf nominated, at the time, for the ſucceſſion to a vacant biſhopric [*A*]: but his death produced an affecting teſtimony to his merit, of no ſmall value in the moral eſtimate of honours. This was conferred by his pariſhioners of Stanwick, by whom he was ſo ſincerely beloved, that on his falling ill at London of the ſickneſs which proved fatal to him, they plowed and ſowed his glebe lands at their own expence, that his widow might have the benefit of the crop; which ſhe accordingly received after his deceaſe (*b*): an anecdote more felt and valued by his family than any thing that uſually adorns the page of the Biographer.

(e) Baronetage.

(f) Pointer's Chronol. vol. II.

(g) From the information of lord chief baron Parker.

(b) Baronetage, vol. III. 1771.

John Dolben, afterwards archbiſhop, was educated at Weſtminſter-ſchool, where he was admitted a King's ſcholar in 1636; and in 1640 was elected to Chriſt-Church, Oxford, where he was admitted, in the ſame year, a ſtudent on Queen Elizabeth's foundation. It has been thought worthy of remark, as a ſtrong inſtance of hereditary attachment to thoſe ſeminaries, that he was the ſecond in order, of ſix ſucceeding generations, which have paſſed through the ſame ſteps of education (*i*).

(i) Liſt of Weſtm. Scholars Anno 1768.

When the civil wars broke out, Mr. Dolben took arms for the Royal cauſe in the garriſon at Oxford, and ſerved as an enſign in the unfortunate battle of Marſton-Moor, in 1644, where he received a dangerous wound in the ſhoulder from a muſquet-ball; but this was not the worſt of his ſufferings; in the defence of York, ſoon after, he received a ſeverer wound of the ſame kind in the thigh; which broke the bone, and confined him twelve months to his bed. In the courſe of his military ſervice he was advanced to the rank of Captain, and (according to Wood) of Major.

In 1646, when there appeared no longer any hope of ſerving the King's cauſe by arms, when Oxford and his other garriſons were ſurrendered, and himſelf in the hands of his enemies, Mr. Dolben retired again to his college, and renewed his ſtudies; a ſenſe of duty had made him an active ſoldier; inclination and natural abilities rendered him at all times a ſucceſsful ſtudent. In 1647 he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, and remained at College till ejected by the Parliamentarian viſitors in 1648. In the interval between this period and the year 1656, when he entered into holy orders, we

[*A*] *Vacant Biſhoprick*]. The compiler of the "Baronetage" names Glouceſter as the ſee to which he was to have ſucceeded; but this muſt be an error, as Glouceſter was not then vacant: it was probably Bangor, to which his relation, David Dolben, was then appointed.

have

have no account of him; but it is moſt probable that his time was, in general, ſtudiouſly employed, and eſpecially from the moment when he took up that deſign. From 1657, when he married Catharine daughter of Ralph, elder brother of Archbiſhop Sheldon (*k*), to the time of the King's Reſtoration, he lived in Oxford, at the houſe of his father-in-law, in St. Aldate's pariſh; and throughout that interval, in conjunction with Dr. Fell and Dr. Alleſtry (*l*), conſtantly performed divine ſervice and adminiſtered the ſacraments, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, to the great comfort of the Royaliſts then reſident in Oxford, particularly the ſtudents ejected in 1648, who formed a regular and pretty numerous congregation. The houſe appropriated to this ſacred purpoſe was then the reſidence of Dr. Thomas Willis, the celebrated phyſician, and is yet ſtanding, oppoſite to Merton-College. The attachment of Mr. Dolben to what he conſidered as the right cauſe had before been active and courageous; it was now firm and unwearied, with equal merit, and with better ſucceſs.

(*k*) Dolben, MSS.

(*l*) A. à Wood, vol. II.

When the Regal Government was reſtored, for the ſake of which Mr. Dolben had ſo often hazarded his life, his zeal for the cauſe and ſufferings in it were not forgotten by the King. In that very year, 1660, he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity, on being appointed a Canon of Chriſt Church, Oxford. In the ſame year he was alſo preſented to the Rectory of Newington-cum-Britwell, in Oxfordſhire (*m*), in the gift of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. His preferments and honours now ſucceeded each other rapidly; the time of trial was paſt, and the time of reward had arrived. In 1661 he became a Prebendary of St. Paul's, and was one of thoſe who ſigned the reviſed Liturgy, which paſſed the Houſe of Convocation December 20, in that year. In 1662 he was appointed Archdeacon of London, and preſented to the vicarage of St. Giles's, Cripplegate; but reſigned the latter a ſhort time after, with his other parochial preferment, on being inſtalled Dean of Weſtminſter. He was choſen Prolocutor of the Lower Houſe of Convocation in 1664, and ſoon after became Clerk of the Cloſet to the King. In 1666 he was conſecrated Biſhop of Rocheſter, and allowed to hold the Deanery of Weſtminſter in *commendam*. In 1675 he was appointed Lord High Almoner; an office, ſays Wood, which he diſcharged with ſuch juſtice and integrity as was for the great benefit of the poor. It would betray great ignorance of the ways of courts to ſuppoſe, that in all theſe ſteps he was not in part indebted to the interference and intereſt of Archbiſhop Sheldon; yet where merit is conſpicuous, the effect of patronage is greatly facilitated, which appears to have been the caſe in the inſtance now before us.

(*m*) Le Neve's Lives of the Archbiſhops.

Tranſlation to the ſee of York was the final gradation of his honours, and enjoyed only for a ſhort time, as between the laſt advancement and his death ſomething leſs than three years intervened. He was tranſlated to York in Auguſt, 1683, and then became, by an unuſual tranſition, the Eccleſiaſtical Governor of that place which he had formerly aſſiſted in defending by military force. His activity was not yet exhauſted, though exerted in a different line (*n*); he diligently contributed to the good adminiſtration of the ſervice in his cathedral, and in 1685 made a new regulation of Archbiſhop Grindal's order of Preachers, and appointed a weekly celebration of the Holy Sacrament: and was, in all reſpects, as his epitaph expreſſes it, an example both to the flock and to the paſtors under him.

(*n*) Drake's York.

The death of Archbiſhop Dolben was occaſioned, not by natural decay, but by the criminal neglect of perſons who have eſcaped from the diſgrace they deſerved by mere obſcurity. At an inn on the North road he was ſuffered by the proprietors to ſleep in a room where the infection of the ſmall-pox remained; he there caught the diſorder, which being of a virulent kind, and attended with lethargy, put an end to his life at Biſhopthorp, on the 11th of April, 1686, in the 62d year of his age, after a confinement to his bed of only four days. That ſo valuable a life ſhould have been cut off thus prematurely is matter of juſt regret, and of indignation againſt thoſe who were the cauſes of it; but Providence, in permitting ſuch events, inſtructs us very forcibly on how precarious a tenure we hold all worldly bleſſings. The body of the Archbiſhop was depoſited in the cathedral at York, where a handſome monument, with a very copious inſcription [*B*], records his merits, and the principal circumſtances of his life.

Anthony

[*B*] *With a very copious inſcription*]. The inſcription is as follows,

H. S. E.
JOHANNES DOLBEN,
Filius Gulielmi S. Th. Profeſſoris,
Ex antiquâ familiâ in Cambriâ Septentrionali oriundus,
Natus Stanvici, in agro Northampton, Mart. 20.
A. D. 1624.
Anno ætatis 12 regiam ſcholam Weſtmonaſt. auſpicato ingreſſus,
Singulari iſtius loco genio plenus 15 exivit;
In numerum alumnorum Æd. Chriſt. Oxon electus.

Anthony Wood ſays of Archbiſhop Dolben, that "he was a man of a free, gene-
" rous, and noble diſpoſition, and of a natural, bold, and happy eloquence." The latter circumſtance is confirmed by the teſtimony of his epitaph; and by another, which we ſhall preſently cite at large. The former, by the following inſtances of his liberality, at the different places with which he was connected. The pulpit at Stanwick is inſcribed as his gift when Biſhop of Rocheſter. He contributed one hundred pounds to the rebuilding of St. Paul's cathedral, and two hundred and fifty to the repairs at Chriſt Church, Oxford. He rebuilt that part of the epiſcopal palace at Bromley, which the preſent liberal improver has left ſtanding; and, when Dean of Weſtminſter, influenced the chapter to aſſign an equal ſhare with their own, in the dividends of fines, to the repairs and ſupport of that venerable church (*o*). At York he gave one hundred and ninety-five ounces of plate for the uſe of the cathedral (*p*).

(*o*) Widmore's Weſtm. Abbey.

(*p*) Drake's York.

But the fulleſt account of his perſon, talents, and character, was drawn up by his friend Sir William Trumbull, and is ſtill extant in his own hand-writing; which, as it proceeds from a perſon who had the fulleſt knowledge of him, and is certainly authentic, we ſhall preſerve in the original words (*q*).

(*q*) MS of the Rev. Brook Bridges of Orlingbury.

" He was an extraordinary comely perſon, though grown too fat; of an open coun-
" tenance, a lively piercing eye, and a majeſtic preſence. He hated flattery, and
" guarded himſelf with all poſſible care againſt the leaſt inſinuation of any thing of
" that nature, how well ſoever he deſerved: he had admirable natural parts, and great
" acquired ones; for whatever he read he made his own, and improved it. He had
" ſuch an happy genius, and ſuch an admirable elocution, that his extempore preaching
" was beyond not only moſt of other men's elaborate performances, but (I was going
" to ſay) even his own. I have been credibly informed, that in Weſtminſter-Abbey
" a preacher falling ill after he had named his text, and propoſed the heads of his in-
" tended diſcourſe, the biſhop went up into the pulpit, took the ſame text, followed
" the ſame method, and, I believe, diſcourſed much better on each head than the other
" would have done.

" In the judgment he made of other men, he always preferred the good temper
" of their minds above all other qualities they were maſters of: and it was this ſingle
" opinion he had of my integrity, which made him the worthieſt friend to me I ever
" knew. I have had the honour to converſe with many of the moſt eminent men at
" home and abroad, but I never yet met with one that in all reſpects equalled him.
" He had a large and generous ſoul, and a courage that nothing was too hard for:
" when he was baſely calumniated, he ſupported himſelf by the only true heroiſm, if
" I may ſo phraſe it, I mean by exalted Chriſtianity, and by turning all the ſlander of
" his enemies into the beſt uſe of ſtudying and knowing himſelf, and keeping a con-
" ſtant guard and watch upon his words and actions, practiſing ever after (though

Exardente Bello civili
Partes regias ſecutus eſt, in pugnâ Martonenſi vexillarius,
In defenſione Eboraci graviter vulneratus
Effuſo ſanguine conſecravit locum
Olim morti ſuæ deſtinatum.
A. D. 1656 à Rev. Epiſc. Ciceſtrenſi ſacris ordinibus initiatus,
Inſtaurata monarchia factus eſt æd. Chriſti canonicus;
Deinde Decanus Weſtmonaſterienſis;
Mox CAROLO II. Regi optimo ab Oratorio Clericus,
Epiſcopus poſtea Roffenſis,
Et poſt novennium Regis Eleemoſynarius.
Anno denique 1683,
Metropol. Eborenſ. Honore cumulatus eſt.
Hanc provinciam ingenti animo et pari induſtria
Adminiſtravit Gregi et Paſtoribus
Exemplo:
Intra 30 circiter menſes ſeculi laboribus exhauſtis
Cœlo tandem maturus
Lethargiâ et variolis quatriduum lecto affixus.
A. D. 1686. Æt. 62.
Potentiſ. Princ. JAC. II. altero, Die Dominico,
Eodem die quo præeunte anno ſacras ſynaxes
In eccleſ. ſua cathed. ſeptimanatim celebrandas inſtituerat
Cœlo fruebatur.
Mœſtiſſima Conjux, magni Gilberti, Cantuarien. Archiep. Neptis,
Ex quâ tres Liberos ſuſcepit Gilbertum, Catharin. et Johan.
Monumentum hoc poſuit
Deſideratiſſimo marito.
In æde Chriſti ſub illius auſpiciis partim exſtructâ,
Bromleienſi palatio reparato,
In Cœnob. Weſtmonaſt. conſervato;
In ſenatu, et eccleſiis, eloquentiæ gloria;
In dioeceſibus ſuis epiſcopali diligentiâ,
In omnium priorum animis;
Inſtâ veneratione ſemper victuro.

" hardly

" hardly to be discovered, unless by nice and long observers), a strict course of life,
" and a constant mortification.

" Not any of the Bishops bench, I may say not all of them, had that interest and
" authority in the House of Lords which he had. He had easily mastered all the forms
" of proceeding. He had studied much of our laws, especially those of the Par-
" liament, and was not to be brow-beat or daunted by the arrogance or titles of any
" courtier or favourite [C]. His presence of mind and readiness of elocution, ac-
" companied with good breeding and an inimitable wit, gave him a greater superiority
" than any other Lord could pretend to from his dignity of office. I wish I had a
" talent suitable to the love and esteem I have for this great and good man, to enlarge
" more upon this subject, and, when I think of his death, I cannot forbear dropping
" some tears, for myself as well as for the publick; for in him we lost the greatest
" abilities, the usefullest conversation, the faithfullest friendship, and one who had
" a mind that practised the best virtues itself, and a wit that was best able to recom-
" mend them to others, as Dr. Sprat expresses it in his Life of Mr. Cowley (r)."

(r) Printed also in the Hist. of Rochester, 8vo, 1772.

As an Author, not much remains to testify his abilities. It is said by Wood, that he was not very careful to print his sermons, though they much deserved publication: and, in fact, only three are known to be extant.

1. " A Sermon preached before the King, at Whitehall, on Good Friday, March 24,
" 1664." The text from John xix. part of ver. 19.

2. " A Sermon on Psal. liv. ver. 6 and 7." On a day of Thanksgiving for a Naval Victory; namely, June 20, 1665.

3. Another on a similar occasion in 1666, the text from Psal. xviii. 1, 2, 3. Both these were also preached before the King. They are all printed in Quarto.

The wife of Archbishop Dolben, by whom he had three children, Gilbert and John, and a daughter Catharine, who died an infant, survived him till 1706, when she died at Finedon, in Northamptonshire, in her 80th year.

[C] *Courtier or favourite*]. Burnet seems to commend his spirit beyond his discretion; but allows that he was latterly more reserved (1). Widmore speaks more favourably.]

(1) Hist. of his own Times. Vol. I.

DONNE (JOHN), an eminent Poet and Divine of the last century, was born in London [A], in the year 1573, and educated in his father's house under a private Tutor, till the eleventh year of his age, when he was sent to the University of Oxford; at which time it was observed of him, as formerly of the famous Picus Mirandula, that *he was rather born than made wise by study (a)*. He was admitted a Commoner of Hart-Hall, together with his younger brother, in Michaelmas Term 1584 (b). He declined taking his first degree at Oxford, by advice of his relations, who, being of the Romish religion, disliked the oath tendered upon that occasion. After he had studied three years in that University, he removed to Cambridge *, and from thence, about three years after, to Lincoln's-Inn, in London [B], where he distinguished himself by his great improvement in the study of the law (c). He was now in his eighteenth year, and as yet had professed himself of no particular denomination of Christians: but, about his nineteenth year, he laid aside the study of the Law, and of all other sciences, and set himself wholly to consider the points of religion controverted between the Romish and Reformed Churches [C]; which ended in a sincere attachment to the Protestant Religion (d). In the years 1596

(a) Isaac Walton's Lives of Dr. John Donne, &c. Lond. 1675. p. 11, 12.

(b) Wood, Ath. Oxon. vol. I. col. 554.

(*) Probably to Trinity-College.

(c) Walton, ibid. p. 12.

(d) Id. ib. p. 13, 14.

[A.] *Born in London.*] His father, who was a Merchant, was descended from a very ancient family in Wales; and his mother from the famous Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England, and Judge Rastall, author of an *Abridgment* of the *Statutes*. His father, who died before our author's admission at Lincoln's-Inn, left him a portion of 3000l. (1).

(1) Walton's Lives of Dr. Donne, &c. p. 11, 12.

[B] *He removed—to Lincoln's-Inn in London.*] His mother and his guardians, who were of the Romish persuasion, made choice of Tutors (who were secretly of the same persuasion) to instruct young Mr. Donne in the Mathematicks and other liberal sciences; with orders, at the same time, to instil into him the principles of the Romish Church. And he himself confesses (2), they had almost perverted him to their faith.

(2) Preface to his *Pseudo Martyr*. Lond. 1610. 4to. See the next remark.

[C] *He set himself to consider the points controverted between the Romish and Reformed Churches.*] Let us hear our author himself upon this head. 'I had a longer 'work, *says he* (3), to do than many other men: for 'I was first to blot out certain impressions of the Ro-'mane Religion, and to wrestle both against the exam-'ples and against the reasons, by which some hold was 'taken, and some anti ipations early layde upon my 'conscience, both by persons, who by nature had a 'power and superiority over my will, and others, who 'by their learning and good life seemed to me justly to 'claime an interest for the guiding and rectifying of 'mine understanding in these matters.' Afterwards he says: 'Although I apprehend well enough, that 'this resolution not only retarded my fortune, but 'also bred some scandal, and endangered my spiritual 'reputation, by laying me open to misinterpretations; 'yet all these respects did not transport me to any vio-'lent and sudden determination, till I had, to the 'measure of my poore wit and judgement, surveyed 'and digested the whole body of Divinity controverted 'between ours and the Romane Church. In which 'search and disquisition, that God, which awakened 'me then, and hath never forsaken me in that indus-'try, as he is the author of that purpose, so he is a 'witness of this protestation, that I behaved my selfe, 'and proceeded therein with humility and diffidence 'in my selfe, and by that, which, by his grace, I 'tooke to be the ordinary meanes, which is frequent 'praier and equall and indifferent actions.' When he set about this enquiry, as he believed Cardinal Bellarmine to be the best defender of the Popish cause, he applied himself to the examination of that writer's works; and, about the twentieth year of his age, had marked all the Cardinal's works with observations under his own hand; which he shewed to the then

(3) Ibid.

1596 and 1597, Mr. Donne accompanied the Earl of Eſſex in his expeditions againſt Cadiz and the Azores Iſlands, and ſtaid ſome years in Italy and Spain [*D*], where he made many uſeful obſervations, and perfected himſelf in the languages of thoſe countries. Soon after his return to England, he was made Secretary to the Lord Chancellor Egerton [*E*], and continued in that employment five years; during which time, he married privately, and without her father's conſent, the daughter of Sir George More, Chancellor of the Garter and Lieutenant of the Tower; who was ſo incenſed at the match, that he procured our author to be diſmiſſed from the Lord Chancellor's ſervice, and committed to priſon (*e*) [*F*]. He ſoon obtained his liberty, but was put to the trouble of a long and expenſive law-ſuit, to recover poſſeſſion of his wife, who was forcibly detained from him. At length, time, together with our author's extraordinary merit and winning behaviour, ſo far wrought upon Sir George, that he was prevailed on to uſe his intereſt with the Lord Chancellor, that his ſon-in-law might be reſtored to his poſt: but his requeſt was refuſed [*G*]. As for Sir George, he was ſo far reconciled to Mr. Donne and his wife, as not to deny them his paternal bleſſing; but would contribute nothing towards their ſupport, though they ſtood in great need of it, our author's fortune being much diminiſhed by the expence of his travels, books, law-ſuit, and the generoſity of his temper. However, his wants were, in a great meaſure, prevented by the ſeaſonable bounty of their kinſman Sir Francis Wooley, who entertained them ſeveral years at his houſe at Pirford in Surrey, where our author had ſeveral children born to him (*f*). During his reſidence at Pirford, he applied himſelf, with great diligence and ſucceſs, to the ſtudy of the Civil and Canon Laws; and, about this time, was ſollicited by Dr. Morton (afterwards Biſhop of Durham) to go into Holy Orders, and accept of a benefice, which the Doctor would have reſigned to him: but Mr. Donne thought fit to decline this obliging offer [*H*]. He lived with Sir Francis till that Gentleman's death; a little before which, by the mediation of Sir Francis, a perfect reconciliation was effected between our author and his father-in-law; Sir George obliging himſelf to pay Mr. Donne 800*l.* at a certain day, as a portion with his wife, or 20*l.* quarterly for their maintenance, till the ſaid portion was paid. After the death of Sir Francis Wooley, Mr. Donne took a houſe for his wife and children at Mitcham in Surrey [*I*], and lodgings for himſelf near Whitehall in London; where he

(e) Id. ib. p. 15—18.

(f) Ib. p. 18—20.

Dean of Glouceſter, and, at his death, bequeathed as a legacy to one of his friends (4).

(4) Walton, ubi ſupra. p. 14.

[*D*] *He ſtayed ſome years in Italy and Spain.*] The time he ſpent in Spain was, at his firſt going into Italy, deſigned for travelling to the Holy Land, and viewing Jeruſalem, and our Saviour's ſepulchre. But the diſappointment of company, or a ſafe convoy, or the uncertainty of returns of money into thoſe remote parts, prevented his deſign (5).

(5) Ibid. p. 15.

[*E*] *He was made Secretary to the Lord Chancellor Egerton.*] This, probably, was intended by that Lord only as an introduction of our author to ſome more conſiderable employment in the State. For his Lordſhip often expreſſed his high opinion of his Secretary's abilities; whom he treated rather as a friend than a ſervant, conſtantly admitting him to a place at his own table (6).

(6) Ibid.

[*F*] *He married—the daughter of Sir George More—who was ſo incenſed at the match, that he procured our author to be diſmiſſed from the Chancellor's ſervice, and committed to priſon.*] Sir George's daughter lived in the Lord Chancellor's family, and was niece to his Lady. Sir George, having ſome intimations of the intended marriage, removed his daughter, in all haſte, from the Chancellor's to his own houſe at Lotheſley in Surrey; and the friends on both ſides endeavoured to draw them from their mutual affection to each other: but to no purpoſe; for, having exchanged the moſt faithful promiſes, they found means to have their marriage privately conſummated. The affair was broken in the ſofteſt manner to Sir George by his friend and neighbour the Earl of Northumberland. But Sir George was ſo tranſported with anger, that he preſently engaged his ſiſter, the Lord Chancellor's Lady, to join with him in requiring Mr. Donne's diſmiſſion, and would not be ſatisfied till his ſuit was granted. The Chancellor, at diſmiſſing our author, declared, *He parted with a friend, and ſuch a Secretary as was fitter to ſerve a King than a ſubject.* But Sir George's anger was not ſatisfied, till our author, together with Mr. Samuel Brook (*), who married him, and his brother, Mr. Chriſtopher Brook (†), who gave the Lady in marriage, were all committed to three ſeveral priſons. Mr. Donne, who was the firſt enlarged, never reſted, till, by his ſollicitation and intereſt, he procured the liberty of his two impriſoned friends (7).

(*) He had been our author's fellow pupil at Cambridge, and was afterward Maſter of Trinity College.

(†) He had been our author's Chamber fellow at Lincoln's-Inn.

(7) Ib. p. 15—18.

[*G*] *This requeſt was refuſed.*] The Lord Chancellor returned for anſwer, that, 'though he was unfeignedly ſorry for what he had done, yet it was inconſiſtent with his place and credit, to diſcharge and re-admit ſervants at the requeſt of paſſionate petitioners (8).'

(8) Ibid. p. 19.

[*H*] *He thought fit to decline Dr. Morton's obliging offer.*] Dr. Morton, having deſired a conference with our author, told him, 'he had a matter to propoſe to him; which nevertheleſs he would not declare to him, but upon condition, that he ſhould not return a preſent anſwer, but paſs three days in faſting and prayer, and, after a ſerious conſideration of the propoſal, then return with his anſwer.' Mr. Donne promiſing to obſerve this condition, Dr. Morton told him, 'he was no ſtranger to his neceſſities, and would now renew the attempt he had formerly made, to perſuade him to wave his expectations of court preferment, and enter into Holy Orders, with this additional reaſon, that, the king having juſt made him (Dr. Morton) Dean of Glocester, he was ready to reſign to him (Mr. Donne) a very good benefice he was poſſeſſed of, if God ſhould incline his heart to embrace this motion;' adding, that 'no man's parts or education ſet him above that employment, which is *to be an Ambaſſador for the God of glory, that God who by a vile death opened the gates of life to mankind.*' Mr. Donne performed his promiſe, and the third day after returned with his anſwer, which was to this effect: 'That he acknowledged his (Dr. Morton's) great kindneſs, with an heart full of humility and thanks, but could not accept his offer; not that he thought himſelf too good for that calling, or that his education and learning, though not eminent, might not, by the aſſiſtance of God's grace, render him in ſome meaſure fit for it, but becauſe ſome former irregularities of his life had been too notorious not to expoſe him to the cenſure of the world, and perhaps bring diſhonour to the ſacred function: beſides, being determined by the beſt caſuiſts, that *God's glory ſhould be the firſt end, and a maintenance the ſecond motive, to embrace that calling*, his preſent condition was ſuch, he feared he could not reconcile his conſcience to that rule (9).' This was our author's preſent reſolution.

(9) Ib p. 21—24.

[*I*] *He ſettled his wife and children at Mitcham in Surrey.*] His fortune, at this time was very narrow, as

he was much visited and caressed by the Nobility, foreign Ministers, and other persons of distinction (g). Some time after, at the earnest entreaty of his friends, he removed his family to London, where Sir Robert Drury, a gentleman of a considerable estate, gave him a commodious apartment in his own large house in Drury-Lane (h). He was incorporated Master of Arts in the University of Oxford (having before taken the same degree at Cambridge) the 18th of April 1610 (i). About two years after he was prevailed upon, not without some difficulty, to accompany Sir Robert Drury to Paris (k) [K]. Before this journey, and after our author's return from France, many of the Nobility and others pressed the King to confer some secular employment on him (l) [L]: but his Majesty,

(g) Ib. p. 20—25.

(h) Ib. p. 28.

(i) Wood's Fasti Oxon, vol. I. col. 187.

(k) Walton, ubi supra, p. 29.

(l) Ib. p. 34.

as appears from several of his letters. Writing to the Honourable Sir R. D. he says; 'There is not one 'person, besides myself, in my house, well. I have 'already lost half a child, and with that mischance of 'hers, my wife fallen into an indisposition, which 'would afflict her much, but that the sickness of her 'children stupifies her; of one of which, in good 'faith, I have not much hope. This meets a fortune 'so ill provided for phisique and such relief, that if 'God should ease us with burials, I know not how to 'perform even that. I flatter myself in this, that I 'am dying too; nor can I truly die faster by any 'waste, than by loss of children. *From my hospital at 'Mitcham* (10).' In another letter addressed to Sir Henry Goodere, having expressed his wishes for death, he adds—*which though I know it is not meerly out of a wearinesse of this* (life), *because I had the same desires when I went with the tide, and enjoyed fairer hopes than now; yet I doubt worldly incumbrances have encreased it* (11). We shall add but one passage more from another of our author's letters: 'I write from 'the fire-side in my parler, and in the noise of three 'gamesome children, and by the side of her, whom 'because I have transplanted into a wretched fortune, 'I must labour to disguise that from her by all such ho-'nest devices, as giving her my company and dis-'course (12).' Here you have part of the picture of his narrow fortune, and the perplexities of his generous mind: and thus it continued with him for about two years; all which time his family remained constantly at Mitcham; to which place he often retired himself, and destined some days to a constant study of some points of controversy betwixt the English and Romish Church, and especially those of Supremacy and Allegiance (13).

(10) Dr. Donne's Letters to several Persons of Honour, &c. Lond. 1654, 4to. p. 152.

(11) Ib. p. 49.

(12) Ib. p. 137.

(13) Walton, ubi supra, p. 28.

[K] *He was prevailed on, not without some difficulty, to accompany Sir Robert Drury to Paris.*] Mrs. Donne, who was with child, and in an ill state of health, expressed some reluctance at her husband's intended journey, saying, *her divining soul boded her some ill in his absence*, and therefore desired him not to leave her. This made Mr. Donne lay aside all thoughts of the journey, and really resolve against it. But Sir Robert becoming very importunate in his request, Mrs. Donne, at last, gave a faint consent to the journey, which was proposed to be but for two months (14). Mr. Walton is mistaken in telling us, Sir Robert Drury accompanied the Lord Hay in his embassy from King James to the French King: for that Lord was not sent embassador to France till July 1616 (15), whereas it is evident from the dates of some of our author's letters (16), that he was at Paris with Sir Robert Drury in 1612. Mr. Donne, before his departure, presented his wife with a copy of verses (17), in which we may particularly admire the following beautiful similitudes.

(14) Ib. p. 29.

(15) Camden's Annals of King James, an. 1616.

(16) Letters to several Persons of Honour, &c. p. 127, &c.

(17) Intituled, A Valediction forbidding Mourning. See his Poems, &c. Lond. 1719. 12mo. p. 35.

Our two souls therefore, which are one,
Though I must go, indure not yet
A breach, but an expansion,
Like gold to an airy thinness beat.

If they be two, they are two so
As stiff twin compasses are two;
Thy soul, the fixt foot, makes no show
To move, but doth, if t'other do;

And though it in the center sit,
Yet when the other far doth rome,
It leans and hearkens after it,
And grows erect, as that comes home.

Such wilt thou be to me, who must,
Like t'other foot, obliquely run,
Thy firmness makes my circle just,
And makes me end where I begun.

We shall here give the reader Isaac Walton's account of Mr. Donne's *vision*, soon after his arrival at Paris. It was not indeed told him by our author himself, but by a person of honour, who had a great intimacy with Mr. Donne (18). However take it in Walton's own words (19); 'Two days after their arrival there, 'Mr. Donne was left alone, in that room in which 'Sir Robert, and he, and some other friends had 'dined together. To this place Sir Robert returned 'within half an hour; and as he left, so he found 'Mr. Donne alone; but in such an extasy, and so al-'tered as to his looks, as amazed Sir Robert to be-'hold him: insomuch that he earnestly desired Mr. 'Donne to declare what had befallen him in the short 'time of his absence. To which Mr. Donne was 'not able to make a present answer; but after a long 'and perplext pause, did at last say, "I have seen a "dreadful vision since I saw you: I have seen my "dear wife pass twice by me thorough this room, "with her hair hanging about her shoulders, and a "dead child in her arms; this I have seen since I "saw you." To which Sir Robert replied, "Sure, "Sir, you have slept since I saw you, and this is the "result of some melancholy dream, which I desire "you to forget, for you are now awake." 'To which 'Mr. Donne's reply was,' "I cannot be surer that I "now live, than that I have not slept since I saw "you: and am as sure, that, at her second appear "ing, she stopt, and lookt me in the face, and va-"nisht." 'Rest and sleep had not altered Mr. 'Donne's opinion the next day; for he then affirmed 'this vision with a more deliberate, and so confirmed 'a confidence, that he enclined Sir Robert to a faint 'belief, that the vision was true. It is truly said, '*that desire and doubt have no rest*; and it proved so 'with Sir Robert; for he immediately sent a servant 'to Drury-house, with a charge to hasten back and 'bring him word, whether Mrs. Donne were alive, 'and, if alive, in what condition she was as to her 'health. The twelfth day, the messenger returned 'with this account; that he found and left Mrs. 'Donne very sad, and sick in her bed; and that, 'after a long and dangerous labour, she had been de-'livered of a dead child. And, upon examination, 'the abortion proved to be the same day, and about 'the very hour, that Mr. Donne affirmed he saw her 'pass by him in his chamber.'

(18) Life, &c. ubi supra, p. 32.

(19) Ib. p. 29, 30.

[L] *Many of the Nobility, and others, pressed the king to confer some secular employment on him: but his Majesty rejected their application.*] King James, it seems, had given our author some hopes of a State-employment, being always much pleased with his company and conversation, especially at his meals, where there were usually discourses and debates, concerning religion or literature, between his Majesty, and those Divines, whose places required their attendance on him at those times; particularly Dr. Montague, Dean of the Chapel (*), and Dr. Andrews (†), his Majesty's Almoner (20). Among others, who solicited our author's advancement in the State, was the earl of Somerset, when in the greatest height of favour; who being at Theobald's with the King, and one of the Clerks of the Council dying there, dispatched a messenger for Mr. Donne to come thither immediately, and, at our author's coming, said to him; 'To testify the reality of my affection, and 'my purpose to prefer you, stay in this garden 'till

(*) Then Bishop of Winchester.

(†) Afterwards Bishop of Winchester.

(20) Ib. p. 34, 35.

jesty, considering him as better qualified for the service of the Church, rejected their application (*m*). About this time, the disputes concerning the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy being on foot, our author, by King James's especial command, wrote a treatise on that subject, intituled, *Pseudo-Martyr* [*M*], printed at London in 1610, in 4*to*; with which his Majesty was so highly pleased, that, resolving to prefer him in the Church, he was now very pressing with him to enter into Holy Orders: but Mr. Donne, being desirous to qualify himself for the sacred function by a closer application to the studies of Divinity and the learned languages, deferred his compliance with the King's instances, till about three years after, when he was ordained both Deacon and Priest by his good friend Dr. John King (*), then Bishop of London (*n*). Presently after, he was appointed one of the Chaplains in ordinary to his Majesty; and about the same time, attending King James in a progress, he was created Doctor in Divinity, at the recommendation of that Prince, by the University of Cambridge (*o*). His abilities, and industry in his profession, were so eminent, and himself so well beloved and esteemed by persons of quality, that, within the first year of his entering into sacred Orders, he had the offer of fourteen several benefices: but, as they lay in the country, his natural inclination to living in London, the place of his birth, and of his friends and acquaintance, made him refuse them all. Immediately after his return from Cambridge, his wife died [*N*]; and his grief for her loss was so great, that, for some time, he betook himself to a retired and solitary life (*p*). Soon after, he was chosen Preacher of Lincoln's-Inn, and was in high esteem with the Members of that Honourable Society. In 1619, he was appointed, by King James, to attend the Lord Hay Earl of Doncaster, in his embassy to the Princes of Germany; and, about fourteen months after his return to England, he was advanced to the Deanry of St. Paul's [*O*], vacant by the removal of Dr. Cary to the Bishoprick of Exeter (*q*). Soon after the vicarage of St. Dunstan in the West, and another benefice, fell to Dr. Donne; the advowson of the former having been given him by the Earl of Dorset, and that of the latter by the Earl of Kent. In 1623-4, he was chosen Prolocutor of the Convocation (*r*); on which occasion he spoke a Latin oration, as his inauguration speech (*s*). About the same time, he was appointed by the King to preach several occasional sermons, at Paul's Cross, and other places: these discourses were misrepresented to his Majesty, who gave the Doctor an opportunity of justifying himself in his royal presence (*t*) [*P*]. The year following, he was seized with a dangerous fit of sickness [*Q*]; of which, however,

(*) He had been Chaplain to the Lord Keeper Egerton, at the same time that Mr. Donne was his Secretary.

(*m*) Ib. p. 35.
(*n*) Ib. p. 36—38.
(*o*) Ib. p. 39—41.
(*p*) Ib. and p. 42.
(*q*) Ib. p. 45—46.
(*r*) Ib. p. 47.
(*s*) It is extant in his poems, &c. Lond. 1719. 12mo. p. 358.
(*t*) Ib. p. 47—49.

'till I go up to the king, and bring you word that 'you are Clerk of the Council: doubt not my doing 'this; for I know the King loves you, and know 'the King will not deny me.' But it happened otherwise; for the King denied the Earl's request, and replied; 'I know Mr. Donne is a learned man, has 'the abilities of a learned Divine, and will prove a 'powerful preacher; and my desire is, to prefer him 'that way, and in that way I will deny you nothing 'for him (21).' It appears from one of our author's letters (22), that he solicited in vain for the place of one of his Majesty's Secretaries in Ireland, upon the death of Sir Geoffrey Fenton.

(21) Ib. p. 35, 36.
(22) Dr. Donne's Letters, &c. p. 145.

[*M*] *His Pseudo-Martyr.*] King James himself had engaged in the controversy concerning the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, as appears by his Works still extant. As he had some discourses with Mr. Donne upon that subject, he was so pleased with his clearness in stating the objections made to the taking those oaths, and his answers to them, that he commanded our author to draw up the objections and answers in form, and bring them to him; which our author performed within six weeks, and brought them to the King in his own hand-writing, as they now stand in the book abovementioned (22). The title, at length, is: "Pseudo-Martyr: Wherein out of "certaine Propositions and Gradations this Conclusion "is evicted; that those, which are of the Romane "Religion in this Kingdome, may and ought to "take the Oath of Allegiance." It is dedicated to King James I, with a "Preface" addressed "to "the Priestes and Jesuites, and to their Disciples in "this kingdome." This book was animadverted upon by one Thomas Fitzherbert, in a Censure of it, subjoined to his "Supplement to the Discussion of Dr. "Barlow's Answer to the Judgment of a Catholic "Englishman, &c." printed at St. Omers in 1613, in 4to.

(22) Walton, ubi supra, p. 35.

[*N*] *His Wife's Death.*] Mrs. Donne died the 15th of August 1617, on the seventh day after the birth of her twelfth child, and was buried in the parish-church of St. Clement's near Temple-Bar, in London (23). She left our author in a narrow unsettled estate, with seven children then living, to whom he gave a voluntary assurance, that he would never bring them under the subjection of a step mother; which promise he faithfully kept (24). The first sermon he preached after the death of his wife, was in the church where she lay buried, on this text out of Jeremiah's Lamentation: 'Lo, I am the man that have seen affliction (25).'

(23) See her epitaph in Stowe's Survey of London, ed. 1720. fol Vol. II. B. iv. p. 113.
(24) Walton, ubi supra, p. 41, 42.
(25) Ib. p. 43.

[*O*] *He was advanced to the deanry of St. Paul's.*] Upon the vacancy of the deanry, the King sent an order to Dr. Donne to attend him the next day at dinner. When his Majesty was sat down, he said: 'Dr. 'Donne, I have invited you to dinner; and, though 'you sit not down with me, yet I will carve to you 'off a dish that I know you love well; for knowing 'you love London, I do therefore make you Dean of 'St. Paul's; and when I have dined, then do you 'take your beloved dish home to your study; say 'grace there to yourself, and much good may it do 'you (26).'

(26) Ib. p. 46.

[*P*] *His Sermons were misrepresented to the King, who gave the Doctor an opportunity of justifying himself in his royal presence.*] His Majesty was told, that Dr. Donne had fallen in with the general humour of the pulpits, and was busy in insinuating a fear of the King's inclination to Popery, and a dislike of his government. Whereupon his Majesty sent for our author, and required his answer to the accusation; which was so clear and satisfactory, that the King said, 'he 'was right glad he rested no longer under the suspi-'cion.' When the King had said this, Dr. Donne kneeled down, and thanked his Majesty, and protested, his answer was faithful and free from all collusion; and therefore desired 'that he might not rise, 'till, as in like cases he always had from God, so he 'might have from his Majesty some assurance that he 'stood clear and fair in his opinion.' At which the King raised him from his knees, and protested 'he 'believed him, and that he knew he was an honest 'man, and doubted not, but that he loved him truly.' And having thus dismissed him, he called some Lords of his Council into his chamber, and said with much earnestness, 'My Doctor is an honest man, and, my 'Lords, I was never better satisfied with an answer 'than with that he hath now made me: and I always 'rejoice, when I think, that by my means he became 'a Divine (27).'

(27) Ib. p. 48, 49.

[*Q*] *He was seized with a dangerous fit of sickness.*] In this distemper he was visited daily by his good friend

ever, he recovered, and publiſhed, on that occaſion, his moſt excellent book of "Devotions," which he had written on his ſick bed (*u*). He continued in perfect health till the fifty-ninth year of his age, when, being with his eldeſt daughter Mrs. Harvey, at Aberyhatch in Eſſex, in Auguſt 1630, he was taken with a fever, which brought on a conſumption (*w*): notwithſtanding which, he returned to London, and preached in his turn, at Court, as uſual, on the firſt Friday in Lent (*x*) [*R*]. He died [*S*] the thirty firſt of March 1631 (*y*), and was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, where a monument was erected over him [*T*]. His character is excellently drawn by the writer of his life [*U*]; and his abilities, both as a Preacher [*W*], and a Poet [*X*], are ſufficiently ſeen in his incomparable writings [*Y*]. He left behind him a ſon of both his names [*Z*].

(*u*) Ib. p. 49—51.

(*w*) Ib. and p. 52.

(*x*) Ib. p. 67, 68;

(*y*) See his epitaph below.

friend Dr. Henry King, one of the Reſidentiaries of St. Paul's, and afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter: who, obſerving that our author's ſickneſs rendered his recovery doubtful, took a proper opportunity to acquaint him, that, 'as there had been an offer lately 'made to the chapter, for renewing the leaſe of the 'beſt prebendal corps belonging to that church, which 'had been refuſed, becauſe the tenant had offered too 'low a fine; his intention was, if he could not raiſe 'him to an higher ſum, to prevail with the other Re'ſidentiaries to join in accepting what was offered;' deſiring the Dean would agree to this propoſal, 'as it 'would be a conſiderable addition to his preſent eſtate, 'which (he knew) ſtood in need of it.' The Dean thanked the Doctor for his kind offer, but declared he could not accept it, ſaying, 'he dared not, upon his 'ſick bed, when God had made him uſeleſs to the 'ſervice of the Church, make any advantage from it; 'but that, if he ſhould reſtore him to ſuch a degree 'of health, as again to ſerve at his altar, he ſhould 'then gladly take the reward, which the bountiful 'benefactors of that church had deſigned him;' proteſting, 'he would not augment, on his ſick bed, that 'little worldly eſtate he ſhould leave behind him (28).'

(28) Ib. p. 49, 50.

[*R*] *He preached, in his turn, at Court, as uſual, on the firſt Friday in Lent.*] His text upon this occaſion, was, "To God the Lord belong the iſſues from death," Pſal. lxviii. 20. It was printed at London in 1633, in 4to, under the title of "Death's Duel, or a "Conſolation to the Soule againſt the Dying Life and "Living Death of the Body, &c. Being his laſt "Sermon, and called by his Majeſty's Houſehold, "THE DOCTOR'S OWNE FUNERAL SERMON."

[*S*] *His death.*] Finding himſelf haſtening to his end, he ſent for many of his intimate friends, and took his laſt leave of them. Having done this, and ſettled his private affairs, he waited his diſſolution with much chearfulneſs and reſignation, and cloſed his laſt breath with theſe words, '*Thy kingdom come, thy will be done* (29).' It muſt not be omitted, that, among other preparations for death, he made uſe of this very remarkable one. He ordered an urn to be cut in wood, on which was to be placed a board of the exact height of his body. This being done, he cauſed himſelf to be tied up in a winding-ſheet, in the ſame manner as dead bodies are. Being thus ſhrouded, and ſtanding with his eyes ſhut, and with juſt ſo much of the ſheet put aſide, as might diſcover his thin, pale, and death-like face, he cauſed a ſkilful painter to take his picture. This piece, being finiſhed, was placed near his bedſide, and there remained as his conſtant remembrancer to the hour of his death (30).

(29) Ib. p. 75.

(30) Ib. p. 71.

[*T*] *A Monument was erected over him.*] It was compoſed of white marble, and carved from the picture mentioned in the laſt remark, by order of his executor Dr. King, Biſhop of Chicheſter, who wrote the inſcription, as follows:

JOHANNES DONNE, S.T.P.
Poſt varia Studia, quibus ab annis tenerrimis fideliter,
Nec infeliciter, incubuit,
Inſtinctu et impulſu Spiritus Sancti, monitu et hortatu
Regis JACOBI, Ordines Sacros amplexus,
Anno ſui Jeſu 1614, et ſuæ ætatis 42,
Decanatu hujus Eccleſiæ indutus 27 Novembris 1621,
Exutus Morte ultimo die Martii 1631.
Hic, licet in occiduo cinere, aſpicit Eum,
Cujus Nomen eſt Oriens.

[*U*] *His character—drawn by the Writer of his life.*] 'He was of ſtature moderately tall, of a ſtrait 'and equally proportioned body, to which all his 'words and actions gave unexpreſſible addition of 'comelineſs. The melancholy and pleaſant humour 'were in him ſo contempered, that each gave advantage to the other; and made his company one of the 'delights of mankind. His fancy was unimitably 'high, equalled only by his great wit, both being 'made uſeful by a commanding judgement. His aſpect 'was chearful, and ſuch as gave a ſilent teſtimony of 'a clear knowing ſoul, and of a conſcience at peace 'with itſelf. His melting eye ſhewed that he had a 'ſoft heart, full of noble compaſſion; of too brave 'a ſoul to offer injuries, and too much a Chriſtian, 'not to pardon them in others. He did much con'template (eſpecially after he entered into his ſacred 'calling) the mercies of Almighty God, the immor'tality of the Soul, and the Joys of Heaven, and 'would often ſay, in a kind of ſacred extaſy, "Bleſſed 'be God, that he is God, only, and divinely like 'himſelf! He was by nature highly paſſionate, but 'more apt to reluct at the exceſſes of it. A great 'lover of the offices of Humanity, and of ſo merciful 'a ſpirit, that he never beheld the miſeries of man'kind without pity and relief. He was earneſt and 'unwearied in the ſearch of knowledge; with which 'his vigorous ſoul is now ſatisfied, and employed in a 'continual praiſe of that God that firſt breathed it in'to his active body; that body which once was a 'Temple of the Holy Ghoſt, and is now become a 'ſmall quantity of Chriſtian Duſt. But I ſhall ſee it 'reanimated. Feb. 1639. I. W. (31).'

(31) Ib. p. 77, 78.

[*W*] *His abilities as a preacher.*] Mr. Walton tells (32) us, that, upon his firſt entring into Holy Orders, his Modeſty was ſuch, he could not be perſuaded to preach to any eminent auditory, but went uſually, accompanied by ſome one friend, to preach privately in ſome village near London; his firſt ſermon being preached at Paddington. This he did till the King ſent and appointed him a day to preach before him at Whitehall; and, though much was expected from him, both by his Majeſty and others, yet he was ſo happy as to exceed their expectations; 'Preaching the 'word ſo, as ſhewed his own heart was poſſeſſed with 'thoſe very thoughts and joys he laboured to inſtil 'into others: A preacher in earneſt, weeping ſome'times for his auditory, ſometimes with them; always 'preaching to himſelf, like an Angel from a cloud, 'but in none; carrying ſome, at St. Paul was, to 'heaven in holy raptures, and enticing others by a 'ſacred art and courtſhip to amend their lives; here 'picturing a vice ſo as to make it ugly to thoſe that 'practiſed it, and a virtue ſo as to make it beloved 'even by thoſe that loved it not; and all this with a 'moſt particular grace and an unexpreſſible addition 'of comelineſs.'

(32) Ib. p. 39, 40.

[*X*]——*a poet.*] Our author's poems conſiſt of I. "Songs and Sonnets." II. "Epigrams." III. "Elegies." IV. "Epithalamions or Marriage "Songs." V. "Satyres." VI. "Letters to ſe"veral Perſonages." VII. "Funeral Elegies. VIII. "Holy Sonnets." They are printed together in one Volume 12mo. London 1719; with the addition of "Elegies upon the Author by Several "Perſons." Mr. Dryden has very juſtly given Dr. Donne the character of *the greateſt wit, tho' not the greateſt Poet, of our nation* (33); and in his "Dedica"tion of Juvenal to the Earl of Dorſet," he ſays (34): 'Donne alone, of all our countrymen, had your ta'lent; but was not happy enough to arrive at your 'verſification. And were he tranſlated into numbers 'and Engliſh, he would yet be wanting in the dig'nity of expreſſion.—You equal Donne in the variety, 'multiplicity, and choice of thoughts; you excel 'him in the manner and the words. I read you both 'with the ſame admiration, but not with the ſame 'delight. He affects the metaphyſicks, not only in 'his ſatyrs, but in his amorous verſes, where nature 'only

(33) Dedication of his Eleonora. See his Original Poems, &c. Vol. II. p. 293.

(34) The Satyres of Decimus Junius Juvenals, &c. Lond. 1735. 12mo. Ded. p. 9.

'only should reign; and perplexes the minds of the 'fair-sex with nice speculations of philosophy, when 'he should engage their hearts, and entertain them 'with the softness of love.' A little farther (35), Mr. Dryden asks: 'Wou'd not Donne's *Satyrs*, 'which abound with so much wit, appear more 'charming, if he had taken care of his words and of 'his numbers?' Whether our late excellent poet (*) took the hint from this question, or not, is uncertain; but he has shewn the world, that Dr. Donne's *Satires*, when *translated into numbers and English* (as Mr. Dryden above expresses it) are not inferior to any thing in that kind of poetry, even his own admirable writings.

(35) Ib. p. 97.

(*) Mr. Pope. See his Satires of Dr. J. Donne.

[Y] *His writings.*] Besides the *Pseudo-Martyr*, and volume of poems already mentioned, there are extant the following Works of Dr. Donne, *viz.* I. "Devotions upon emergent Occasions, and several Steps "in his Sickness. 12mo. Lond. 2d edit." (36). II. "Paradoxes, Problems, Essays, Characters, &c. "To which is added a Book of Epigrams, written in "Latin by the same Author; translated into English "by J. Maine, D. D. As also Ignatius his Conclave, a Satyr translated out of the Original Copy "written in Latin by the same Author; found "lately amongst his own Papers." Lond. 1653, 12mo. These pieces are dedicated, by the author's son Dr. John Donne (37), to Francis Lord Newport. Part of this collection was published, in 1633, under the title of "Juvenilia, or Certain Paradoxes and Pro"blems." 4to. The Epigrams were first printed in 1632, under the title of "Fasciculus Poematum et "Epigrammatum miscellaneorum," &c. 8vo. The Satire, intituled "Ignatius his Conclave," was first printed in 1626, in 8vo. under the title of "Ignatius "his Conclave, viz. of establishing a Church in the "Moon; and again in 1635, under the title of Ig"natius his Conclave, or his Inthronization in a late "Election in Hell." 12mo. With this piece was printed another, intituled "An Apology for the Jesuits." III. Three volumes of Sermons, in folio; the first printed in 1640; the second in 1649; and the third in 1660. IV. "Essays in Divinity, &c. Being several "Disquisitions interwoven with Meditations and "Prayers, before he went into Holy Orders." Lond. 1651, 12mo. They were published after the author's death, by his son. V. "Letters to several Persons of "Honour;" published by the author's son, in 4to. Lond. 1654. There are several of Dr. Donne's letters, and others to him from the Queen of Bohemia, the Earl of Carlisle, Archbishop Abbot, and Ben Jonson, printed in a book intituled "A Collection "of Letters made by Sir Tobie Matthews, Knt." Lond. 1660, 8vo. VI. "The Ancient History of "the Septuagint;" translated from the Greek of Aristeas. Lond. 1633, 12mo. This translation was revised and corrected by another hand, and printed in 1685, in 8vo. VII. "ΒΙΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ: or a Declaration "of that Paradox or Thesis, that Self-Homicide is "not so naturally a Sin, that it may not be other"wise." London, 1684, 1648, &c. 4to. The original, under the author's own hand, is preserved in the Bodleian Library. Mr. Walton gives this piece the character of 'An exact and laborious treatise, 'wherein all the laws violated by that Act *(Self-murder)* are diligently survey'd, and judiciously cen'sured; a treatise written in his younger years, which 'alone might declare him not only perfect in the Civil 'and Canon Law, but in many other such studies and 'arguments as enter not into the consideration of ma'ny, that labour to be thought great clerks, and pre'tend to know all things (38).' 'In one of our author's *letters*, addressed to Sir Robert Carr, and sent with his book in manuscript, he speaks of it himself in the following terms; 'Because it is upon a misinter'pretable subject, I have always gone so near sup'pressing it, that it is only not burnt. No hand hath 'passed upon it to copy it, nor many eyes to read it; 'only to some particular friends in both Universities, 'then when I writ it, I did communicate it; and I 'remember I had this answer, that *certainly there was 'a false thread in it, though not easily found.* Keep it, 'I pray, with the same jealousy: let any, that your 'discretion admits to the sight of it, know the date 'of it, and that it is a book written by Jack Donne, 'and not by Dr. Donne. Reserve it for me if I 'live (*); and, if I die, I only forbid it the presse 'and the fire. Publish it not, but yet burn it not, 'and between those do what you will with it (39).'

(36) See the text, reference (*u*).

(37) See the last remark.

(38) Life &c. ubi supra, p. 60.

(*) Our author was then setting out for Germany.

(39) Dr. Donne's Letters, &c. p. 21, 22.

[Z] *He left behind him a son, of both his names.*] He was educated at Westminster School, and elected from thence a Student of Christ Church in Oxford, in 1622. Afterwards he travelled abroad, and took the degree of Doctor of Laws at Padua in Italy. The 30th of June, 1638, he was incorporated in the same degree in the University of Oxford. He died in 1662, and was interred in the Church-yard of St. Paul's, Covent-Garden. Mr. Wood gives him the character of an Atheistical Buffoon, and tells us, he was much valued by King Charles II (40); no great compliment to that monarch's judgment. This Dr. Donne, besides several pieces of his father, published (as Wood expresses it) *several frivolous trifles*, under his own name; among which is, "The Humble Petition of Covent-Garden against "Dr. John Baber a Physician." Lond. 1661 (41). B.

(40) Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol I. col. 276, 277.

(41) Ibid.

*** [There must undoubtedly have been great pregnancy in the parts of young Donne, which occasioned him to be sent to Oxford at so early an age as that of eleven years. No such custom now takes place, nor indeed can it be proper in any instance. The most solid and well-founded scholars are usually those who continue long at a Grammar School. The only case which has lately happened, of a very early admission into an English University, is that of Prince William, Son to the Duke of Gloucester. But extraordinary priviledges may be supposed to be allowed to royal blood. However unsuitable the age of the young Prince might be for collegiate instruction, we were pleased that some testimony of respect was paid to one of our own Universities; and we should farther have been pleased if Oxford or Cambridge, or both, had been thought as worthy to educate the Sons of a British Monarch as the University of Gottingen. But perhaps these are the conceptions of an ignorant individual, who is little acquainted with the policy of Courts.

The condition required by Dr. Morton of Mr. Donne, (mentioned in note *H*), that he should not give an answer to the Doctor's proposal till he had passed three days in fasting and prayer, deserves notice, as marking the high devotional spirit of the times. For it is to be remembered, that this was not the proposition of an enthusiastic Puritan, but of a very eminent and respectable Divine of the Church of England. If our ancestors carried matters of this nature too far, their successors have run into the contrary extreme. A principle of piety, exercised in referring our concerns to the providential direction of the Supreme Being, would be no bar to the wisdom, ability, and success, of our lawful undertakings. This sentiment, that prayer and labour should co-operate, is expressed by Donne himself, in one of these poems, though with no elegance of language:

"In none but us are such mixt engines found,
"As hands of double office; for the ground
"We till with them, and them to heaven we raise;
"Who prayerless labours, or without this prays,
"Doth but one half, that's none (42)."

(42) Johnson's Lives of the Poets. Vol. I. p. 46.

The name of Dr. Donne is now more generally known as a poet than in any other capacity, though none of his poetical works are read at present, excepting his Satires, which, being modernized by Mr. Pope, are printed on the opposite page. His versification is allowed to be intolerably harsh and unmusical; but different accounts have been given of his genius as a poet. Dr. Birch observes, that his poetical works shew a prodigious fund of genius, under the disguise of an affected and obscure stile, and a most inharmonious versification (43). A far superior arbiter in subjects of taste (Dr. Warton) has asserted, that Dr. Donne possessed the true poetical genius, with noble talents for moral poesy. The same writer having before characterized him as a man of wit, and a man of sense, but asked what traces he had left of pure poetry, hath been thought by a periodical critic to be guilty of an inconsistency. This, however, we do not perceive to be the case; for Dr. Donne might have noble talents for moral poesy, and yet they might be perverted from being properly displayed, by his want of taste and neglect of harmony. The critic referred to farther says, "Did any man, with a poetical "ear, ever yet read ten lines of Donne without dis"gust? or are there ten lines of poetry in all his "works?

(43) Life of Tillotson. p. 27.

(44) Monthly Review. Vol. XIV. p. 535.

" works? No" (44). We as confidently anſwer, " Yes;" and, for the truth of our anſwer, we ſhall only appeal to the four ſtanzas inſerted in note K, where there are ſixteen lines which, notwithſtanding their quaintneſs, may be read without diſguſt, and have in them a true ſpirit of poetry. Dr. Warton, in the ſecond volume of his Eſſay on the Writings and Genius of Pope, has ſome additional obſervations concerning Donne, the greater part of which we ſhall tranſcribe. " Two noblemen of taſte and learning, the " Duke of Shrewſbury and the Earl of Oxford, de- " ſired Pope to melt down and caſt anew the weighty " bullion of Dr. Donne's Satires, who had degraded " and deformed a vaſt fund of ſterling wit and ſtrong " ſenſe by the moſt harſh and uncouth diction. " Pope ſucceeded in giving harmony to a writer, " more rough and rugged than even any of his age, " and who profited ſo little by the example Spenſer " had ſet of a moſt muſical and mellifluous verſifi- " cation, far beyond that of Fairfax, who is ſo fre- " quently mentioned as the greateſt improver of the " harmony of our language. The Satires of Hall, " written in very ſmooth and pleaſing numbers, pre- " ceded thoſe of Donne many years; for his Virgi- " demiarum were publiſhed, in ſix books, in the year " 1597; in which he calls himſelf the very firſt Eng- " liſh Satiriſt. This, however, was not true in fact; " for Sir Thomas Wyatt, of Allington Caſtle in " Kent, the friend and favourite of Henry VIII. and, " as was ſuggeſted, of Anne Boleyn, was our firſt " writer of ſatire worth notice. But it was not in " his numbers only that Donne was reprehenſible. " He abounds in falſe thoughts, in far-ſought ſenti- " ments, in forced unnatural conceits. He had a " conſiderable ſhare of learning," and " he was one " of our poets who wrote elegantly in Latin; as did " Ben Jonſon (who tranſlated into that language " great part of Bacon de Augmentis Scientiarum); " Cowley, Milton, Addiſon, and Gray. In Donne's " introduction to his witty catalogue of curious books, " written plainly in imitation of Rabelais (whom " alſo Swift imitated, in a catalogue of odd treatiſes, " prefixed to the Tale of a Tub), there is a paſſage ſo " minutely applicable to the preſent times, that I am " tempted to tranſcribe it. Ævum ſortiti ſumus, quo " planè indoctis nihil turpius, plenè doctis nihil ra- " rius. Tam omnes in Literis aliquid ſciunt, tam " nemo omnia. Mediâ igitur plerumque iter viâ, et " ad evitandam ignorantiæ turpitudinem, et legendi " faſtidium" (45). In the account of a converſation which Ben Jonſon is ſaid to have held with Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden in Scotland, Jonſon told Drummond that Donne was originally a poet, his grandfather on the mother's ſide being Heywood the epigrammatiſt; and that his writings, from not being underſtood, would periſh. Ben Jonſon farther ſaid, that he eſteemed him the firſt poet in the world for ſome things; that his verſes of the loſt Ochadine he had by heart; and that paſſage of the Calm, that duſt and feathers did not ſtir, all was ſo quiet. It was likewiſe affirmed by Jonſon, that Donne wrote his beſt pieces before he was twenty-five years of age; and that after he was made Doctor he reſolved to deſtroy all his poems (46).

(45) Eſſay on the Writings and Genius of Pope. Vol. II. 421. 423. Firſt Edit.

(46) Ibid p. 424, 425.

Dr. Johnſon, in his Life of Cowley, has taken ſome particular notice of Donne, who was one of the firſt of our metaphyſical Poets. According to Dr. Warton, he was in this reſpect the corrupter of Cowley (47). Several of the inſtances of metaphyſical poetry which Dr. Johnſon has produced, are given from Donne, two or three of whoſe paſſages of this kind we ſhall inſert. The poets we are ſpeaking of ſometimes drew their conceits from the receſſes of learning not very much frequented by common readers of poetry. " Thus Donne ſhews his medicinal know- " ledge in ſome encomiaſtic verſes:

" In every thing there naturally grows
" A Balſamum to keep it freſh and new,
" If 'twere not injured by extrinſique blows;
" Your youth and beauty are this balm in you.
" But you, of learning and religion,
" And virtue and ſuch ingredients, have made
" A Mithridate, whoſe operation
" Keeps off, or cures, what can be done or ſaid."

Though the following lines, on the laſt night of the Year, have ſomething in them too ſcholaſtic, they are, ſays Dr. Johnſon, not inelegant.

" This twilight of two years, not paſt nor next,
" Some emblem is of me, or I of this,
" Who, meteor-like, of ſtuff and form perplext,
" Whoſe what and where, in diſputation is,
" If I ſhould call me any thing, ſhould miſs.

" I ſum the years and me, and find me not
" Debtor to th' old, nor creditor to th' new,
" *That* cannot ſay, my thanks I have forgot,
" Nor truſt I *this* with hopes; and yet ſcarce true
" This bravery is, ſince theſe times ſhew'd me you."

Of thoughts ſo far-fetched, as to be not only unexpected, but unnatural, the books of the metaphyſical Poets were full. Few but Donne would have thought that a good man is a teleſcope.

" Though God be our true glaſs, through which
" we ſee
" All, ſince the Being of all things is he,
" Yet are the trunks, which do to us derive
" Things, in proportion fit, by perſpective
" Deeds of good men; for by their living here,
" Virtues, indeed remote ſeem to be near" (48).

(47) Ibid.

(48) Lives of the Poets. Vol. I. p. 31. 34. 39.

Of Dr. Donne's proſe works little remembrance now remains. Dr. Birch remarks, that all his wit and learning cannot ſecure his ſermons from univerſal neglect. The moſt valuable of his proſe-writings is his " Pſeudo Martyr," which contains an unanſwerable confutation of the Papal Supremacy (49). Granger is of the ſame opinion (50).

(49) Life of Tillotſon. p. 21. 27.

There is one of Dr. Donne's productions, which had long ſlept in Oblivion, that has lately been brought into notice. We mean his ΒΙΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ: or a declaration of that Paradox or Theſis, that Self-Homicide is not ſo naturally a Sin, that it may not be otherwiſe. Mr. Moore, in his elaborate work on Suicide, a work in which every thing relative to the ſubject is critically and amply conſidered, hath entered into an examination of Dr. Donne's poſitions, and ſhewn that they will not ſtand the teſt of a ſtrict enquiry (51).

(50) Biographical Hiſtory. Vol. I. p. 357.

A print of Donne's monument, engraven by Hollar, may be ſeen in Dugdale's account of St. Paul's Cathedral.

(51) Moore on Suicide. Vol. II. p. 2—41.

There is ſomething in the private character of Dr. Donne which attaches the mind, and renders the contemplation of it pleaſing and intereſting even at the preſent day. This ariſes from the ſtory of his marriage, the difficulties in which that event involved him, and the amiable ſenſibilities which he appears to have diſplayed in all the relations and circumſtances of Life.] K.

*** [DOUGLAS (GAWIN), Biſhop of Dunkeld, and eminent for his poetical talents, was deſcended from a noble family [*A*], being the third Son of Archibald, Earl of Angus, and was born in Scotland at the cloſe of the year 1474, or the beginning of 1475. His father was very careful of his education, and cauſed him to be early inſtructed

[*A*] *Deſcended from a noble family.*] It is obſerved by the writer of his life, prefixed to the edition of his Virgil printed at Edinburgh in 1710, that 'his 'grandfather George, the fifth Earl of Angus, was 'a man of excellent endowments both of body and 'mind, remarkable for his wiſdom and conduct, but 'eſpecially famous for his loyalty and valour. He 'followed King James II. and aſſiſted him againſt 'his own kinſman the Earl of Douglas, whom, toge- 'ther with Percy Earl of Northumberland, he over- 'threw in a bloody battle. Afterwards, when the 'Engliſh army beſieged Alnwick, he marched thither 'with

structed in literature and the sciences (*a*). He was intended by his father for the church [*B*]; and after having passed through a course of liberal education [*C*] in Scotland, is supposed to have travelled into foreign countries, for his farther improvement in literature, and to obtain a knowledge of the manners and customs of other nations. After his return to Scotland, he obtained the office of Provost of the Collegiate Church of St. Giles in Edinburgh, a post of considerable dignity and revenue; and was also made Rector of Heriot Church (*b*). He was likewise appointed Abbot of the opulent convent of Aberbrothock; and the Queen-mother, who was then Regent of Scotland, and about this time married his nephew the Earl of Angus, nominated him to the Archbishopric of St. Andrew's. But he was prevented from obtaining this dignity by a violent opposition [*D*] that was made to him at home, and by the refusal of the Pope to confirm his appointment. The Queen-mother afterwards promoted him to the Bishopric of Dunkeld; and for this preferment obtained a bull in his favour from Pope Leo X. by the interest of her brother, Henry VIII. king of England [*c*]. But so strong an opposition was again made to him [*E*], that he could not, for a considerable time, obtain peaceable possession of this new preferment; and was even imprisoned for more than a year, under pretence of having acted illegally, in procuring a bull from the Pope [*d*]. He was afterwards set at liberty, and consecrated Bishop of Dunkeld, by James Beaton, Chancellor of Scotland, and Archbishop of Glasgow. After his consecration he went to St. Andrew's, and thence to his own church at Dunkeld; where the first day, we are told, "he was most kindly received by his clergy and people, all of them blessing God for so worthy and learned a bishop [*e*]." He still, however, met with many obstructions; and, for some time, was forcibly kept out of the palace belonging to his diocese [*F*]; but he at length obtained peaceable possession. He soon after accompanied the

(a) Life of Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, prefixed to the edition of his translation of the Æneid, printed at Edinburgh, in folio, in 1710, p. 1, 2.

(b) Life, ut supra, p. 4.

(c) Ibid. p. 5.

(d) Ibid. p. 6.

(e) Id. ibid.

'with ten thousand horse, and in sight of the enemy 'brought off Mons. Brisac, with 300 Frenchmen under 'his command, who had been in the castle, and 'carried them safe to Scotland. This George married 'Elizabeth Sibbald, daughter to Sir Andrew Sibbald 'of Balgony, chief of an antient and honourable 'family, and treasurer of Scotland at that time. By 'this lady he had two sons. The eldest was Archi-'bald, the sixth Earl of Angus, who was far from 'diminishing the power, riches, and grandeur, to 'which Earl George his father had raised that illustri-'ous family. His courage and wisdom were so re-'markable, that none was more honoured than he 'by all ranks of men, so that he was commonly 'called *the great Earl of Angus* (1.)'

(1) P. 1.

[*B*] *Intended by his father for the church.*] It is said, that, 'being dedicated by his parents to the ser-'vice of the altar, he was under some necessity of 'improving himself in virtue and learning, if he ex-'pected any considerable dignity in the church, be-'cause King James I. had made a law, that none 'should be capable of being a Canon or Prebend in 'any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, except he who 'was Bachelor in the Canon Law, or had taken a 'degree in theology (2).'

(2) Life, ut supra, p. 2.

[*C*] *Having passed through a course of liberal education.*] Mr. Warton says, 'According to the practice 'of that age, especially in Scotland, his education 'perhaps commenced in a grammar-school of one of 'the monasteries. There is undoubted proof that it 'was finished at the University of Paris (3).'

(3) History of English Poetry, Vol. II. p. 280.

[*D*] *He was prevented from obtaining this dignity by a violent opposition.*] It is said, by the writer of his life, that 'neither the royal authority, nor the great 'power and interest of his noble relations, nor his 'own merits and excellent qualities, were able to 'procure him peaceable possession. His competitors 'were John Hepburn and Andrew Forman. The 'first was Prior of St. Andrew's, and during the 'vacancy Vicar-General of the diocese, and manager 'of the revenues. He being a cunning man, and of 'great power, engaged the Canons to elect him, and 'was supported by many of the nobility. Where-'fore he laid siege to the castle of St. Andrew's, 'which had been possessed by Gawin's servants, and 'after some resistance having taken it, he placed a 'garrison of soldiers in it. The other, Andrew For-'man, was Bishop of Murray, and Archbishop of 'Bourges in France, and had been legate *a latere* 'to Pope Julius II. By the interest he had in the 'Court of Rome, and the powerful recommendation 'of the Duke of Albany, afterwards governor, he 'obtained a bull from the Pope for that dignity, and 'was submitted to, and acknowledged as Archbishop 'by most of the Clergy, and all the vassals of the see. 'Mr. Douglas reflecting on the scandals which arose 'from these unworthy and ambitious contests, resolved 'to prefer the honour of a Christian and peaceable 'disposition to his temporal interest and greatness, 'and therefore did wholly lay aside his pretensions to 'that see (4).'

[*E*] *So strong an opposition was again made to him,* &c.] We are told, that though 'his right was founded 'both on the royal and papal authority, yet he could 'not obtain consecration, nor peaceable possession of 'his Bishopric, for a considerable time, because of a 'powerful competitor. For Andrew Stewart, Pre-'bendary of Craig, and brother to the Earl of Athol, 'had got himself postulated Bishop, by such of the 'chapter as were present, and his title was supported 'by all the enemies of the Queen, and her husband 'the Earl of Angus, and particularly the Duke of 'Albany; who arrived in Scotland in May, 1515, 'and was declared regent. In the first session of Par-'liament after the governor's arrival, Mr. Douglas 'was accused of acting contrary to the laws of the 'nation, and statutes of Parliament. Some acts, 'indeed, had been made against receiving bulls from 'Rome, yet they were seldom put in execution. 'But the governor and his party were glad to find 'any pretext against one, who was so nearly related 'to the Earl of Angus, and so capable to support his 'interest. He was, therefore, pronounced guilty, and 'committed to the custody of John Hepburn the prior, 'in the castle of St. Andrew's. Whence he was after-'wards removed, first to the Castle of Edinburgh, then 'to the Castle of Dunbar, and at last carried back again 'to the castle of Edinburgh, in which places he continu-'ed prisoner more than a year, until the governor was 'reconciled to the Queen and Earl of Angus (5).'

(4) P. 4, 5.

(5) Id. p. 5, 6.

[*F*] *Was forcibly kept out of the palace belonging to his diocese.*] The writer of his life says, 'After the 'bulls were published at the altar, and the blessing 'pronounced, he went to the Dean's house, where he 'was most honourably entertained; because his own 'palace and the steeple were possessed by Andrew 'Stewart's servants, who pretended to keep them in 'the name of the Governor, and refused to surrender 'in the absence of their master. The next day, 'when the Bishop was endeavouring to go to Church, 'he was hindered by the frequent firing of his adver-'saries, and therefore was forced to perform divine 'service in the Dean's house, where the Canons took 'the oath of canonical obedience, and he on the 'other hand swore to observe certain statutes of the 'Church. After dinner he began to consult with 'the nobility, gentry, and clergy that were then 'with him, what was fit to be done: and when some 'advised him to send one of his friends to the Gover-'nor, and others that he himself should go to Court,

'in

the duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, to Paris, when that nobleman was ſent to renew the ancient league between Scotland and France [G]. After his return to Scotland, he made a ſhort ſtay at Edinburgh, and then repaired to his dioceſe, where he applied himſelf diligently to the duties of his epiſcopal office. He was alſo a promoter of public-ſpirited works, and particularly finiſhed the ſtone bridge over the river Tay, oppoſite to his own palace, which had been begun by his predeceſſor (*f*). We meet with no farther particulars concerning him till ſome years after, when he was at Edinburgh, and when that ſkirmiſh happened between the Earls of Arran and Angus, with their friends and followers, of which an account was given in a former part of our work (*g*). On that occaſion biſhop Douglas reproved Archbiſhop Beaton for wearing armour, as inconſiſtent with the clerical character, but was afterwards inſtrumental in ſaving his life (*h*). During all theſe diſorders in Scotland, it is ſaid, that biſhop Douglas behaved "with that moderation and peaceableneſs, which became a wiſe man and religious prelate (*i*)." Notwithſtanding which the violence and animoſity which then prevailed among the different parties in Scotland, induced him to retire to England [H]. After his departure, a proſecution was commenced againſt him in Scotland [I]; but he was well received

(*f*) Life, ut ſupra, p. 8.

(*g*) In the article BEATON (JAMES) Archbiſhop of St. Andrews.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) Life, ut ſupra, p. 10.

'in the mean time news are brought, that Andrew 'Stewart had taken arms, and was reſolved to join his 'ſervants, and defend the palace againſt the Biſhop. 'Then James Lord Ogilvy, David Maſter of Crawford, Colin Campbell of Glenurquhie, the Laird of 'Kinfawns, and the reſt who were with the Biſhop, 'made themſelves ready to oppoſe him; and immediately diſpatched expreſſes to the Shire of Angus 'and other parts, to call the Biſhop's friends to his 'aſſiſtance. A very great number came the next day 'from Montroſe, the lower parts of Fife, and all 'the neighbouring country; ſo that Stewart, finding 'it was impoſſible for him to enter the palace, retired 'into the woods: and thoſe who held out the Biſhop's houſe, and the ſteeple, were ſummoned to ſurrender under pain of excommunication. They refuſed 'to yield; but the Prebend of Alith and James Carmichael, with the Biſhop's ſervants, made themſelves maſters of the ſteeple, more by prudence and 'ſtratagem than force. After which, thoſe in the 'palace began to be afraid, and begged that a truce 'might be granted them for ſome hours, and the 'ſentence of excommunication delayed; both which 'were granted. Yet they continued obſtinate, until 'the houſe was beſieged: and then it was yielded, 'without the death or mutilation of any. Which 'was certainly very acceptable to the good Biſhop, who 'in all the actions of his life diſcovered a gentle and 'merciful diſpoſition, regulating the warlike and 'heroic ſpirit, that was natural to his family, by the 'excellent laws of the Chriſtian Religion. Andrew 'Stewart being informed how matters had gone, went 'with his brother to Court, hoping to get a favourable reception from the Governor. The Biſhop 'thought it neceſſary to go thither alſo, and to defend his right. After the buſineſs had been a good 'time debated before the Governor, at laſt, by the 'prudent mediation of ſome Lords of the council, 'an agreement is made on theſe terms: That Stewart 'ſhould keep the revenues of the Biſhopric, which 'he had formerly received, and poſſeſs the Churches 'of Alith and Cargill, paying yearly to the Biſhop 'certain chalders of victual (6).'

(6) Ibid. p. 6, 7.

[G] *To renew the antient league between Scotland and France.*] We are informed, that 'ambaſſadors 'having been ſent from King Francis I. to Scotland, 'for renewing the antient league between the two 'nations, the Scots nobility met together, and choſe 'the Governor (the Regent) as the fitteſt perſon to 'go to the Court of France, for managing an affair 'of ſo great conſequence. It was neceſſary that 'ſome perſons of great experience and ſingular wiſdom ſhould accompany the Duke, and be aſſiſtant 'to him: and none were judged more worthy of this 'honourable employment than our Biſhop and Mr. 'Patrick Panter, Chancellor of the Chapter of Dunkeld, Abbot of Cambuſkenneth, and Secretary of 'State to King James V. as he had been to his father 'James IV (7).'

(7) Ibid. p. 8.

[H] *Induced him to retire to England.*] It is ſaid, that 'perceiving the great violence and hatred of the 'court againſt the family of Angus, and the danger 'he was expoſed to on that account, he reſolved to 'leave the kingdom, and retire into England till the 'ſtorm was over. This unluckily fell out, when the 'Emperor Charles V. and the King of England entered into an alliance with France, which likewiſe 'engaged the Scots to ſhare in the fate of their allies, 'war being declared againſt them immediately before 'by the King of England. His enemies, who were 'the prevailing party at Court, took this opportunity 'to endeavour his ruin (8).'

(8) Ibid. p. 11.

[I] *A proſecution was commenced againſt him in Scotland.*] 'He was no ſooner gone, than a proceſs 'is commenced, and a ſentence of proſcription paſſed 'againſt him by public authority, which was afterwards turned into a proclamation, bearing, That 'whereas Gawin Douglas, Biſhop of Dunkeld, had 'treaſonably (as they word it) entered, and deſigned 'to reſide in England, joining himſelf to the public 'enemy of the kingdom, after war was denounced; 'and that not only without licence and permiſſion, 'but againſt the expreſs orders of the Governor: 'therefore they command the Vicar General of St. 'Andrews (the ſee being vacant) to ſequeſtrate the 'revenues of Dunkeld, and ſtrictly forbid all perſons 'to aid or aſſiſt him with money or counſel, or any 'ways to keep correſpondence with him, under the 'higheſt pains. It is not a little ſurprizing that ſo 'good and peaceable a man ſhould meet with ſo 'ſevere treatment. But if we reflect how much the 'Court was incenſed againſt the whole name of 'Douglas at that time, partly becauſe of the Earl of 'Angus's marriage with the Queen, the Regent's rival 'for the Government, and ſiſter to the King of England, who had been always the Regent's, and was 'now the declared enemy of the whole nation; and 'partly on account of his late victory in the ſkirmiſh 'at Edinburgh, which perhaps the young Earl uſed 'not with that moderation that he ought. I ſay, if 'we reflect on theſe things, our wonder will be very 'much leſſened. But there was ſomething more in 'it. James Beaton, Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, who, 'by his being Chancellor many years, had acquired 'great power and authority, had an eye to the Archbiſhopric of St. Andrew's, ſome months before vacant by the death of Andrew Forman, and was 'afraid of no competitor ſo much as the Biſhop of 'Dunkeld; and, therefore, to be rid of him, ſeems 'to have had a principal hand in the draught of this 'act and edict againſt him, on purpoſe to render him 'odious not only to the whole nation, but alſo to 'foreigners, and eſpecially to the ſee of Rome. For 'in the body of the edict it is reſolved, that the 'three eſtates write to the Pope, not to aſſume or 'recommend him to the Archbiſhopric, as being a 'perſon that had bad deſigns againſt the government, 'and was in the enemy's country and intereſt. And 'as if they had been aware, that it would juſtly be 'concluded by unbiaſſed perſons, that this proceeded 'out of private favour to ſome other perſon, as well 'as pique at our good Biſhop, it is likewiſe decreed, 'that ſupplicatory letters be ſent to the Pope by the 'three eſtates for that purpoſe. But Archbiſhop 'Beaton, not content with this, writes alſo a letter 'to the King of Denmark, wherein he repreſents the 'Biſhop

received in England, where he was treated with particular reſpect, on account of the excellency of his character, and his great abilities and learning. King Henry VIII. allowed him a liberal penſion; and he became particularly intimate with Polydore Vergil [K] (k). He died of the plague, at London, in the year 1521, or 1522. He was interred in the Savoy church, on the left ſide of the tomb ſtone of Thomas Halſay, biſhop of Laghlin, in Ireland; on whoſe tomb-ſtone a ſhort epitaph for biſhop Douglas is inſcribed (l).

(k) Life, ut ſupra, p 13. Warton, p. 281.

(l) Pinkerton's Liſt of the Scottiſh Poets. p. 95.

Biſhop Douglas is ſtiled by Mr. Warton, one "of the diſtinguiſhed luminaries that "marked the reſtoration of letters in Scotland, at the commencement of the ſixteenth "century, not only by a general eminence in elegant erudition, but by a cultivation of "the vernacular poetry of his country (m)." He was alſo celebrated for his perſonal virtues [L]. He tranſlated the Æneid of Virgil into Scottiſh heroics, with the additional thirteenth book by Mapheus Vegius, at the requeſt of Henry, earl of Sinclair, [M] to whom he was related. It was printed at London, in 4to. in the year 1553, under the following title: "The XIII Bukes of Eneados of the Famoſe Poete Virgill. "Tranſlatet out of Latyne verſes into Scottiſh metir, bi the Reverend Father in God, "Mayſter Gawin Douglas, Biſhop of Dunkel, and Unkil to the Erle of Angus. "Every Buke having his perticular Prologe [N]." "This tranſlation," ſays Mr. War-

(m) Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, ut ſupra, p. 280.

'Biſhop of Dunkeld as a perſon diſaffected to the 'government, and going about to infringe the privi'leges granted the Scots nation by the holy ſee, by 'endeavouring to be preferred to the archbiſhopric 'of St. Andrews, and abbacy of Dumfermling, by 'the intereſt and favour of the emperor and king of 'England, then public enemies to Scotland: and, 'therefore, he entreats that king, that he would 'write to his miniſters at Rome, to inform his holi'neſs, that the biſhop was under a ſentence of ba'niſhment becauſe of his demerits, and thereby put 'a ſtop to his ambitious deſigns. This letter is dated 'at Edinburgh, 8 April, 1522, and both it, and the 'above named act of parliament (dated 21 February '1521-2), are yet extant in a valuable collection of 'Epiſtles and Memorials, &c. to Foreign Courts and 'others from the Kings of Scotland, &c. now in the 'Advocates Library at Edinburgh (9).

(9) Ibid p. 11, 12.

[K] *Intimate with Polydore Vergil.*] Mr. Pinkerton obſerves, that 'Biſhop Douglas ſent Polydore 'Vergil a little memoir on the origin of the Scots; 'in which, as Polydore ſtates it, he traced them to 'Gathelus, &c. But Polydore, being a man of ſci'ence and ſenſe, rightly put the firſt ſettlement of 'the Scots in Britain, in the fifth century, not chu'ſing to ſacrifice truth and learning to dreams un'worthy even of children (10).'

(10) Ancient Scottiſh Poems, Vol. I. p. 97.

Mr. Pinkerton alſo farther informs us, that 'in 'the *Tranſacta inter Angliam et Scotiam* in the Cot'ton Lib. are different papers, mentioning our poet. '27th June, 1518, is an original letter, ſigned by 'Gawin Douglas. 14th Dec. 1521, are inſtructions 'for him, from Angus and others, to implore the 'king of England's aid againſt Albany the gover'nor (11).'

(11) Ibid. p. 95.

[L] *Celebrated for his perſonal virtues.*] Hume of Godſcroft, in his "Hiſtory of the Douglaſes," ſays, 'Gawin Douglas, biſhop of Dunkeld, left be'hind him great approbation of his virtues, and love 'of his perſon in the hearts of all good men; for 'beſides the nobility of his birth, the dignity and 'comelineſs of his perſonage, he was learned, tem'perate, and of ſingular moderation of mind; and in 'theſe turbulent times had always carried himſelf 'among the factions of the nobility equally, and 'with a mind to make peace, and not to ſtir up par'ties; which qualities were very rare in a clergyman 'of thoſe days. He wrote in his native tongue di'vers things; but his chiefeſt work is the tranſlation 'of Virgil, yet extant in verſe, in which he ties 'himſelf ſo ſtrictly as is poſſible; and yet it is ſo well 'expreſſed, that whoſoever ſhall eſſay to do the like, 'will find it a hard piece of work to go through with. 'In his prologues before every book, where he hath 'his liberty, he ſheweth a natural and ample vein of 'poeſy, ſo pure, pleaſant, and judicious, that I be'lieve there is none that hath written before or ſince, 'but cometh ſhort of him. And, in my opinion, 'there is not ſuch a piece to be found, as in his 'prologue to the 8th book, beginning, *Of Drevil'ting and Dreams*, &c. at leaſt in our language (12).'

(12) Teſtimonies of Learned Men concerning Gawin Douglas, prefixed to his Virgil, edit. 1710, p. 3.

[M] *At the requeſt of Henry, earl of Sinclair.*] This appears from Biſhop Douglas's poetical preface to his tranſlation of the Æneid, in which are the following lines:

'And that ze knaw at quhais inſtance I tuke
'For to tranſlate this maiſt excellent buke,
'I mene Virgillis volum maiſt excellent,
'Set this my werk full ſebill be of rent,
'At the requeſt of ane Lord of renowne,
'Of anceſtry nobill and illuſtir baroun,
'Fader of bukis, protector to ſcience and lare,
'My ſpecial gude Lord Henry Lord Sinclare.
'Quhilk with great inſtance, diverſe tymes ſere,
'Prayit me tranſlaite Virgill, or Homere,
'Quhais pleſoure ſoithle, as I underſtude,
'As nere conjonit to his lordſchip in blude;
'So that me thocht his requeiſt ane command,
'Half diſparit thys werk I tuke one hand,
'Not fully grantand, nor anys ſay and ze,
'Bot onlie to aſſay how it mycht be.
'Quhay mycht ganeſay ane lorde ſa gentil and kynd,
'That ever had ony courtaſy in thare mynd?
'Quhilk beſyde his innative policy,
'Humanite, curage, fredome and chevelry,
'Bukis to recollect, to reid and ſe,
'Has grete delite as ever had Ptholome (13).'

(13) p. 4.

[N] *Every buke having his perticular prologe.*] Mr. Warton ſays, 'The ſeveral books are introduced with 'metrical prologues, which are often highly poetical, 'and ſhew that Douglas's proper walk was original 'poetry. In the prologue to the ſixth book, he 'wiſhes for the Sybill's golden bough, to enable him 'to follow his maſter Virgil through the dark and 'dangerous labyrinth of the infernal regions. But 'the moſt conſpicuous of theſe prologues is a de'ſcription of May; the greater part of which I 'will inſert.

"As freſche Aurore, to mychty Tithone ſpous,
"Iſchit of her ſaffron bed, and euyr hous,
"In crammeſy clad and granite violate,
"With ſanguyne cape, the ſelvage purpurate;
"Unſchet the wyndois of hir large hall,
"Spred all with roſis, and full of balme royall.
"And eik the hevinly portis criſtallyne
"Upwardis brade, the warlde till illumyne.
"The twynkling ſtremouris of the orient
"Sched purpour ſprayngis with gold and aſure ment.
"Eous the ſtede, with ruby hammys rede,
"Abouf the ſeyis liftis furth his hede
"Of culloure ſore, and ſomedele broun as bery,
"For to alichtin and glad our emiſpery;
"The flambe out braſſin at the neis thirlis.
"Quhil ſchortlie, with the bleſand torche of day,
"Abulzeit in his lemand freſche array,
"Furth of his palice ryall iſchit Phebus,
"With golden croun and viſage glorious,
"Criſp haris, bricht as chriſſolite or thopas;
"For quhais hew mycht nane behold his face:
"The firie ſparkis braſſing from his ene,
"To purge the air, and gilt the tender grene.—
"The auriat phanis of his trone ſoverane
"With glitterand glance overſpred the ocſiane;
"The largè ſtudis, lemand all of licht,
"Bot with ane blenk of his ſupernal ſich;

'For

Warton, "is executed with equal ſpirit and fidelity: and is a proof that the lowland "Scotch and Engliſh languages were now nearly the ſame. I mean the ſtyle of com- "poſition; more eſpecially in the glaring affectation of angliciſing Latin words (*n*)." It is certainly a tranſlation of great merit, though it was executed in the ſpace of about ſixteen months (*o*). It appears, that he had projected this tranſlation ſo early as the year

(*n*) Ibid. p. 281, 282.

(*o*) Life, p. 16.

" For to behald, it was ane glore to ſe
" The ſtabillyt wyndis, and the calmyt ſe;
" The ſoft ſeſſoun, the firmament ſerene;
" The loune illuminate are, and firth amene;
" The ſilver-ſcalit fyſchis on the grete,
" Ouer thowrt clere ſtremes ſprinkilland for the hete,
" With fynnys ſchin and broune as ſynopare,
" And cheſal talis, ſtourand here and there:
" The new cullour, alichting all the landis,
" Forgane the ſtanryis ſchene, and beriall ſtrandis:
" Quhill the reflex of the diurnal bemes
" The bene bonkis keſt ful of variant glemes:
" And luſtie Flora did her blomes ſprede
" Under the fete of Phebus fulzeart ſtede,
" The ſwardit ſoyll enbrode with ſelkouth hewis,
" Wod and foreſt obumbrate with bewis,
" Quhais blyſful branchis, porturate on the ground,
" With ſchaddois ſchene ſchew rocchis rubicund:
" Towris, turrettis, kirnallis, and pynnakillis hie,
" Of kirkis, caſtellis, and ilk faire citie,
" Stude payntit, every fane, phioll, and ſtage,
" Apoun the playn grounde by thaire awn umbrage,
" Of Eolus north blaſtis havand no drede,
" The ſulze ſpred hir brad boſum on brede.—
" The cornis croppis, and the bere new-brerde,
" With gladſum garment reveſting the erde.
" The variant veſture of the venuſt vale
" Schrowdis the ſcherand fur, and every ſale
" Ouerfrett with fulzeis, and fyguris ful dyuers,
" The pray byſprent with ſpryngand ſproutis dyſpers,
" For callour humours on the dewy nycht,
" Rendryng ſum place the gyrs pylis thare licht,
" Als fer as catal the lang ſomerys day
" Had in thare paſture ete and gnyp away:
" And blyſful bloſſomys in the blomyt zard
" Submittis thare hedys in the zoung ſonnys ſafgard:
" Iue leius rank ouerſpred the barmkyn wall,
" The blomit hauthorne cled his pykis all,
" Furth of freſche burgeouns the wyne grapis zing
" Endlang the trazileys dyd on twiſtis hing,
" The loukit buttouns on the gemyt treis
" Ouerſpredand leuis of naturis tapeſtryis,
" Soft greſy verdoure eſtir balmy ſchouris,
" On curland ſtalkis ſmyland to thare flowris:
" Behaldand thame ſa mony divers hew
" Sum piers, ſum pale, ſum burnet, and ſum blew,
" Sum gres, ſum gowlis, ſum purpure, ſum ſanguane,
" Blanchit or broun, ſauch zallow mony ane,
" Sum heuinly colourit in celeſtial gre,
" Sum watty hewit as the haw wally ſe,
" And ſum departe in freklis rede and quhyte,
" Sum bricht as gold with aureate leuis lyte.
" The daſy did on brede hir crownel ſmale,
" And euery flour unlappit in the dale,
" In battil gers burgeouns, the banwart wyld,
" The clauir, catcluke, and the cammomylde;
" The flourdelyce furth ſprede his heuynly hew,
" Floure damas, and columbe blak and blew,
" Sere downis ſmall on dentilioun ſprang,
" The zoung grene blomit ſtrabery leus amang,
" Gimp jereflouris thareon leuis unſchet,
" Freſche prymrois, and the pourpour violet,
" The rois knoppis, tetand furth thare hede,
" Gan chyp, and kyth thare vernale lippis rede,
" Cryſp ſkarlet leuis ſum ſcheddand baith at attanis,
" Keſt fragrant ſmel amyd fra goldin granis,
" Heuinlie lyllyis, with lokkerand toppis quhyte,
" Opynnit and ſchew thare creiſtis redemyte,
" The balmy vapour from thare ſylkyn croppis
" Diſtilland haleſum ſugurat hony droppis,
" And ſylver ſchakeris gan fra leuis hing,
" With chryſtal ſprayngis on the verdure zing:
" The plane pouderit with ſemelie ſeitis ſound,
" Bedyit ful of dewy peirlys round;
" So that ilk burgeon, ſyon, herbe, or floure,
" Wox all enbalmit of the freſche liquour,
" And baithit hait did in dulce humouris flete,
" Quhareof the beis wrocht thare hony ſwete.—
" Swannis ſouchis throw out the reſpand redis,
" Ouer all the lochis and the fludis gray,
" Serſand by kynd ane place quhare they ſuld lay;
" Phebus rede foule his curale creiſt can ſtere,
" Oft ſtrekand furth his hekkil crawand clere
" Amyd the wortis, and the rutis gent,
" Pickland hys mete in alayis quhare he went,
" His wyffis Toppa and Partolet hym by,
" As bird al tyme that hantis bygamy;
" The paytit powne payſand with plumys gym,
" Keſt up his tale ane proud pleſand quhile rym,
" Iſchrowdit in his fedderane bricht and ſchene,
" Schapand the prent of Argois hundreth ene;
" Amang the bronys of the olyue twiſtis,
" Sere ſmale floulis, wirkand crafty neſtis,
" Endlang the hedgeis thik, and on rank akis
" Ilk bird reioſand with thare mirthful makis:
" In corneris and clere feneſteris of glas
" Full beſely Arachne weuand was,
" To knyt hyr nettis and hyr wobbis ſle,
" Tharewith to cauch the litil mige or fle:
" Under the bewis bene in lufely valis,
" Within fermance and parkis clois of palis,
" The buſſuous bukkis rakis furth on raw,
" Heirdis of hertis throw the thyck wod ſchaw,
" The zoung fowyns followand the dun days,
" Kiddis ſkippand throw ronnys eftir rais,
" In leſuris and on leyis litill lammes
" Full tait and trig ſocht bletand to thare dammes.
" On ſalt ſtremes wolk Dorida and Thetis,
" By rynnand ſtrandis, nymphs and naiades,
" Sic as we clepe wenſchis and damyſſellis,
" In gerſy grauis wanderand by ſpring wellis,
" Of blomed branchis and flouris quhyte and rede
" Plettand their luſty chaplettis for thare hede:
" Sum ſang ring ſangis, ledis, and roundis,
" With vocis ſchil, quhil all the dale reſoundis.—
" Dame naturis menſtralis on that uthyr parte,
" Thare bliſsful bay intonyng euery arte,
" To bete thare amouris of thare nychtis bale,
" The merle, the mauys, and the nychtingale,
" With mirry notis myrthfully furth briſt,
" Enforſing thaym quha micht do clink it beſt:
" The kowſchot croudis and pykkis on the ryſe,
" The ſtirling changis diuers ſteuynnys nyſe,
" The ſparrow chirmis in the wallis clyft,
" Goldſpink and lintquhite ſordynnand the lyft,
" The gukkow galis, and ſo quhitteris the quale,
" Quhil ryveris reirdit, ſchawis, and euery dale,
" And tendir twiſtis trymblit on the treis,
" For birdis ſang, and bemyng of the beis,
" In werblis dulce of heuinlie armonyis,
" The larkis loude releiſchand in the ſkyis,
" Louis thare lege with tonys curious;
" Bayth to dame Natur, and the freſche Venus,
" Rendring hie laudis in thare obſeruance,
" Quhais ſuggourit throttis made glade hartis dance,
" And al ſmal foulis ſingis on the ſpray;
" Welcum the lord of licht, and lampe of day,
" Welcum foſterare of tendir herbis grene,
" Welcum quhikkynnar of fluriſt flouris ſchene,
" Welcum ſupport of euery rute and vane,
" Welcum confort of al kind frute and grane,
" Welcum the birdis beild apoun the brere,
" Welcum maiſter and reulare of the zere,
" Welcum welefare of huſbandis at the plewis,
" Welcum reparare of woddis, treis, and bewis,
" Welcum depaynter of the blomyt medis,
" Welcum the lyffe of euery thing that ſpredis,
" Welcum ſtorare of all kynd beſtial,
" Welcum be thy bricht bemes gladand al (14)."

(14) Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, Vol. II. p. 282, &c.

Mr. Warton alſo ſays, 'The poetical beauties of 'this ſpecimen will be reliſhed by every reader who 'is fond of lively touches of fancy, and rural ima- 'gery. But the verſes will have another merit with 'thoſe critics who love to contemplate the progreſs 'of compoſition, and to mark the original workings 'of genuine nature; as they are the effuſion of a 'mind

year 1501 [O]; but he did not actually engage in and complete it till about eleven years after.

'mind not overlaid by the deſcriptions of other poets, 'but operating, by its own force and bias, in the de-'lineation of a vernal landſcape, onſuch objects as 'really occurred. On this account, they deſerve to 'be better underſtood: and I have therefore tranſlated 'them into plain modern Engliſh proſe. In the 'mean time, this experiment will ſerve to prove their 'native excellence. Diveſted of poetic numbers and 'expreſſion, they ſtill retain their poetry; and to 'uſe the compariſon of an elegant writer on a like 'occaſion, appear like Ulyſſes, ſtill a king and con-'queror, although diſguiſed like a peaſant, and 'lodged in the cottage of the herdſman Eumaeus.

"Freſh Aurora, the wife of Tithonus, iſſued from "her ſaffron bed, and ivory houſe. She was "cloathed in a robe of crimſon and violet-colour; the "cape vermilion, and the border purple: ſhe opened "the windows of her ample hall, overſpread with "roſes, and filled with balm, or nard. At the ſame "time, the chryſtal gates of heaven were thrown "open, to illumine the world. The glittering "ſtreamers of the orient diffuſed purple ſtreaks "mingled with gold and azure. The ſteeds of the "ſun, in red harneſs of rubies, of colour brown as "the berry, lifted their heads above the ſea, to glad "our hemiſphere: the flames burſt from their noſ-"trils:—While ſhortly, apparelled in his luminous "array, Phœbus, bearing the blazing torch of day, "iſſued from his royal palace; with a golden crown, "glorious viſage, curled locks bright as the chryſo-"lite or topaz, and with a radiance intolerable.— "The fiery ſparks, burſting from his eyes, purged "the air, and gilded the new verdure. The golden "vanes of his throne covered the ocean with a glit-"tering glance, and the broad waters were all in a "blaze, at the firſt glimpſe of his appearance. It "was glorious to ſee the winds appeaſed, the ſea be-"calmed, the ſoft ſeaſon, the ſerene firmament, the "ſtill air, and the beauty of the watery ſcene. The "ſilver-ſcaled fiſhes, on the gravel, gliding haſtily, "as it were from the heat or ſun, through clear "ſtreams, with fins ſhining brown as cinnabar, and "chiſſel-tails, darted here and there. The new "luſtre, enlightening all the land, beamed on the "ſmall pebbles on the ſides of rivers, and on the "ſtrands, which looked like beryl: while the reflec-"tion of the rays played on the banks in variegated "gleams; and Flora threw forth her blooms under "the feet of the ſun's brilliant horſes. The bladed "ſoil was embroidered with various hues. Both "wood and foreſt were darkened with boughs; "which, reflected from the ground, gave a ſhadowy "luſtre to the red rocks. Towers, turrets, battle-"ments, and high pinnacles, of churches, caſtles, "and every fair city, ſeemed to be painted; and, "together with every baſtion and ſtory, expreſſed "their own ſhape on the plains. The glebe, fearleſs "of the Northern blaſts, ſpread her broad boſom.— "The corn-crops, and the new-ſprung barley, re-"cloathed the earth with a gladſome garment.—The "variegated veſture of the valley covered the cloven "furrow; and the barley-lands were diverſified with "flowery weeds. The meadow was beſprinkled "with rivulets; and the freſh moiſture of the dewy "night reſtored the herbage which the cattle had "cropped in the day. The bloſſoms in the blowing "garden truſted their heads to the protection of the "young ſun. Rank ivy-leaves overſpread the wall "of the rampart. The blooming hawthorn cloathed "all his thorns in flowers. The budding cluſters of "the tender grapes hung end-long, by their tendrils, "from the trellifes. The gems of the trees unlock-"ing, expanded themſelves into the foliage of Na-"ture's tapeſtry. There was a ſoft verdure after bal-"my ſhowers. The flowers ſmiled in various colours "on the bending ſtalks. Some red, &c. Others, "watchet, like the blue and wavy ſea; ſpeckled "with red and white; or, bright as gold. The "daiſy unbraided her little coronet. The graſs "ſtood embattelled, with banewort, &c. The "ſeeded down ſtew from the dandelion. Young "weeds appeared among the leaves of the ſtrawberries. "Gay gilliflowers, &c. The roſe buds putting forth, "offered their red vernal lips to be kiſſed; and dif-"fuſed fragrance from the criſp ſcarlet that ſur-"rounded their golden ſeeds. Lilies, with white "curling tops, ſhewed their creſts open. The odor-"ous vapour moiſtened the ſilver webs that hung "from the leaves. The plain was powdered with "round dewy pearls. From every bud, ſcyon, herb, "and flower, bathed in liquid fragrance, the bee "ſuckled ſweet honey. The ſwans clamoured amid "the ruſtling reeds; and ſearched all the lakes and "gray rivers where to build their neſts. The red "bird of the ſun lifted his coral creſt, crowing clear "among the plants and ruſtic gent, picking his food "from every path, and attended by his wives Toppa "and Partlet. The painted peacock, with gaudy "plumes, unfolded his tail like a bright wheel, in-"ſhrouded in his ſhining feathers, reſembling the "marks of the hundred eyes of Argus. Among the "boughs of the twiſted olive, the ſmall birds framed "their artful neſts, or along the thick hedges, or re-"joiced with their merry mates on the tall oaks. In "the ſecret nook, or in the clear windows of glaſs, "the ſpider full buſily wove her fly net, to enſnare "the little gnat or fly. Under the boughs that ſcreen "the valley, or within the pale-incloſed park, the "nimble deer trooped in ranks, the harts wandered "through the thick woody ſhaws, and the young "fawns followed the dappled does. Kids ſkipped "through the briers after the roes; and in the paſ-"tures and leas, the lambs, full tight and trig, bleat-"ed to their dams. Doris and Thetis walked on the "ſalt ocean; and Nymphs and Naiads, wandering "by ſpring wells in the graſſy groves, plaited luſty "chaplets for their hair, of blooming branches, or "of flowers red and white. They ſung, and danced, "&c. Meantime, dame Nature's minſtrels raiſe their "amorous notes, the ring-dove coos and pitches on "the tall copſe, the ſtarling whiſtles her varied deſ-"cant, the ſparrow chirps in the clefted wall; the "goldfinch and linnet filled the ſkies, the cuckow "cried, the quail twittered; while rivers, ſhaws, "and every dale reſounded; and the tender branches "trembled on the trees, at the ſong of the birds, and "the buzzing of the bees, &c."

This landſcape may be finely contraſted with a deſcription of Winter, from the prologue to the ſeventh book, a part of which I will give in literal proſe.

"The fern withered on the miry fallows: the "brown moors aſſumed a barren moſſy hue; banks, "ſides of hills, and bottoms, grew white and bare; "the cattle looked hoary from the dank weather; "the wind made the red weed waver on the dike: "From crags and the foreheads of the yellow rocks "hung great icicles, in length like a ſpear: the ſoil "was duſky and grey, bereft of flowers, herbs and "graſs: in every holt and foreſt, the woods were "ſtripped of their array. Boreas blew his bugle "horn ſo loud, that the ſolitary deer withdrew to "the dales; the ſmall birds flocked to the thick "briers, ſhunning the tempeſtuous blaſt, and chang-"ing their loud notes to chirping; the cataracts "roared, and every linden-tree whiſtled and brayed "to the ſounding of the wind. The poor labourers "went wet and weary, draggled in the fen. The "ſheep and ſhepherds lurked under the hanging "banks, or wild broom. Warm from the chimney-"ſide, and refreſhed with generous cheer, I ſtole to "my bed, and lay down to ſleep; when I ſaw the "moon ſhed through the windows her twinkling "glances and watery light: I heard the horned bird, "the night-owl, ſhricking horribly with crooked "bill from her cavern; I heard the wild-geeſe, with "ſcreaming cries, fly over the city through the ſilent "night. I was ſoon lulled aſleep; till the cock "clapping his wings crowed thrice, and the day "peeped. I waked and ſaw the moon diſappear, "and heard the jack-daws cackle on the roof of the "houſe. The cranes prognoſticating tempeſts, in a "firm phalanx, pierced the air with voices ſounding "like a trumpet. The kite, perched on an old tree, "faſt by my chamber, cried lamentably, a ſign of "the dawning day. I roſe, and, half opening my "window, perceived the morning, livid, wan, and "hoary; the air overwhelmed with vapour and cloud; "the ground ſtiff, grey, and rough; the branches "rattling; the ſides of the hills looking black and "hard with the driving blaſts; the dew drops con-

after. Beſides this work biſhop Douglas alſo wrote an original poem, called, "The Palice of Honour [*P*]," which was printed at London, in 4to, in 1553, and at Edinburgh, in 4to. in 1579. In his youth he likewiſe tranſlated Ovid's books, *De Remedio Amoris* [*Q*]: and he alſo wrote an allegorical poem, called "King Hart;" which was firſt publiſhed from an original manuſcript by Mr. Pinkerton, in 1786, in his "Ancient Scotiſh Poems."] T.

" gealed on the ſtubble and rind of trees; the ſharp " hail-ſtones, deadly cold, hopping on the thatch " and the neighbouring cauſeway, &c." (15)

(15) Warton, ut ſupra, p. 289, 290, &c.

[*O*] *Projected his tranſlation ſo early as the year 1501.*] Mr. Warton obſerves, that in one of our author's poems, 'written that year, he promiſes to 'Venus a tranſlation of Virgil, in atonement for a 'ballad he had publiſhed againſt her court: and when 'the work was finiſhed, he tells lord Sinclair, that he 'had now made his peace with Venus, by tranſlating 'the poem which celebrated the actions of her ſon 'Eneas (16).' Mr. Warton alſo remarks, that 'no 'metrical verſion of a claſſic had yet appeared in Eng-'liſh; except of Boethius, who ſcarcely deſerves 'that appellation. Virgil was hitherto commonly 'known only by Caxton's romance on the ſubject of 'the Eneid; which, our author ſays, no more 'reſembles Virgil, than the Devil is like St. 'Auſtin (17).'

(16) Ibid. p. 281.

(17) Id. ibid.

A new edition of Biſhop Douglas's tranſlation of Virgil was printed at Edinburgh, in ſmall folio, in 1710, with an account of his life prefixed, to which we have repeatedly referred in the courſe of this article. To this edition a large and valuable Gloſſary is added.

[*P*] *The Palice of Honour.*] Mr. Warton obſerves of this poem, that it is 'a moral viſion, written in 'the year 1501, planned on the deſign of the Tablet 'of Cebes, and imitated in the elegant Latin dialogue "De Tranquillitate Animi" of his countryman Flo-'rence Wilſon, or Florentius Voluſenus.—The ob-'ject of this allegory is to ſhew the inſtability and in-'ſufficiency of worldly pomp; and to prove, that a 'conſtant and undeviating habit of virtue is the only 'way to true Honour and Happineſs, who reſide in a 'magnificent palace, ſituated on the ſummit of a high 'and inacceſſible mountain. The allegory is illuſ-'trated by a variety of examples of illuſtrious perſo-'nages; not only of thoſe who by a regular perſeve-'rance in honourable deeds gained admittance into this 'ſplendid habitation, but of thoſe who were excluded 'from it, by debaſing the dignity of their eminent 'ſtations with a vicious and unmanly behaviour. 'It is addreſſed, as an apologue for the conduct of a 'king, to James the Fourth, is adorned with many 'pleaſing incidents and adventures, and abounds 'with genius and learning (18).' Both the editions which have been printed of this poem are extremely ſcarce.

(18) Ibid. p. 294.

[*Q*] *Tranſlated Ovid's books de Remedio Amoris.*] It is remarked by the writer of his Life, that 'this 'ſeems to have been the firſt of all his works, and 'done not without ſome view to himſelf. For, as 'Hume informs us, he had felt the effects of love; 'and what Ovid writes of himſelf, might in ſome 'meaſure be applied to his tranſlator.

" Curabar propriis æger Podalirius herbis,
" Et (fateor) medicus turpiter æger eram."

'But this was in his younger years, and long be-'fore he was in holy orders. And he was very ſoon 'freed from the tyranny of this unreaſonable paſſion, 'as appears from the very tranſlation, which he 'finiſhed ſo early, and ſeems to have propoſed as an 'antidote againſt its charms both to himſelf and 'others. He hath given alſo many excellent precepts 'and advices againſt the danger of immoderate love 'and unlawful pleaſures, in his admirable prologue to 'Virgil's 4th book (19).]

(19) p. 14, 15.

DRAKE (Sir FRANCIS) one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the naval heroes in the glorious reign of Elizabeth. A man, of whom it may be truly ſaid, That he had a head to contrive, a heart to undertake, and a hand ready to execute, whatever promiſed glory to himſelf, and good to his country. As he was, properly ſpeaking, the ſon of merit, we have but a very indifferent account of his family, or even of his father. That which Camden (*a*) gives us, and which he ſays he had from Drake's own mouth, is ſo embarraſſed with inconſiſtent circumſtances, that there is no relying upon it, and truſting to our reaſon at the ſame time, as will be ſhewn in the notes [*A*]. We will, therefore, give the reader, in this place, a plainer account, as early in its riſe, ſupported by good authority, and, in all its circumſtances, very agreeable to the ſequel of his ſtory, leaving it to his judgment to piece therewith the chief points in Camden's relation (*b*); which may be alſo reputed truths, if we knew with certainty how to reconcile, and bring them in (*c*). According then to this other account, I find he was the ſon of one Edmund Drake, an honeſt Sailor, and born near Taviſtock in the year 1545, being the eldeſt of twelve brethren, and brought up at the expence, and under the care, of his kinſman Sir John Hawkins. It is likewiſe ſaid, that, at the age of eighteen, he was Purſer of a ſhip trading to Biſcay, at twenty he made a voyage to Guinea, and, at the age of twenty-two, had the honour to be appointed Captain of the Judith, and in that capacity was in the harbour of St. John de Ulloa, in the gulph of Mexico, where he behaved moſt gallantly in the glorious actions under Sir John Hawkins, and returned with him into England with a very great reputation, but not worth a groat (*d*). Upon this he conceived a deſign of making repriſals on the King of Spain, which, ſome ſay, was put into his head by the Miniſter of his ſhip; and, to be ſure, in Sea-divinity the caſe was clear: the King of Spain's ſubjects had undone Mr. Drake, and therefore Mr. Drake was at liberty to take the beſt ſatisfaction he could on the ſubjects of the King of Spain (*e*). This doctrine, how rudely

(*a*) Annal. rerum Anglican. & Hibernicar. regnante Elizabetha. Edit. Hearne, p. 351.

(*b*) His accounts are followed alſo in Fuller's Holy State, p. 123. Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 236. Engliſh Hero, p. 1.

(*c*) See this further explained in note [*A*].

(*d*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(*e*) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 236.

[*A*] *As will be ſhewn in the notes.*] As in venturing to depart from what Camden has ſaid, we, at the ſame time, leave the great road in which all our other writers have travelled, it is but juſt that we ſhould give the world a full account of the motives which induced us to take this ſtep, that it may clearly appear it did not proceed from ſingularity, but neceſſity. Our learned Hiſtorian, ſpeaking of the events (1) which happened in the year 1580, has theſe words: 'About this time 'returned into England Francis Drake, having ac-'quired great wealth, and greater reputation, by 'proſperouſly ſailing round about the world, being, 'if

(1) Camden's Annals, p. 315.

rudely ſoever preached, was very taking in England, and therefore he no ſooner publiſhed his deſign, than he had numbers of volunteers ready to accompany him, though they had no ſuch pretence to colour their proceedings as he had (*f*). In 1570 he made his firſt expedition with two ſhips, the Dragon and the Swan; and the next year in the Swan alone, wherein he returned ſafe, if not rich [*B*]. And, having now means ſufficient to perform greater matters, as well as ſkill to conduct them, he laid the plan of a more important deſign with reſpect to himſelf, and to his enemies (*g*). This he put into execution on the twenty-fourth of March 1572, on which day he ſailed from Plymouth, himſelf in a ſhip called the Paſcha, of the burthen of ſeventy tons, and his brother John Drake in the Swan, of twenty-five tons burthen, their whole ſtrength conſiſting of no more than ſeventy-three, men and boys; and, with this inconſiderable force, on the twenty-ſecond of July he attacked the town of Nombre de Dios, which then ſerved the Spaniards for the ſame purpoſes (though not ſo conveniently) as thoſe for which they now uſe Porto Bello. He took it in a few hours by ſtorm, notwithſtanding a very dangerous wound he received in the action; yet, after all, they were no great gainers, but, after a very briſk action, were obliged to betake themſelves to their ſhips with very little booty. His next attempt was to plunder the mules laden with ſilver, which paſſed from Venta Cruz to Nombre de Dios; but in this ſcheme too he was diſappointed. However, he attacked the town of Venta Cruz, carried it, and got ſome little plunder. In their return they unexpectedly met with a ſtring of fifty mules laden with plate, of which they carried off as much as they could, and buried the reſt. In theſe expeditions he was very much aſſiſted by a nation of Indians, who then were, and yet are, engaged in a perpetual war with the Spaniards. The Prince, or Captain, of theſe people at this time was named Pedro, to whom Captain Drake preſented a fine cutlaſs which he wore, and to which he ſaw the Indian had a mind. Pedro, in return, gave him four large wedges of gold, all which Captain Drake threw into the common ſtock, with this remarkable expreſſion, 'That he thought 'it but juſt, that ſuch, as bore the charge of ſo uncertain a voyage on his credit, ſhould 'ſhare the utmoſt advantages that voyage produced.' Then embarking his men with all the wealth he had obtained, which was very conſiderable, he bore away for England, and was ſo fortunate as to ſail in twenty-three days from Florida to the Iſles of Scilly, and thence, without any accident, to Plymouth, where he arrived the ninth of Auguſt 1573 (*b*). His ſucceſs in this expedition, joined to his honourable behaviour towards his owners, gained him a high reputation, and the uſe he made of his riches ſtill a greater; for, fitting out three ſtout frigates at his own expence, he ſailed with them to Ireland, where, under Walter Earl of Eſſex (the unfortunate father of that ſtill more unfortunate Earl, who was beheaded), he ſerved as a volunteer, and did many glorious actions (*i*). After the death of his noble patron he returned into England, where Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, who was then Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth, Privy-Counſellor, and a great favourite, took him under his protection, introduced him to her Majeſty, and procured him her countenance (*k*). By this means he acquired a capacity of undertaking the grand expedition, which will render his name immortal. The thing he firſt propoſed was a voyage into the South-Seas through the Streights of Magellan, which was what hitherto no Engliſhman

(*f*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Camden's Annals, p. 351.

(*g*) Sir Francis Drake revived, by Philip Nichols, Preacher, 4to, of 94 pages in black letter, publiſhed by Sir Francis Drake, Baronet, his nephew.

(*b*) See that relation; as alſo Camden's Annals, p. 351. Stowe, Hollinſhed, and Speed.

(*i*) Stowe's Annals. p. 807.

(*k*) Idem, ibid.

'if not the firſt of all which could challenge this glo-
'ry, yet, queſtionleſs, the firſt but Magellan, whom
'death cut off in the midſt of his voyage. This
'Drake, to relate no more than what I have heard
'from himſelf, was born of mean parentage in De-
'vonſhire, and had Francis Ruſſel, afterwards Earl of
'Bedford, for his godfather, who, according to the
'cuſtom, gave him his Chriſtian name. Whilſt he
'was yet a child, his father, embracing the Proteſtant
'doctrine, was called in queſtion by the Law of the
'Six Articles made by Henry VIII. againſt the Pro-
'teſtants, fled his country, and withdrew himſelf into
'Kent. After the death of King Henry, he got a
'place among the ſeamen in the King's navy to read
'prayers to them, and, ſoon after, he was ordained
'Deacon, and made Vicar of the church of Upnore
'upon the river Medway, where the Royal fleet uſu-
'ally rides. But, by reaſon of his poverty, he put
'his ſon apprentice to the maſter of a bark, his neigh-
'bour, who held him cloſely to his buſineſs, by which
'he made him an able ſeaman; his bark being em-
'ployed in coaſting along the ſhore, and ſometimes in
'carrying merchandize into Zealand and France.
'The youth, being painful and diligent, ſo pleaſed the
'old man by his induſtry, that, being a bachelor, at
'his death he bequeathed his bark unto him by his laſt
'will.' It falls out unhappily for this ſtory, that the parts of it are not conſiſtent. If Drake was in his tender years or childhood, when his father was perſecuted on the ſcore of the Six Articles, he muſt have been born a good while before the year 1539 (2); and, if ſo, how could Sir Francis Ruſſel be his godfather, who was himſelf born in 1527 (3)? ſo that, without much ſtraining this account, they might be both of an age. It is very certain, that Mr. Drake was but a young man when Sir John Hawkins made him Captain of the Judith, but according to this computation he was thirty-five or thirty-ſix at leaſt. It is allowed by all the writers of his time, that he died in the flower of his age, which could not well be ſaid, if he had been between ſixty and ſeventy. As to the account that I have followed, we have it from John Stowe, who was a very induſtrious careful man, and particularly inquiſitive into things of this nature (4). Beſides, as the reader ſees in the text, he ſettles every ſtep of his advancement, and affirming that he was in the twenty-ſecond year of his age when he became Captain of the Judith, this fixes his birth to 1545, ſince he was veſted with that command in October 1566; by fixing this date, the facts mentioned by Camden from the mouth of Sir Francis Drake become very probable; for Sir Francis Ruſſel might well be his godfather, and all the events follow that he ſets down, only the perſecution his father ſuffered muſt have been in the reign of Queen Mary, which is the more probable, if we conſider that Camden himſelf aſſures us, Queen Elizabeth, in the beginning of her reign, made that eſtabliſhment of the fleet in the river Medway, where Drake's father read prayers to the ſeamen (5). Neither is this the only miſtake in Sir Francis Drake's ſtory by that author.

(3) As appears from the inſcription on his monument.

(4) See the life of Mr. Stowe, written by the Rev. Mr. Strype, prefixed to his edition of Mr. Stowe's Survey of London.

(5) Annal. Eliz. p. 86.

(2) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 256.

[*B*] *Wherein he returned ſafe, if not rich.*] We have no particular account of theſe two voyages, or what he performed

man ever attempted. This project was well received at Court, and, in a short time, Captain Drake saw himself at the height of his wishes; for, in his former voyage, having had a distant prospect of the South-Seas, he framed an ardent prayer to God, that he might sail an English ship in them, which he now found an opportunity of attempting, the Queen's permission furnishing him with the means, and his own fame quickly drawing to him a force sufficient (*l*) [*C*]. The fleet, with which he sailed on this extraordinary undertaking, consisted of the following ships; the Pelican, commanded by himself, of the burthen of one hundred tons; the Elizabeth, Vice admiral, eighty tons, under Captain John Winter; the Marygold, a bark of thirty tons, commanded by Captain John Thomas; the Swan, a fly-boat of fifty tons, under Captain John Chester; and the Christopher, a pinnace of fifteen tons, under Captain Thomas Moon (*m*). In this fleet were embarked no more than one hundred and sixty-four able men, and all the necessary provisions for so long and dangerous a voyage; the intent of which, however, was not openly declared, but given out to be for Alexandria, though all men suspected, and many knew, he intended for America. Thus equipped, on the fifteenth of November 1577, about three in the afternoon, he sailed for Plymouth; but a heavy storm, taking him as soon as he was out of port, forced him, in a very bad condition, into Falmouth, to refit; which having expeditiously performed, he again put to sea the thirteenth of December following (*n*). On the twenty-fifth of the same month he fell in with the coast of Barbary, and, on the twenty-ninth, with Cape Verd; the thirteenth of March he passed the equinoctial; the fifth of April he made the coast of Brazil in 30° N. L. and entered the river De la Plata, where he lost the company of two of his ships; but meeting them again, and having taken out of them all the provisions they had on board, he turned them adrift. On the twenty-ninth of May he entered the port of St. Julian, where he did the least commendable action of his life, in executing Mr. John Doughty, a man next in authority to himself; in which, however, he preserved a great appearance of justice (*o*) [*D*]. On the twentieth of August he entered the Streights of Magellan; on the twenty-fifth

(*l*) Camden's Annals, p. 352. Stowe's Annals, p. 689. Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 237.

(*m*) Camden's Annals, p. 354. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 730, 748. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. I. p. 46.

(*n*) Camden's Annals, p. 354.

(*o*) See the relation in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 733. All which is omitted in the revised account in Purchas, to which we before referred.

performed in them. They were made in the years 1470 and 1571; and there is nothing clearer than that Captain Drake had two great points in view; the one was, to inform himself perfectly of the situation and strength of certain places in the Spanish West-Indies; the other to convince his countrymen, that, notwithstanding what had happened to Captain Hawkins in his last voyage, it was a thing very practicable to sail into these parts and return in safety; for, it is to be observed, that Hawkins and Drake separated in the West-Indies, and that the former, finding it impossible to bring all his crew home to England, had set a part of them, but with their own consents, ashore in the bay of Mexico; and these being looked upon as so many men lost, and indeed very few of them found their way home, the terror of such a captivity as these poor men were known to endure had a great effect (6). But Captain Drake in these two voyages, having very wisely avoided coming to blows with the Spaniards, and bringing home sufficient returns to satisfy his owners, dissipated these apprehensions, as well as raised his own character; so that, at his return from his second voyage, he found it no difficult matter to raise such a strength as might enable him to perform what he had long meditated in his own mind, but which he never would have been able to effect, but by pursuing this cautious method.

(6) See the accounts of John Oxenham's Voyage in Hakluyt, p. 594.

[*C*] *Quickly drawing to him a force sufficient.*] We have observed in the text, that Captain Drake was the first Englishman, at least so far as we know, that had so much as a sight of the South-Seas; and, as Mr. Camden remarks, he was so inflamed with that sight, as to have no rest in his own mind, till he had accomplished his purpose of sailing an English ship in those seas (7). He was not, however, so forward as to tell this to all the world, because he foresaw that such an undertaking would be attended with many difficulties; that the navigation was new, and required much consideration before it was attempted; that the Spaniards were sufficiently alarmed by his last attempt, and that it would be highly rash for him to adventure upon such an enterprize, without having the sanction of public authority. While he meditated this great design in his own mind, without communicating it to any, he took care to procure the best lights he could to engage several bold and active men to serve under him wherever he went, and, by a well-timed display of public spirit, made himself known to, and gained some powerful friends at Court (8). But, while he was thus wisely and warily contriving what he afterwards so happily executed, one John Oxenham, who had served as a soldier, a seaman, and a cook, and had gained great reputation by his gallant behaviour in the last voyage under him, believed he had penetrated Captain Drake's scheme, and thought to be beforehand with him in the execution of it. Accordingly, in 1575, this man sailed in a bark of one hundred and forty tons burthen, with seventy brave fellows, to Nombre de Dios, where laying his bark up in a creek, he marched cross the Isthmus, with his companions, got into the South-Seas with some canoes, and took two Spanish ships with an immense treasure in gold and silver. But wanting Drake's abilities and generosity, though he was little, if at all, inferior to him in courage, he fell out with his men, which occasioned such a delay in his return, that the Spaniards found and recovered the treasure, afterwards destroyed many, and at length took him and some of his companions, whom, for want of a commission to justify their proceedings, they hanged as pirates (9). Captain Drake, before he had any knowledge of the issue of this business, and being acquainted with no more than was public throughout all the West of England, that Oxenham was sailed upon some such design, brought his own project to bear by the means mentioned in the text (10), and easily obtained a force sufficient to accomplish it, which, all things considered, must at this day appear a very extraordinary event, more especially if we consider that he never disclosed his real intention after he had his commission, nor indeed could disclose it with safety, and yet made all his preparations so judiciously, that it does not appear any other circumnavigator met with fewer discouragements than he, who performed all by the light of his own judgment, and at the expence of private persons who had an entire confidence in him.

(7) Annals, p. 352.

(8) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(9) Hakluyt's Voyages, p. 594. Camden. Annal. p. 353.

(10) Stowe's Annals, p. 689.

[*D*] *A great appearance of justice.*] This is by much the most remarkable passage in the life of our hero in reference to his moral character, and for which, as we shall see, he has been very severely censured. We will first state the matter of fact briefly and plainly; then mention the surmises which have been raised thereupon; and, lastly, shew the reader what has been, or may be, alledged in his justification, which we take to be the true course of rendering works of this kind useful; since, in other books, the actions of great men are seen only in particular lights, according as the author's subject, or sometimes his humour, inclines him to place them; but the business of a Biographer is, from the relation of facts, to

fifth of September he paſſed them, having then only his own ſhip, which, in the South Seas, he new named the Hind; on the twenty-fifth of November he came to Machao, in the latitude of thirty degrees, where he had appointed a rendezvous in caſe his ſhips ſeparated: but Captain Winter, having repaſſed the Streights, was returned to England. Thence he continued his voyage along the coaſts of Chili and Peru, taking all opportunities of ſeizing Spaniſh ſhips, or of landing, and attacking them on ſhore, till his crew were ſated with plunder; and then coaſting North America, to the height of forty-eight degrees, he endeavoured to find a paſſage back into our ſeas on that ſide, which is the ſtrongeſt proof of his conſummate ſkill and invincible courage; for, if ever ſuch a paſſage be found to the northward, this, in all probability, will be the method; and we can ſcarcely conceive a clearer teſtimony of an undaunted ſpirit, than attempting diſcoveries after ſo long, ſo hazardous, and ſo fatiguing a voyage (*p*). Here, being diſappointed of what he ſought, he landed, and called the country New Albion, taking poſſeſſion of it in the name, and for the uſe, of Queen Elizabeth; and, having careened his ſhip, ſet ſail from thence on the twenty-ninth of September, 1579, for the Moluccas. The reaſon of Captain Drake's chuſing this paſſage round, rather than returning by, the Streights of Magellan, was partly the danger of being attacked at a great diſadvantage by the Spaniards,

(*p*) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 400. See alſo ſome remarks on this paſſage in Dampier's Voyages.

ſhew what the man of whom he is ſpeaking really was. Let us procceed then in the preſeut caſe to the buſineſs.

On the 18th of June, Captain Drake arrived with his ſmall fleet at Port St. Julian, which lies within one degree of the Streights of Magellan, where he continued about two months, during which time he made the neceſſary proviſion for paſſing the Streights with ſafety (11). Here it was that, on a ſudden, having carried the principal perſons engaged in the ſervice to a deſart iſland lying in the bay, he called a kind of Council of War, or rather Court Martial, where he expoſed his commiſſion, by which the Queen granted him the power of life and death, which was delivered him, with this remarkable expreſſion from her own mouth: "We do account, that he, Drake, who "ſtrikes at thee, does ſtrike at us." He then laid open with great eloquence, for, tho' his education was but indifferent, he had a wonderful power of ſpeech, the cauſe of this aſſembly; he proceeded next to charge Mr. John Doughty, who had been ſecond in command during the whole voyage, when Drake was preſent, and firſt in his abſence, with plotting the deſtruction of the undertaking, and the murder of his perſon. He ſaid, he had the firſt notice of this gentleman's bad intentions before he left England, but that he was in hopes his behaviour towards him would have extinguiſhed ſuch diſpoſitions, if there had been any truth in the information. He then appealed for his behaviour to the whole aſſembly, and to the gentleman accuſed: he next expoſed his practices from the time they left England, while he lived towards him with all the kindneſs and cordiality of a brother, which charge he ſupported by producing papers under his own hand, to which Mr. Doughty added a full and free confeſſion. After this, the captain, or, as in the language of thoſe times he is called, the General, quitted the place, telling the aſſembly he expected that they ſhould paſs a verdict upon him, for he would be no judge in his own cauſe. Camden, as the reader will ſee, ſays, that he tried him by a jury; but other accounts affirm, that the whole forty perſons, of which the court was compoſed, adjudged him to death, and gave this in writing under their hands and ſeals, leaving the time and manner of it to the General. Mr. Doughty himſelf ſaid, that he deſired rather to die by the hands of juſtice than to be his own executioner. Upon this, Captain Drake, having maturely weighed the whole matter, preſented three points to Mr. Doughty's choice. Firſt, to be executed upon the iſland where they were; next, to be ſet aſhore on the main land; or, laſtly, to be ſent home to abide the juſtice of his country. He deſired he might have till the next day to conſider of theſe, which was allowed him, and then, giving his reaſons for rejecting the two laſt, he declared that he made the firſt his choice, and, having received the ſacrament with the General, from the hands of Mr. Francis Fletcher, chaplain to the Fleet, and made a full confeſſion, his head was cut off with an axe, by the Provoſt Marſhal, July 2d, 1578. It is very remarkable, that this iſland had been the ſcene of another affair, preciſely of the ſame nature, fifty-eight years before, when Magellan cauſed John de Carthagena, who was joined in commiſſion with him by the King of Spain, to be hanged for the like offence; and hence it was called the Iſland of true Juſtice (12).

(11 See the relation of this Voyage in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 733. Engliſh Hero, or Sir Francis Drake revived, p. 71.

As to the imputations which this matter brought upon Drake, we will firſt cite what Camden ſays of this tranſaction (13). 'On the 26th of April entering into the mouth of the River of Plate, he ſaw 'an infinite number of ſea-calves. From thence 'ſailing into the haven of St. Julian, he found a gibbet ſet up as is thought by Magellan for the puniſhment of certain mutineers. In this very place, 'John Doughty, an induſtrious and ſtout man, and 'the next unto Drake, was called to his trial for raiſing a mutiny in the fleet, found guilty by twelve 'men after the Engliſh manner, and condemned to 'death, which he ſuffered undauntedly, being beheaded, having firſt received the Holy Communion 'with Drake. And, indeed, the moſt impartial perſons in the fleet were of opinion, that he had acted 'ſeditiouſly, and that Drake cut him off as an emulator of his glory, and one that regarded not ſo much 'whom he himſelf excelled in commendations for ſea 'matters, as who he thought might equal him. Yet 'wanted there not ſome who, pretending to underſtand 'things better than others, gave out that Drake had 'in charge from Leiceſter to take off Doughty upon 'any pretence whatever, becauſe he had reported that 'the Earl of Eſſex was made away by the cunning 'practices of that Earl.' We find this matter touched in ſeveral other books, and particularly in two, which were written on purpoſe to expoſe the Earl of Leiceſter, and perhaps deſerving the leſs credit for that reaſon (14).

(12) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p 396.

(13) Annal. Eliz. p. 354.

It may be offered, in defence of Sir Francis Drake, that this man was openly put to death, after as fair a trial as the circumſtances of time and place would permit; that he ſubmitted patiently to his ſentence, and received the ſacrament with Drake, whom he embraced immediately before his execution. Beſides theſe, there are two points which deſerve particular conſideration. *Firſt*, that in ſuch expeditions ſtrict diſcipline and legal ſeverity are often abſolutely neceſſary. *Secondly*, that as to the Earl of Eſſex, for whoſe death Doughty had expreſſed concern, he was Drake's firſt patron, and it is therefore very improbable he ſhould deſtroy a man for endeavouring to detect his murther. We may add to all this, if liberty may be indulged to conjectures, that this man, preſuming upon the Earl of Leiceſter's favour (who very probably impoſed him upon Drake to be rid of him), was thence encouraged to form deſigns againſt Drake; and this might alſo be the reaſon which hindered him from inclining to an abſolute pardon, as doubting whether it was poſſible to truſt one who had ſo far abuſed his confidence already, and whoſe known intereſt with ſo great a man might always enable him to find inſtruments, in caſe he was wicked enough to enter upon freſh intrigues. All this, however, is ſubmitted entirely to the reader's judgment; ſince it is our deſign only to furniſh proper lights from the intelligence which has come to our hands, but

(14) Leiceſter's Commonwealth p. 41. Leiceſter's Ghoſt, Stanza 112, 113.

by

Spaniards, and partly the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, whence dangerous ſtorms and hurricanes were to be apprehended (*q*). Perhaps too he gave out amongſt his ſeamen, that he was deterred by the conſident, though falſe, report of the Spaniards, that the Streights could not be repaſſed [*E*]. On the thirteenth of October he fell in with certain iſlands, inhabited by the moſt barbarous people he had met with in all his voyage. On the fourth of November he had ſight of the Moluccas, and, coming to Ternate, was extremely well received by the King thereof, who appears, from the moſt authentic relations of this voyage, to have been a wiſe and polite Prince. On the tenth of December he made Celebes, where his ſhip unfortunately ran on a rock the ninth of January following, whence beyond all expectation, and in a manner miraculouſly, they got off, and continued their courſe. On the ſixteenth of March he arrived at Java Major; thence he intended to have proceeded for Malacca, but found himſelf obliged to alter his purpoſe, and think of returning directly home (*r*). On the twenty-fifth of March, 1580, he put this deſign in execution; and, on the fifteenth of June, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, having then on board his ſhip fifty-ſeven men, and but three caſks of water. On the twelfth of July he paſſed the Line, reached the coaſt of Guinea on the ſixteenth, and there watered. On the 11th of September he made the iſland of Tercera, and, on the third day of November, the ſame year, entered the harbour of Plymouth. In this voyage he completely ſurrounded the globe, which no Commander in Chief had done before (*s*) [*F*]. His ſucceſs in the voyage, and the immenſe maſs of wealth he brought home, raiſed much diſcourſe throughout the kingdom, ſome highly commending, and ſome as loudly decrying him. The former alledged, that his exploit was not only honourable to himſelf, but to his

(*q*) See all the accounts of this voyage in the authors before-mentioned.

(*r*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 748.

(*s*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. I. p. 46—57. Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 742.

by no means to aim at impoſing our ſenſe of things upon the publick.

[*E*] *That the Streights could not be repaſſed.*] In ſpreading this report, the Spaniards certainly acted very wiſely, for it intimidated even the boldeſt navigators of other nations from attempting this paſſage, from an apprehenſion, that, when they were once in thoſe ſeas, they ſhould never get out again; but either fall into the hands of the Spaniards, from whom they could hope no mercy, or periſh by famine before they could poſſibly reach the East-Indies (15). It is very evident from Captain Drake's conduct, for we have no other way left of coming at his ſentiments, that he had maturely weighed all theſe things before he left England. He carried five ſhips with him to Port St. Julian, that the people might be more at their eaſe, and have greater plenty of proviſions; but when he came thither he broke up two of them, that there might be leſs danger of ſeparating in ſtrange ſeas, which, though it failed him, was nevertheleſs a juſt precaution. In the next place it appears, that he had formed a deſign of returning by a new paſſage, which, though often attempted on the other ſide, no Engliſhman could ever have thought to have tried in this manner, becauſe, till he opened the way, none had the leaſt notion of entering theſe ſeas. Laſtly, he had taken great care to victual himſelf properly, that if this deſign failed, as it did, he might be in a condition to follow the example of Magellan. In order to encourage his people to this, he ſeemed to give credit to the opinion propagated by the Spaniards, of the great danger in repaſſing the Streights of Magellan, which, however, were actually repaſſed by Captain John Winter, though Drake and his company could know nothing of this at that time. But, that Captain Drake could not apprehend any impoſſibility in the thing itſelf, we may be aſſured from hence, that in this very voyage he had not only paſſed the Streights, but had alſo been driven back again, not through the Streights indeed, but in the open ſea; of which we have a very diſtinct account given us from his own mouth, by his relation, Sir Richard Hawkins, which is very curious, and well deſerves the reader's notice (16): 'In all the Streights it ebbeth and floweth 'more or leſs, and in many places it riſeth very little, 'but in ſome Bays where are great in-draughts it riſes 'eight or ten feet, and doubtleſs farther in more. 'If a man be furniſhed with wood and water and the 'wind good, he may keep the main ſea, and go round 'about the Streights to the Southwards, and it is the 'ſhorter way; for, beſides the experience which we 'made, that all the ſouth part of the Streights is but 'iſlands, many times having the ſea open, I remember that Sir Francis Drake told me, that, having 'ſhot the Streights, a ſtorm took him firſt at North-'Weſt, and afterwards vered about to the South-'Weſt, which continued with him many days with 'that extremity, that he could not open any ſail, and 'that at the end of the ſtorm he found himſelf in fifty 'degrees, which was ſufficient teſtimony and proof 'that he was beaten round about the Streights; for, the 'leaſt height of the Streights is in fifty-two degrees 'and fifty minutes, in which ſtand the two entrances 'or mouths. And moreover, he ſaid, that, ſtanding 'about when the wind changed, he was not well able 'to double the Southermoſt iſland, and ſo anchored 'under the lee of it; and going aſhore, carried a 'compaſs with him, and ſeeking out the Southermoſt 'part of the iſland, caſt himſelf down upon the uttermoſt point, groveling, and ſo reached out his body 'over it. Soon after he embarked, where he acquainted his people that he had been upon the Southermoſt 'known land in the world, and further to the South-'ward upon it than any of them, or any man as yet 'known. Theſe teſtimonies may ſuffice for this truth 'unto all but ſuch as are incredulous, and will believe 'nothing but what they ſee; for my part, I am of 'opinion, that the Streight is navigable all the year 'long, although the beſt time be in November, December, and January, and then the winds are more 'favourable, which at other times are variable as in 'all narrow ſeas.'

(15) See obſervations on the paſſage into the South-Seas by the Streights of F. Magellan, together with an account of the Voyages made through them down to Sir John Narborough's.

(16) Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 95, 96.

[*F*] *Which no Commander in Chief had done before.*] The firſt, into whoſe thoughts the poſſibility of this entered, was the celebrated Chriſtopher Columbus, whoſe knowledge in the art of navigation, when one conſiders the defects in Philoſophy and Aſtronomy in his time, appears perfectly amazing (17). Sir John Cabot, father to Sebaſtian Cabot, who was contemporary with Columbus, comprehended his principles perfectly, which induced him to propoſe, to our King Henry the Seventh, the finding a North-Weſt Paſſage. Ferdinand Magellan, a Portugueſe by birth, offered his ſervice to the Crown of Spain, and propoſed ſearching for a paſſage to the South, which was accepted. He ſailed from St. Lucar, September the twentieth, 1519; he found and paſſed the Streights, which bear his name, the next year; but in his return was killed in the East-Indies. His ſhip came back ſafe to Spain; and as this was the firſt, ſo it was the only example that Captain Drake had to encourage him in his deſign; and, to balance this, there were a multitude of unfortunate attempts afterwards. In 1527, the Spaniards ſent Garcia de Loaiſa, a Knight of Malta, with a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips to follow the route of Magellan. He paſſed the Streights indeed; loſt ſome of his ſhips in the South-Seas; others put into the Ports of NewSpain, and

(17) See his life, written by his ſon, in the 2d. Volume of Churchill's Collect. of Voyages.

his country; that it would eſtabliſh our reputation for maritime ſkill in foreign nations, and raiſe a uſeful ſpirit of emulation at home; and that as to the money, our merchants having ſuffered deeply from the faithleſs practices of the Spaniards, there was nothing more juſt than that the nation ſhould receive the benefit of Drake's repriſals. The other party alledged, that, in fact, he was no better than a pirate; that, of all others, it leaſt became a trading nation to encourage ſuch practices; that it was not only a direct breach of all our late treaties with Spain, but likewiſe of our old leagues with the houſe of Burgundy; and that the conſequences would be much more fatal than the benefits reaped from it could be advantageous. Things continued in this uncertainty during the remainder of the year 1580, and the ſpring of the ſucceeding year. At length they took a better turn, for, on the fourth of April, 1581, her Majeſty going to Deptford in Kent, went on board Capt. Drake's ſhip, where after dinner ſhe conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and declared her abſolute approbation of all that he had done, to the confuſion of his enemies, and to the great joy of his friends (*t*). She likewiſe gave directions for the preſervation of his ſhip, that it might remain a monument of his own and his country's glory. In proceſs of time the veſſel decaying, it was broken up; but a chair, made of the planks, was preſented to the Univerſity of Oxford, and is ſtill preſerved (*u*) [*G*]. In 1585 he ſailed

(*t*) Camden's Annals, p. 351. Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 400. Stowe's Ann. p. 689. Hollinſhed. Speed.

(*u*) See Mr. Cowley's Poems, edit. 1680. p. 8, 42.

and only his veſſel and another reached the Eaſt-Indies, where himſelf and all his people periſhed. Another ſquadron of ſeven ſhips, fitted out by the Biſhop of Placentia, had no better fortune; for, having reached the South-Seas, they were ſo diſcouraged, that they proceeded no farther. In 1526, the Genoeſe ſent two ſhips to paſs theſe Streights, of which, one was caſt away, and the other returned home without effecting any thing. Sebaſtian Cabot, in the ſervice of the crown of Portugal, made the like trial; but, not being able to find the Streights, returned into the River of Plate. Americus Veſpuſius, from whom the new world received its name, undertook to perform in the ſervice of the Crown of Portugal, what Cabot had promiſed; but this vain man was ſtill more unlucky, for he could not find either the Streights, or the River of Plate. Some years after, the Spaniards equipped a ſtout ſquadron under the command of Simon de Alcaſara, but, before they reached the height of the Streights, the ſailors mutinied, and obliged their commander to return (18). Such repeated misfortunes diſcouraged even the ableſt and boldeſt ſeaman; ſo that, from this time, both Spaniards and ſtrangers dropped all thoughts of emulating Magellan; and highly probable it is, that, if Captain Drake had fully diſcloſed his deſign, he had not been more fortunate than the reſt. His courage therefore may well be admired, who durſt endeavour an enterprize, the declaring of which had infallibly deſtroyed it: and his ſagacity in navigating ſeas wholly unknown, as well in his return as in his going out, (for not a man on board his ſhip had ever ſeen the Cape of Good Hope), can hardly be enough admired. His intrepidity in ſailing ſo far to the North, in hopes of coming that way home, was very ſurprizing, and the methods he took through all the voyage to keep his people ſteady, in full ſpirits, and for the moſt part in good health, muſt give us a very high idea of his capacity; and therefore, we need not at all wonder that, upon his coming to England, his fame roſe to ſuch a height as to provoke envy as well as praiſe.

(18) See large accounts of theſe Voyages in Eden, Hakluyt, and Purchas.

[*G*] *And is ſtill preſerved.*] It is obſerved by Mr. Camden, that, when the Queen went to dine on board the Golden Hind, there was ſuch a concourſe of people that the wooden bridge over which they paſſed broke, and upwards of an hundred perſons fell into the river, by which accident, however, there was nobody hurt; as if, ſays he, that ſhip had been built under ſome lucky conſtellation. Upon this occaſion the following verſes, made by the ſcholars of Wincheſter College, were nailed to the mainmaſt (19).

(19) Camd. Ann. P. 359.

Plus Ultra, *Herculeis inſcribas*, Drace, *Columnis*,
*Et magno, dicas, Hercule major ero.*

In Engliſh thus,

His pillars paſs'd, thou DRAKE may'ſt boldly claim,
Than HERCULES the Great, a greater name.

Drace, *pererrati quem novit terminus orbis*,
*Quemque ſimul mundi vidit uterque Polus*;
*Si taceant homines, facient te ſidera notum.*
*Sol neſcit comitis non memor eſſe ſui.*

Which may be rendered,

Expos'd to thee have earth's laſt limits been,
Thou at like diſtance both the Poles haſt ſeen;
Were mankind mute, the ſtars thy fame would blaze,
And Phœbus ſing his old companion's praiſe.

*Digna Ratis quæ ſtet radiantibus inclyta ſtellis*;
*Supremo cœli vertice digna Ratis.*

Thus tranſlated,

Amidſt the ſtars, thy ſhip were fitly plac'd,
And ſtars in gracing it, be doubly grac'd.

The ſame learned author, in another famous work of his (*), takes notice of a circumſtance very extraordinary in relation to this celebrated ſhip, which is ſo ſtrange in itſelf, that we ſhould have paſſed it by in a writer of leſs credit; but what Camden thought fit to record of things happening in his own time, it might be juſtly thought a fault in us to omit. Speaking of the ſhire of Buchan in Scotland, he ſays: 'Is is hardly worth 'while to mention the Clayks, a ſort of Geeſe, which 'are believed by ſome, with great admiration, to grow 'upon trees on this coaſt, and in other places, and 'when they are ripe to fall down into the ſea, becauſe 'neither their neſts nor eggs can any where be found. 'But they who ſaw the ſhip in which Sir Francis Drake 'ſailed round the world, when it was laid up in the 'river Thames, could teſtify that little birds bred in 'the old rotten keels of ſhips, ſince a great number 'of ſuch, without life and feathers, ſtuck cloſe to the 'out-ſide of the keel of that ſhip. Yet I ſhould think 'that the generation of theſe birds was not from the 'logs of wood, but from the ſea, termed, by the poets, 'the Parent of all things.' But to proceed in our narration. Time, that deſtroys all things, having made great breaches in this ſhip, which for many years had been contemplated with juſt admiration at Deptford, it was at length broke up, and a chair made out of the planks was, by John Davies, Eſq. preſented to the Univerſity of Oxford, upon which the famous Abraham Cowley made the following epigram, that neither the hero nor his veſſel might want the aſſiſtance of the Muſes to render them immortal (20):

(*) Britannia, ſecond edit. P. 1263, 1264.

(20) Cowley's Works, Vol. II. P. 563.

To this great ſhip, which round the world has run,
And matcht in race the chariot of the ſun;
This Pythagorean ſhip (for it may claim,
Without preſumption, ſo deſerv'd a name),
By knowledge once, and tranſformation now,
In her new ſhape, this ſacred port allow.
Drake and his ſhip, could not have wiſh'd from fate
An happier ſtation, or more bleſt eſtate:
For lo! a ſeat of endleſs reſt is given
To her in Oxford, and to him in Heaven.

failed again to the Weſt-Indies, having under his command Captain Chriſtopher Carliſle, Captain Martin Frobiſher, Captain Francis Knollys, and many other officers of great reputation. In that expedition he took the cities of St. Jago, St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Auguſtin; exceeding even the expectation of his friends, and the hopes of the common people, though both were ſanguine to the laſt degree (*w*). Yet the profits of this expedition were but moderate, the deſign of Sir Francis being rather to weaken the enemy than to enrich himſelf (*x*). In 1587 he proceeded to Liſbon, with a fleet of thirty ſail, and having intelligence of a great fleet aſſembled in the Bay of Cadiz, which was to have made part of the Armada, he, with great courage, entered that port, and burnt there upwards of ten thouſand ton of ſhipping; and, after having performed all the ſervice that the State could expect, he reſolved to do his utmoſt to content the Merchants of London, who had contributed, by a voluntary ſubſcription, to the fitting out of his fleet. With this view, having intelligence of a large carrack expected at Tercera from the Eaſt-Indies, thither he ſailed; and, though his men were ſeverely pinched for want of victuals, yet, by fair words, and large promiſes, he prevailed upon them to endure theſe hardſhips for a few days; within which ſpace the Eaſt-India ſhip arrived, which he took, and carried home in triumph; ſo that throughout the whole war there was no expedition ſo happily conducted as this, with reſpect to reputation or profit (*y*); and therefore we need not wonder, that, upon his return, the mighty applauſe he received might render him ſomewhat elate, as his enemies report it did; but certain it is, that no man's pride had ever a happier turn, ſince it always vented itſelf in ſervice to the publick [*H*]. Thus, at this time, he undertook to bring water into the town of Plymouth, through the want of which, till then, it had been grievouſly diſtreſſed; and he performed it by conducting thither a ſtream from ſprings at eight miles diſtance, that is to ſay, in a ſtrait line; for, in the manner by which he brought it, the courſe it runs is upwards of twenty miles (*z*). In 1588 Sir Francis Drake was appointed Vice-Admiral under Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, High Admiral of England. Here his fortune favoured him as remarkably as ever, for he made prize of a very large galleon, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, who yielded on the bare mention of his name. In this veſſel fifty thouſand ducats were diſtributed among the ſeamen and ſoldiers, which preſerved that love they had always borne to their valiant Commander. It muſt not, however, be diſſembled, that, through an overſight of his, the Admiral ran the utmoſt hazard of being taken by the enemy; for, Drake being appointed, the firſt night of the engagement, to carry lights for the direction of the Engliſh fleet, he, being in full purſuit of ſome hulks belonging to the Hanſe towns, neglected it, which occaſioned the Admiral's following the Spaniſh lights, and remaining almoſt in the centre of their fleet till morning. However, his ſucceeding ſervices ſufficiently effaced the memory of this miſtake, the greateſt execution done on the flying Spaniards being performed by the ſquadron under his command (*a*) [*I*]. The

(*w*) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 534. Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 269. Camd. Ann. p. 353. Stowe's Ann. p. 709. Holl.ngſhed. Speed.

(*x*) Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 170.

(*y*) Stowe's Ann, p. 808. Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 170.

(*z*) Weſtcot's Survey of Devonſhire, M. S. Stowe's Ann. p. 808.

(*a*) Camd. Ann. p. 565, 573. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 602. Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 172. Stowe, Hollinſhead, Speed. See alſo the art. DEVEREUX (ROBERT I.) Earl of Eſſex.

To this, let us add another hitherto unpubliſhed.

Thy glory, DRAKE, extenſive as thy mind,
No time ſhall tarniſh, and no limits bind:
What greater praiſe! than thus to match the SUN
Running that Race, which cannot be outrun.
Wide as the World thou compaſs'd, ſpreads thy fame,
And, with that World, an equal date ſhall claim.

[*H*] *Since it always vented itſelf in ſervice to the publick.*] It muſt be obſerved, that though, in his voyage round the world, our gallant ſeaman had the Queen's commiſſion, yet he had not the honour to command any of the Queen's ſhips. But, in the expedition of 1585, Sir Francis Drake went on board one Man of War, and his Vice-Admiral, Frobiſher, was in another (21). In this laſt enterprize, in 1587, he had four of the Queen's ſhips, and twenty ſix ſail of ſeveral ſizes fitted out by the Merchants of London; ſo that, if we conſider the expectations which his former ſucceſſes had raiſed, his having now ſeveral intereſts to ſerve, and thoſe in a manner oppoſite to each other, one cannot but admit, that this fortune was very ſingular, as well as his conduct great, that could give full ſatisfaction to all. Yet this he did in ſo high a degree, that Sir William Monſon confeſſes, in his naval tracts, Envy herſelf knew not what to object, either to the management or the iſſue of this voyage (22). If therefore Sir. Francis Drake bore his head a little higher upon his return, it was highly pardonable, and all that we find objected to him is no more than this, that, in the ſoldier-like language of that time, he very merrily called this, *burning the King of Spain's beard* (23). This expreſſion was indeed blunt and coarſe enough, and yet there is ſomething in it expreſſive: it is on all hands allowed that he did infinite miſchief, and retarded thereby the coming of the Armada for a whole year.

(21) See the ſeveral authors referred to in the text.

(22) Naval Tracts, p. 170.

(23) Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 523.

[*I*] *Being performed by the ſquadron under his command.*] We will begin this note with obſerving, that, a little before this formidable Spaniſh armament put to ſea, the Ambaſſador of his Catholic Majeſty had the confidence to propound to Queen Elizabeth, in Latin verſe, the terms upon which ſhe might hope for peace; which, with an Engliſh tranſlation by the facetious Dr. Fuller (24), we will preſent to the view of the reader; the rather, becauſe it appears that Drake's expeditions to the Weſt-Indies make a part of this meſſage. The verſes are theſe;

(24) Holy State, p. 303.

Te veto ne pergas bello defendere Belgas:
Quæ Dracus eripuit nunc reſtituentur oportet:
Quas pater evertit jubeo te condere cellas:
Religio Papæ fac reſtituetur ad unguem.

In Engliſh.

*Theſe to you are our commands,*
*Send no help to the Netherlands;*
*Of the treaſure took by Drake,*
*Reſtitution you muſt make;*
*And thoſe abbies build anew*
*Which your father overthrew.*
*If for any peace you hope,*
*In all points reſtore the Pope.*

The Queen's extempore return:

Ad Græcas, bone Rex, fient mandata calendas.
*Worthy King, know this your will*
*At Lattar Lammas we'll fulfil.*

The next year he commanded as Admiral at ſea the fleet ſent to reſtore Don Antonio King of Portugal, the command of the land-forces being given to Sir John Norris. They were hardly got out to ſea before the Commanders differed, though it is on all hands agreed, that there never was an Admiral better diſpoſed, with reſpect to ſoldiers, than Sir Francis Drake. The ground of their difference was this: the General was bent on landing at the Groyne, whereas Sir Francis, and the ſea-officers, were for ſailing to Liſbon directly, in which, if their advice had been taken, without queſtion, their enterprize had ſucceeded, and Don Antonio been reſtored. For it afterwards appeared, on their invading Portugal, that the enemy had made uſe of the time they gave them to ſo good purpoſe, that it was not poſſible to make any impreſſion. Sir John Norris, indeed, marched by land to Liſbon, and Sir Francis Drake very imprudently promiſed to ſail up the river with his whole fleet; but, when he ſaw the conſequences which would have attended the keeping his word, he choſe rather to break his promiſe than to hazard the Queen's navy; for which he was grievouſly reproached by Norris, and the miſcarriage of the whole affair was imputed to his failure in performing what he had undertaken: yet Sir Francis fully juſtified himſelf on his return, for he made it manifeſt to the Queen and Council, that all the ſervice that was done was performed by him, and his ſailing up the river of Liſbon would have ſignified nothing to the taking the caſtle, which was two miles off, and that without reducing it there was no taking the town (*b*) [*K*]. The war with Spain ſtill con-

(*b*) Camd. Ann. p. 601—606. Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 174. Stowe's Ann. p. 755. Hollinſhed. Speed.

There is a letter ſtill preſerved by Strype, written by Sir Francis Drake to the Lord High-Treaſurer Burleigh, dated June 6, 1588, wherein he acquaints him, that the Spaniards were approaching, and that though their ſtrength outwent report, yet the chearfulneſs and courage which the Lord Admiral expreſſed, gave all who had the honour to ſerve under him aſſurance of victory. This compliment, which ſure was very well turned, proved alſo a prophecy, which Sir Francis had his ſhare in fulfilling (25). On the twenty-ſecond of July, Sir Francis obſerving a great Spaniſh ſhip, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, who was reputed the projector of this invaſion, floating at a diſtance from both fleets, ſent his pinnace to ſummon thoſe who were on board to yield. Valdez, to maintain his credit and pretence to valour, returned, that they were four hundred and fifty ſtrong, that he himſelf was Don Pedro, and ſtood much upon his honour, and thereupon propounded ſeveral conditions upon which he was willing to yield: but the Vice-Admiral replied that he had no leiſure to parley, but, if he thought fit inſtantly to yield, he might, if not he ſhould ſoon find that Drake was no coward. Pedro hearing it was Drake, whoſe name was ſo terrible to the Spaniards, preſently yielded, and, with forty-ſix of his attendants, came aboard Sir Francis's ſhip, where, giving him the ſolemn Spaniſh congee, he proteſted, 'that they were all reſolved to 'have died fighting, had they not fallen into his 'hands, whoſe felicity and valour was ſo great, that 'Mars the god of war, and Neptune the god of the 'ſea, ſeemed to wait upon all his attempts, and whoſe 'noble and generous carriage toward the vanquiſhed 'had been oft experienced by his foes.' Sir Francis, to requite theſe Spaniſh compliments with real Engliſh kindneſs, ſet him at his own table, and lodged him in his own cabin, ſending the reſt of his company to Plymouth. Drake's ſoldiers were well recompenſed with the plunder of this ſhip, wherein they found fifty-five thouſand ducats of gold, which they joyfully ſhared amongſt them (26). This Don Pedro Valdez remained above two years Sir Francis Drake's priſoner in England; and, when he was releaſed, paid him, for his own and his two Captains liberties, a ranſom of three thouſand five hundred pounds (27). The Spaniards, notwithſtanding their loſs was ſo great and their defeat ſo notorious, took great pains to propagate falſe ſtories, which in ſome places gained ſo much credit as to hide their ſhame. This provoked all good Engliſhmen, and, amongſt them, none more than Sir Francis Drake, who, to ſhew that he could upon occaſion draw his pen as well as his ſword, vouchſafed this refutation of their romances (28): 'They were not aſhamed to publiſh, in ſundry lan-'guages in print, great victories in words, which 'they pretended to have obtained againſt this realm, 'and ſpread the fame in a moſt falſe ſort over all parts 'of France, Italy, and elſewhere; when, ſhortly af-'ter, it was happily manifeſted in very deed, to all 'nations, how their navy, which they termed in-'vincible, conſiſting of one hundred and forty ſail of 'ſhips, not only of their own kingdom, but 'ſtrengthened with the greateſt argoſies, Portugal 'carracks, florentines, and large holks of other coun-'tries, were by thirty of her Majeſty's own ſhips of 'war, and a few of our own merchants, by the wiſe, 'valiant, and advantageous conduct of the lord Charles 'Howard, High-Admiral of England, beaten and 'ſhuffled together even from the Lizard in Cornwall, 'firſt to Portland, where they ſhamefully left Don Pe-'dro de Valdez with his mighty ſhip; from Portland to 'Calais, where they loſt Hugh de Moncado, with the 'galleys of which he was Captain; and from Calais 'driven with ſquibs from their anchors, were chaſed 'out of the ſight of England, round about Scotland 'and Ireland. Where, for the ſympathy of their re-'ligion, hoping to find ſuccour and aſſiſtance, a great 'part of them were cruſhed againſt the rocks, and 'thoſe other that landed, being very many in number, 'were, notwithſtanding, broken, ſlain, and taken. 'And ſo ſent from village to village, coupled in hal-'ters, to be ſhipped into England, where her Majeſty, 'of her princely and invincible diſpoſition, diſdaining 'to put them to death, and ſcorning either to retain 'or entertain them, they were all ſent back again to 'their countries, to witneſs and recount the worthy 'atchievement of their invincible and dreadful na-'vy. Of which the number of ſoldiers, the fearful 'burthen of their ſhips, the commanders names of 'every ſquadron, with all other their magazines of pro-'viſions, were put in print, as an army and navy ir-'reſiſtible and diſdaining prevention; with all which 'their great terrible oſtentation, they did not in all 'their ſailing round about England ſo much as ſink or 'take one ſhip, bark, pinnace, or cock-boat, of ours, 'or even burnt ſo much as one ſheepcote on this land.' If the knowledge of a writer, with reſpect to the ſubject which employs his pen; ought to render his relation more credible; or if the quality of an author can add any weight to his productions, this will not fail of being eſteemed as well as believed. To ſpeak the truth plainly, there is not perhaps in our own, or in any other language within ſo narrow a compaſs, ſo full, ſo perſpicuous, and ſo ſpirited a relation of a tranſaction, glorious as this was, extant in any Hiſtory. Indeed, what wonder, if the defeat of the Spaniards be as finely painted by the pen, as it was gallantly atchieved by the ſword, of Sir Francis Drake!

(25) This letter was formerly among the Lord Burleigh's Manuſcripts. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 523.

(26) Engliſh Hero.

(27) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 523. Life of Sir Francis Drake, p. 195.

(28) Strype's Anna's, Vol. III. P. 531, 532.

[*K*] *There was no taking the town.*] Before this expedition, all difficulties, however great, were ſeen to bend before the fortune of Sir Francis Drake. But whether it was the ſtrange diviſion of command, for there were two Generals in Chief declared, and a third who expected to command them, though without a commiſſion; whether they were deceived in the furniſhing the fleet, which would not have been the caſe if the ſole management had been committed to Sir Francis Drake; or whether their hopes failed them in Portugal; ſo it was, that, with reſpect to the great end of their expedition, they miſcarried; and, as they carried

continuing, and it being evident that nothing galled the enemy ſo much as the loſſes they met with in the Indies, a propoſition was made to the Queen by Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, the moſt experienced ſeamen in her kingdom, for undertaking a more effectual expedition into thoſe parts than had hitherto been made through the whole courſe of that war; and, at the ſame time, they offered to be at a great part of the expence themſelves, and to engage their friends to bear a conſiderable proportion of the reſt (*c*). The Queen readily gave ear to this motion, and furniſhed, on her part, a ſtout ſquadron of men of war, on board one of which, The Garland, Sir John Hawkins embarked. Their whole force conſiſted of twenty-ſeven ſhips and barks, and on board them were about two thouſand five hundred men. Of all the enterprizes, throughout the war, there was none of which ſo great hope was conceived as of this, and yet none ſucceeded worſe. The fleet was detained, for ſome time after it was ready, on the Engliſh coaſt, by the arts of the Spaniards, who, having intelligence of its ſtrength, and of the ends for which it was intended, they conceived, that the only means whereby it might be diſappointed was by procuring ſome delay; in order to which they gave out, that they were ready themſelves to invade England; and, to render this the more probable, they actually ſent four galleys to make a deſcent on Cornwall (*d*). By theſe ſteps they carried their point; for, the Queen and the nation being alarmed, it was by no means held proper to ſend ſo great a number of ſtout ſhips on ſo long a voyage at ſo critical a juncture. At laſt, this ſtorm blowing over, the fleet ſailed from Plymouth on the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, in order to execute their grand deſign of burning Nombre de Dios, marching thence by land to Panama, and there ſeizing the treaſure which they knew was arrived from Peru. A few days before their departure, the Queen ſent them advice, that the plate fleet was ſafely arrived in Spain, excepting only one galleon, which, having loſt a maſt, had been obliged to return to Porto Rico. The taking of this veſſel ſhe recommended to them as a thing very practicable, and which could prove no great hindrance to their other affair. When they were at ſea the Generals differed, as is uſual in conjunct expeditions. Sir John Hawkins was for executing immediately what the Queen had commanded, whereas Sir Francis Drake inclined to go firſt to the Canaries, being preſſed thereto by Sir Thomas Baſkerville, in which he prevailed; but the attempt they made was unſucceſsful, and then they ſailed for Dominica, where they ſpent too much time in refreſhing themſelves, and ſetting up their pinnaces. In the mean time the Spaniards had ſent five ſtout frigates to bring away the galleon from Porto Rico, having exact intelligence of the intention of the Engliſh Admirals to attempt that place. On the thirtieth of October Sir John Hawkins weighed from Dominica, and, in the evening of the ſame day, The Francis, a bark of about thirty five tons, and the ſternmoſt of Sir John's ſhips, fell in with the five ſail of Spaniſh frigates before-mentioned, and was taken; the conſequences of which being foreſeen by Sir John, it threw him into a fit of ſickneſs, of which, or rather of a broken heart, he died on the twelfth of November, 1595 (*e*). At this time they were before Porto Rico, and the very ſame evening Sir John Hawkins died. While the great officers were at ſupper together, a cannon ſhot from the fort pierced the cabin, killed Sir Nicholas Clifford, wounded Captain Stratford, and mortally wounded Mr. Brute Browne, ſtriking the ſtool from under Sir Francis Drake, who was drinking, without doing him any hurt at all. The next day, November 13th, 1595, the General, purſuant to the reſolution of a Council of War, made a deſperate attack on the ſhipping in the harbour of Porto Rico, which was attended with great loſs to the Spaniards, yet with very little advantage to the Engliſh, who meeting with a more reſolute reſiſtance, and much better fortifications, than they expected, were obliged to ſheer off. The Admiral then ſteered for the main, where he took the town of Rio de la Hacha, which he burnt to the ground, a church, and a ſingle houſe belonging to a Lady, only excepted. After this he deſtroyed ſome other villages, and then proceeded to Santa Martha, which he likewiſe burned. The like fate had the famous town of Nombre de Dios, the Spaniards refuſing to

(*c*) Camd. Ann. p. 698—700. Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 182, 183. Hakluyt. Vol. III. p. 583. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1183. Stowe's Ann. p. 807.

(*d*) Camd. Ann. p. 697.

(*e*) Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 183, MS. Remarks on Hakluyt.

carried Don Antonio out with ſtrong hopes of leaving him a King, ſo, when they brought him home, he left all his hopes behind (29). In moſt of our Hiſtories many aſperſions are thrown upon Sir Francis Drake, and Sir William Monſon very impartially profeſſes, that he cannot excuſe his breaking his promiſe to Sir John Norris, though he allows the thing was impracticable. Now, though the breaking a promiſe be a bad thing, one might be tempted to think, that not being able to keep it is a pretty tolerable excuſe. The Queen and her Council underſtood it ſo, for Sir Francis alledged, and it could not be denied, that the very time they ſpent at the Groyne, the Spaniards employed in fortifying Liſbon, which was the reaſon he oppoſed that meaſure (30). He ſhewed, that whatever was done there or elſewhere, for the credit of the nation, was performed ſolely by the fleet and by his orders, in conſequence of which a large fleet, laden with naval ſtores from the Hanſe Towns, was taken, and a great quantity of ammunition and artillery. He farther ſhewed, that, had it not been for the fleet, the army muſt have been ſtarved: and that, if they had ſtayed any longer, neither fleet nor army could have returned home; all which diſtreſſes aroſe from their not going about their principal buſineſs at firſt, which was what he adviſed: but, when he found he could not prevail upon ſome men to manage their own affairs right, he contented himſelf with managing, as well as he could, thoſe that were immediately within his own province, and, with reſpect to theſe, even the cenſurers of this expedition admit, that nobody could have managed them better. Happy for Sir Francis Drake, if, upon his receiving this firſt check at play, he had withdrawn his ſtake.

(29) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 606. Stowe's Ann. p. 755.

(30) Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 174.

ranſom

ranſom any of theſe places, and the booty taken in them being very inconſiderable. On the twenty-ninth of December, Sir Thomas Baskerville marched, with ſeven hundred and fifty men, towards Panama, but returned on the ſecond of January, finding the deſign of reducing that place to be wholly impracticable. This diſappointment made ſuch an impreſſion on the Admiral's mind, that it threw him into a lingering fever, attended with a flux, of which he died on the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, about four in the morning; though Sir William Monſon hints, that there were great doubts whether it was barely his ſickneſs that killed him [*L*]. Such was the end of this great man, when he had lived fifty-five years (*f*), according to ſome, but according to our computation fifty-one (*g*); but his memory will ſurvive as long as that world laſts which he firſt ſurrounded. His death was generally lamented by the whole nation, but more eſpecially by his country-men, who had great reaſons to love him from the circumſtances of his private life, as well as to eſteem him in his public character. He was elected Burgeſs for the town of Boſſiney, alias Tintagal, in the county of Cornwall, in the Parliament held the twenty-ſeventh of Queen Elizabeth, and for the town of Plymouth in Devonſhire, in the thirty-fifth of the ſame reign (*h*). It is indeed true, that he died without iſſue, but not that he lived and died a Bachelor, as ſeveral authors have written (*i*); for he left behind him a widow, Elizabeth (*k*), daughter and ſole heireſs of Sir George Sydenham, of Combe-Sydenham, in the county of Devon, Knight, who afterwards married William Courteney, Eſq. of Powderham-Caſtle in the ſame county. It was not the cuſtom of thoſe times to

(*f*) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 583. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1183. Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 182. Stowe's Ann. p. 808. Camd. Ann. p. 700. Engliſh Hero, p. 206. Fuller's Worthies, p. 261.

(*g*) In the margin of Stowe's Annals he is ſaid to have died at fifty-five; but, from all the paſſages in that account of him, he appears to have been no older than we have reported him.

(*h*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, vol. II. p. 122. 295.

(*i*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 261.

(*k*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 244. Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 531.

[*L*] *Whether it was barely his ſickneſs that killed him.*] In the text we have ſtated the facts according to the lights given us, and from the authorities of the beſt writers in thoſe times. We will in this note endeavour to clear up ſome paſſages that might otherwiſe ſeem obſcure, and by doing this we ſhall, in ſome meaſure, enable the reader to form a juſt notion as to his death. Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins were, without doubt, two of the moſt experienced officers, that thoſe ſtirring times, and that glorious reign, had bred. Each of them had his reaſons for undertaking that expedition, and both of them acted from motives of honour. They knew well the ſituation of the countries which were to be the ſcene of their actions, and the plan they laid was equally worthy of the great experience they had, and the high reputation raiſed thereby. In few words, their aim was to plunder and deſtroy Nombre de Dios, to force a paſſage through the Iſthmus, and then to make themſelves maſters of Panama; which done, they were to act as circumſtances ſhould direct (31). The preparations made for their voyage, chiefly at the expence of the General, were ſuch as could not be concealed. The Spaniards, being apprized of theſe, alarmed England, and thereby gained time to ſend advice into America. When, after many months delay, the Queen allowed them to proceed, ſhe charged him with another project, which was attacking Porto Rico, where, according to her information (and it was true), the whole cargo of a rich galleon was depoſited (32). When they were at ſea, Sir Thomas Baſkerville ſtarted a third project, which was reducing one of the Canary Iſlands, to which Sir Francis Drake aſſented, as believing, that, whatever became of their expedition, the conqueſt of that iſland would be of very great importance to the nation (33). Their miſcarriage in that was many ways detrimental, but chiefly through this which they did not foreſee, that it gave time for the Court of Spain to ſend five frigates, with nine hundred regular troops on board to St. John de Porto Rico. Of this they had no ſuſpicion, and therefore they ſpent more time than they needed to have done before they went thither, and, the bark Francis being taken in their paſſage, Sir John Hawkins truly foreſaw what afterwards happened, that the Spaniards, by the help of the reinforcement that ſquadron carried, would be too ſtrong for them. The ſad accident of his death, and of two principal Commanders deſperately wounded the ſame evening, damped the ſpirits of the ſoldiers and ſeamen exceedingly. General Drake himſelf, when he took his leave of Mr. Brown in order to go to the attack, could not help ſaying, *Brute, Brute*, (that was his Chriſtian name) *how heartily could I lament thy fate, but that I dare not let my ſpirits ſink now* (34). The ſeveral enterprizes that followed, were to gratify other mens projects; but at laſt Sir Francis Drake returned to his firſt deſign, and made an attempt upon the Iſthmus; but the Spaniards were too well provided, ſo that he plainly ſaw things went not with him as in former days. The whole of this expedition was a ſeries of misfortunes, in which Providence made uſe of their own counſels to deſtroy them. If they had gone at firſt to Porto Rico, they had done the Queen's buſineſs and their own. If, when they had intelligence of the Spaniſh ſuccours being landed there, they had proceeded directly to the Iſthmus, in order to have executed their deſigns againſt Panama, before their forces had been weakened by that deſperate attack, they might poſſibly have accompliſhed their firſt intention; but graſping too many things ſpoiled all. A very ſtrong ſenſe of this threw Sir Francis Drake into a melancholy, which occaſioned a bloody flux, the natural diſeaſe of the country, that brought him to his end (35). His body, according to the cuſtom of the ſea, was ſunk very near the place where he firſt laid the foundation of his fame and fortune. This appears to be a plain and probable relation of the end of this great man. If the reader has a mind to ſee it ſet in a ſtronger light, Mr. Fuller ſhall afford him that ſatisfaction, which will be heightened by knowing that he wrote from the mouth of Henry Drake, Eſq. who accompanied his couſin in that unfortunate expedition (36).

'Now began the diſcontent of Sir Francis to ſeed upon him. He conceived that expectation, a mercileſs uſurer, computing each day ſince his departure, exacted an intereſt and return of honour and profit proportionable to his great preparations, and tranſcending his former atchievements. He ſaw that all the good which he had done in this voyage conſiſted in the evil he had done to the Spaniards afar off, whereof he could preſent but ſmall viſible fruits in England. Theſe apprehenſions accompanying, if not cauſing, the diſeaſe of the flux, wrought his ſudden death; and ſickneſs did not ſo much untie his clothes as ſorrow did rend at once the robe of his mortality aſunder. He lived by the ſea, died on it, and was buried in it. Thus an extempore performance, ſcarce heard to be begun before we hear it is ended, comes off with better applauſe, or miſcarries with leſs diſgrace, than a long ſtudied and openly premeditated action. Beſides, we ſee how great ſpirits having mounted up to the higheſt pitch of performance, afterwards ſtrain and break their credits in ſtriving to go beyond it. Laſtly, God oftentimes leaves the brighteſt men in an eclipſe, to ſhew, that they do but borrow their luſtre from his reflection. We will not juſtify all the actions of any man, though of a tamer profeſſion than a ſea Captain, in whom civility is often counted preciſeneſs. For the main, we ſay, that this our Captain was a religious man towards God, and his houſes, generally ſpeaking, churches, where he came chaſte in his life, juſt in his dealings, true of his word, and merciful to thoſe that were under him, hating nothing ſo much as idleneſs.'

(31) It was upon this plan they formed the offer they made to the Queen, and, no doubt, had good intelligence.

(32) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 583. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1183. Stowe's Ann. p. 808.

(33) Engliſh Hero, p. 206.

(34) Fuller's Holy State, p. 129.

(35) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 700. Sir Wm. Monſon's Tracts. p. 182.

(36) Fuller's Holy State, p. 130, 131.

ſet up cenotaphs, at leaſt for private perſons, otherwiſe one might have expected ſome monument ſhould have been erected to the memory of Sir Francis Drake. Indeed it was needleſs: for, his picture was common, not only here, but in all parts of Europe, inſomuch that a diſturbance was occaſioned at Rome by the imprudence of a famous Painter, who cauſed the head (*l*) of Sir Francis Drake to be hung up, in a public place, next to that of his Catholic Majeſty. Hitherto we have ſpoken of his public actions: let us now, as we have ample and excellent materials, diſcourſe ſomewhat of his perſon and character. He was low of ſtature, but well ſet, had a broad open cheſt, a very round head, his hair of a fine brown, his beard full and comely, his eyes large and clear, of a fair complexion, with a freſh, chearful, and very engaging countenance (*m*). As Navigation had been his whole ſtudy, ſo he underſtood it thoroughly, and was a perfect maſter in every branch, eſpecially in Aſtronomy, and in the application thereof to the Nautic Art. As all men have enemies, and all eminent men abundance of them, we need not wonder that Sir Francis Drake, who performed ſo many great things, ſhould have as much ill ſpoken of him as of any man of the age in which he lived. Thoſe who diſliked him alledged, that he was a man of low birth, haughty in his temper, oſtentatious, ſelf-ſufficient, an immoderate ſpeaker, and, though indiſputably a good Seaman, no great General; in proof of which they took notice of his neglecting to furniſh his fleet thoroughly in 1585; his not keeping either St. Domingo or Carthagena, after he had taken them; the ſlender proviſion he made in his expedition to Portugal; his breaking his word to Sir John Norris, and the errors he committed in his laſt undertaking (*n*). In excuſe of theſe it is ſaid, that the glory of what he did might very well remove the imputation of his mean deſcent; what was thought haughtineſs in him might be no more than a juſt concern for the ſupport of his authority: his diſplay of his great ſervices, a thing incident to his profeſſion; and his love of ſpeaking qualified by his wiſdom and eloquence, which hindered him from ever dropping a weak or an ungraceful expreſſion. In equipping his fleet, he was not ſo much in fault as thoſe whom he truſted: ſickneſs hindered his keeping the places he took in the Weſt-Indies; his counſels were continually croſſed by the land-officers in his voyage to Portugal; and, as to his laſt attempt, the Spaniards were certainly well acquainted with his deſign, at leaſt as ſoon as he left England, if not before. His voyage round the world, however, remains an inconteſtible proof of his courage, capacity, patience, quick-ſightedneſs, and public ſpirit; ſince therein he did every thing that could be expected from a man who preferred the honour and profit of his country to his own reputation or private gain (*o*) [*M*]. It was the felicity of our Admiral to live under the "reign

(*l*) Strype's Ann. Vol. III. p. 540.

(*m*) Stowe's Ann. p. 808. Fuller's Holy State, p. 131.

(*n*) Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 399. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. VI. p. 1185. Stowe's Ann. p. 808.

(*o*) Camd. Ann. p. 351. The World encompaſſed, p. 18. Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 399. Engliſh Hero, p. 206.

[*M*] *To his own reputation or private gain.*] The materials that I have collected from ſeveral writers in that age, and which are to be digeſted into this note, will, I hope, ſufficiently juſtify what is advanced in the text, and ſhew, that if Sir Francis Drake amaſſed a large fortune to himſelf, by continually expoſing himſelf to labours and perils which hardly any other man would have undergone, for the ſake even of the greateſt expectations, he was far from being governed by a narrow and private ſpirit. On the contrary, his notions were free and noble, and the nation ſtands indebted to his memory for advantages infinitely greater than are commonly imagined.

I. He was the great author of our navigation to the Weſt-Indies; for, though he was not the firſt that went thither, yet, after the ſevere check that Sir John Hawkins met with when Drake commanded the Judith, our ſeamen were much diſcouraged, and, in all probability, would ſcarcely have adventured upon any expeditions of that ſort in haſte, if he had not encouraged them by his two proſperous voyages. In theſe he acted with extraordinary caution, and was remarkably careful of the health and ſafety of his ſeamen, that he might beget in them not only a confidence in himſelf, but a thorough contempt of thoſe vulgar fears, which repreſented voyages into that part of the world as ſo difficult and dangerous in many reſpects, beſides that of falling into the hands of the Spaniards (37). In this he ſucceeded ſo well, that, in the ſpace of a very few years, many ſmall veſſels, moſt of them commanded by perſons bred under him, followed that courſe, and, partly by trading, partly by privateering, brought great wealth into the nation, and accuſtomed the Engliſh mariners to traverſe ſeas and viſit ports, to which, but for his vigilance and good fortune, they had remained much longer ſtrangers (38). On this account, therefore, he may be conſidered, very juſtly, as the author of all our ſucceſs in thoſe parts: for, though ſeveral famous ſeamen engaged afterwards in expeditions of the like nature, and began to think of making ſettlements alſo in thoſe remote parts, yet it was but in conſequence of the lights he gave them, and from that ſpirit of emulation which was raiſed by the extenſive reputation he had acquired.

(37) See Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations on his Voyage to the South-Seas.

(38) Drake's Antiquities of York, p. 230.

II. He was alſo the firſt that ſhewed his own nation, what, till then, no other nation had ever attempted, that it was practicable with a very ſmall force to act againſt the Spaniards, both by ſea and land, as this nation have acknowledged, and attribute to him all the troubles they afterwards met with from the French and Dutch, as well as from the Engliſh (39). In his expedition of 1572, he had but two ſhips, if they might be ſo called, one of ſeventy tons, commanded by himſelf, the other of twenty-five tons, commanded by his brother John, and his whole force conſiſted but of ſeventy-three men and boys. Yet after he was diſcovered, and known to be upon the coaſt, and to have committed hoſtilities, he had the courage to reſolve upon remaining there, and to do his buſineſs with pinnaces, finding his ſhips too large, and therefore intending to deſtroy one, and convert the other into a ſtore-ſhip: but knowing that his ſeamen would never conſent to this, tho' the ſhips were his own and the beſt part of his eſtate, he prevailed upon the carpenter of the leſſer to bore holes in the bottom of her in the night, without ſo much as communicating the deſign to his own brother who commanded her. This happy temerity was followed by as much ſucceſs as he could wiſh, ſince he kept the Bay of Mexico for many months in a manner blocked up, and his fertility in inventing expedients to anſwer all purpoſes, and to provide againſt all dangers, excited that amazing ſpirit amongſt the ſeamen of his time, that is ſcarcely credible in ours (40); a ſpirit that rendered them ſo famous, as to occaſion their being ſought after and employed by all nations, but more eſpecially the French and Dutch; as might be ſhewn from numerous inſtances.

(39) See the account of Capt. Drake's expedition by Lopez the Spaniard, in Hakluyt.

(40) Camd. Brit 2d edit. p. 34. Engliſh Hero.

III. His genius was far from being confined to ſmall undertakings, though neceſſity compelled its firſt appearance in ſuch; for, when he undertook his voyage round

reign of a Princeſs who never failed to diſtinguiſh merit, or to beſtow her favours where ſhe ſaw deſert. Sir Francis Drake was always her favourite, and ſhe gave a very lucky proof of it in reſpect to a quarrel he had with his countryman Sir Bernard Drake, whoſe arms Sir Francis had aſſumed, which ſo provoked the other, who was a ſeaman likewiſe, that he gave him a box on the ear. The Queen took up the quarrel, and gave Sir Francis a new coat, which is thus blazoned: *Sable a feſs wavy between two pole-ſtars argent*, and, for his creſt, *a ſhip on a globe under ruff*, held by a cable, with a hand out of the clouds, over it this motto, *Auxilio divino*, underneath, *Sic parvis magna*, in the rigging whereof is hung up by the heels *a wivern, gules*, which was the arms of Sir Bernard Drake (*p*). Her Majeſty's kindneſs, however, did not extend beyond the grave; for, ſhe ſuffered his brother Thomas Drake, whom he made his heir, to be proſecuted for a pretended debt to the Crown, which much diminiſhed the advantages he would otherwiſe have reaped from his brother's ſucceſſion (*q*). This brother of his accompanied him in his laſt expedition, as his brother John and his brother Joſeph had done in his firſt voyages to the Weſt-Indies, where they both died; and both Thomas and John left children behind them, whereas Sir Francis, and nine of his other brethren, died without (*r*). As for the land eſtate which he had purchaſed, and which was very conſiderable (for, though, on proper occaſions, he was extremely generous, yet he was alſo a great œconomiſt), it came to his nephew and godſon Francis Drake, ſon to his brother Thomas (*s*), who, by letters patent, dated Auguſt 2d, 1622, in the twentieth year of the reign of King James the Firſt, was created a Baronet (*t*), and, in the beginning of the next reign, was returned one of the Knights of the Shire for the county of Devon (*u*). He was twice married, firſt to Jane, daughter of Sir Amias Bampfylde, of Poltimore, in the ſame county, Knight, by whom he had a daughter that died an infant; and, ſecondly, to Joan, daughter of Sir William Strode, of Newman, Knight, by whom he had four ſons (*w*). The eldeſt, Sir Francis Drake, Baronet, married Dorothy, the daughter of Mr. Pyn, but dying without iſſue, the title devolved upon his nephew by his ſecond brother Thomas, who became thereby Sir Francis Drake, Baronet, who frequently repreſented the town of Taviſtock in Parliament (*x*). He was thrice married, but had no iſſue, but by his laſt wife, who was the daughter of Sir Henry Pollexfen, Knight, Lord Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, his ſon and ſucceſſor by her was Sir Francis-Henry Drake, Baronet, who died January 26th, 1740, leaving iſſue by his wife, the ſiſter of Sir William Heathcote, Baronet, three ſons and two daughters (*y*). The eldeſt of theſe, Sir Francis Henry Drake, Baronet, was, in 1750, the repreſentative of this family, and member of Parliament for Beeralſton, in the county of Devon, and had in his poſſeſſion a Bible, with an inſcription indented on the edges, ſignifying, that it made the tour of the world

(*p*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 243.

(*q*) Sir Wm. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 400.

(*r*) Stowe's Ann. p. 807. Fuller's Holy State, p. 129.

(*s*) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 531.

(*t*) Sir Wm. Dugdale's Catalogue, p. 93.

(*u*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 254.

(*w*) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 532.

(*x*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, p. 354.

(*y*) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 532.

round the world, he not only framed the ſcheme in his own head, but kept it entirely within his own breaſt, bringing it out only by parts, as the execution required, and propoſing nothing to be effected till he had made the neceſſary proviſions for effecting it, tho' without any communication, by which he drew his people firſt into the South-Seas, thence to the Eaſt-Indies, and home by a route new to him and them, which he had never accompliſhed if his intentions had been foreſeen from the beginning (41). In 1585, he executed a great undertaking with a conſiderable force, having, under him, Captain Frobiſher, and other able ſeamen, with like conduct and courage, and with dreadful deſtruction to the enemy; ſo that there is very little reaſon to regret Sir Philip Sidney's not going that voyage with him; nor will any wiſe man believe implicitly, on the credit of Sir Fulk Grevil, that Sir Francis Drake was leſs capable of performing any ſervice in America than that excellent perſon (42), or that he left him behind from a jealouſy of his ſuperior abilities.

(41) This Sir Wm. Monſon fairly acknowledges, though no great admirer of Sir Francis Drake.

(42) In his large life of Sir Philip Sidney.

IV. We are aſſured by Camden (43) and other writers, that Sir Francis Drake firſt brought tobacco into England, whence a certain writer moſt unaccountably took it in his head to conclude his life of Sir Francis Drake with a violent invective againſt that plant, and an outrageous abuſe upon all who take it (44). But men of milder tempers and clearer judgements will acknowledge, that Sir Francis was in this a very great benefactor to his country, ſince it will not be eaſy to name any one commodity, through which ſuch vaſt advantages have accrued to this nation. It is true, that Sir Walter Ralegh is commonly entitled to this honour, but then it is grounded upon his bringing it into uſe by his own practice and example. Yet, in both of theſe truly great men, the good done to their country was but accidental; for, we cannot ſuppoſe that either of them could foreſee what prodigious wealth the cultivation of tobacco would bring into Great-Britain; and yet this ought not to leſſen, in the leaſt, our gratitude or veneration towards their memories.

(43) Camden. Annal. Eliz. P. 449.

(44) Winſtanley's Britiſh Worthies, p. 211.

V. The laſt thing I have to ſay, and I ſay it upon the credit of Mr. Camden, is, that he was the author of our trade to the Eaſt-Indies; for, as that learned writer informs us, the books, papers, and charts, that were found in the Eaſt-India ſhip, which he took in his return from his expedition to the coaſts of Spain in 1587, gave thoſe lights which encouraged the undertaking a trade to thoſe parts, and produced an application to the Queen, for eſtabliſhing our firſt Eaſt-India Company (45). Theſe are facts that are certainly worth the knowing, remembering, and conſidering, that we may do proper juſtice to the character of this illuſtrious perſon, who, as from low and mean beginnings, he raiſed himſelf to move in a ſuperior orb; ſo, by his example, he encouraged and raiſed thoſe Engliſh fleets that have ſince given law in the ſeas, which he viſited with barks ſo ſmall, that they would now be ſcarcely thought capable of ſuch a voyage. Let us conclude with a circumſtance, which, though not of ſo public, is yet, not altogether of a private nature, and deſerves to be remembered to the honour of this worthy perſon, and of Sir John Hawkins, who, in 1588, adviſed the eſtabliſhment of the cheſt at Chatham, for the relief of ſeamen wounded in their country's ſervice (46). They were, indeed, both remarkable for bearing in mind that they had been (47) once ſeamen themſelves as long as they lived; and, though they were very ſtrict in maintaining diſcipline, yet they were ſo well obeyed from a principle of affection, that inſtances of ſeverity were things to which they were very ſeldom conſtrained.

(45) Camden's Annal. Eliz. p. 551.

(46) Camden's Britannia, p. 233.

(47) Sir Richard Hawkins's obſervations on his voyage to the South-Seas, p. 283.

C.

*** [Dr. Johnſon, in his Life of Drake, written originally in the Gentleman's Magazine, but ſince printed in the firſt volume of Davies's Collection of Miſcellaneous and Fugitive Pieces, aſſerts, without heſitation,

world with Sir Francis Drake (z). There are many other relicks preſerved in the cabinets of the curious, in memory of this famous perſon; ſuch as the ſtaff made out of his ſhip before it was broken up, in that of Mr. Thoreſby at Leeds (a); and there is hardly any collection of Engliſh money, in which there are not pieces of Queen Elizabeth's coin, ſuppoſed to be marked with a Drake, in honour of Sir Francis's voyage round the world, in the twenty-ſecond year of her reign. I ſay, ſuppoſed, becauſe ſome curious perſons ſuggeſt, that this bird upon her coin is not a Drake but a Dove, and conſider this tradition as a vulgar error (b). It may be ſo indeed, for any thing we know with certainty; as, on the other hand, it may not be ſo, for any thing that has been ſaid to the contrary. Two things, however, are certain; one, that there are a variety of marks upon the coin of that Queen, and the other, that they were ſometimes placed in commemoration of remarkable events; as, for inſtance, the Belgic Lion very fairly impreſſed upon the Queen's breaſt, at the time when ſhe took the United Provinces under her royal protection (c). It is, therefore, far from being impoſſible, and perhaps it is not carrying the thing too far, to ſay, that it is not altogether improbable, there may be ſome truth in this vulgar notion; for, that nothing of this is recorded, in the hiſtories of this reign, is no conſiderable objection, ſince we are ſatisfied, that many things of a like nature, the truth of which cannot be diſputed, were nevertheleſs omitted, partly from the abundance of more weighty materials, and partly from the want of attention in our Hiſtorians to things of this nature, which would have left us in the dark as to many curious particulars, if their negligence had not excited a ſtrong ſpirit of enquiry in the learned lovers of Engliſh Hiſtory, who have lived in ſucceeding times, and whoſe induſtry has been repaid by a variety of uſeful as well as entertaining diſcoveries.

(z) From his own information.

(a) Ducatus Leodienſis, or, Topography of Leeds, p. 484.

(b) Biſhop Nicholſon's Engliſh Library, p 266.

(c) Thoreſby's Ducatus Leodienſis, p. 366.

heſitation, that our great navigator was the ſon of a clergyman. In this the doctor implicitly followed Camden; but our ingenious predeceſſor, who had taken uncommon pains upon the ſubject, was probably well founded in his opinion, that Drake's father was only an honeſt ſailor. Concerning young Drake's early diligence and fidelity, by which he ſo far obtained the favour of his maſter as to be left heir to his little veſſel, Dr. Johnſon remarks, that it is "a "circumſtance that deſerves to be remembered, not "only as it may illuſtrate the private character of this "brave man, but as it may hint, to all thoſe who may "hereafter propoſe his conduct for their imitation, "that virtue is the ſureſt foundation both of reputation "and fortune, and that the firſt ſtep to greatneſs is "to be honeſt. If it were not," proceeds the doctor, "improper to dwell longer on an incident at the firſt "view ſo inconſiderable, it might be added, that it "deſerves the reflection of thoſe, who, when they are "engaged in affairs not adequate to their abilities, "paſs them over with a contemptuous neglect, and, "while they amuſe themſelves with chimerical "ſchemes and plans of future undertakings, ſuffer "every opportunity of private advantage to ſlip away "as unworthy their regard: They may learn, from "the example of Drake, that diligence in employ-"ments of leſs conſequence is the moſt ſucceſsful in-"troduction to greater enterprizes (48)."

(48) Miſcellaneous and Fugitive Pieces. Vol. I. p. 160.

In one of Drake's adventures, during the expedition of 1572, he was the firſt perſon that leaped upon the ſhore; concerning which event Dr. Johnſon has made the following ingenious and judicious reflections. "To leap upon the enemy's coaſt in ſight "of a ſuperior force, only to ſhow how little they "were feared, was an act that would in theſe times "meet with little applauſe; nor can the general be "ſeriouſly commended, or rationally vindicated, who "expoſes his perſon to deſtruction, and, by conſe-"quence his expedition to miſcarriage, only for the "pleaſure of an idle inſult, an inſignificant bravado. "All that can be urged in his defence is, that perhaps "it might contribute to heighten the eſteem of his "followers, as few men, eſpecially of that claſs, "are philoſophical enough to ſtate the exact limits of "prudence and bravery, or not to be dazzled with "an intrepidity, how improperly ſoever exerted. It "may be added, that perhaps the Spaniards, whoſe "notions of courage are ſufficiently romantic, might "look upon him as a more formidable enemy, and "yield more eaſily to a hero of whoſe fortitude they "had ſo high an idea (49)."

(49) Ibid. p. 173.

We are tempted to inſert Dr. Johnſon's remarks concerning ſome ſavage tribes, diſcovered by Drake, who were quite naked, but who ornamented themſelves with paint of ſeveral kinds, delineating generally the figures of the Sun and Moon, in honour of their Deities. "It is obſervable," ſays the doctor, "that moſt nations, amongſt whom the uſe of cloathes "is unknown, paint their bodies. Such was the "practice of the firſt inhabitants of our own country. "From this cuſtom did our earlieſt enemies, the "Picts, owe their denomination. As it is not pro-"bable that caprice and fancy ſhould be uniform, "there muſt be, doubtleſs, ſome reaſon for a practice "ſo general and prevailing in diſtant parts of the "world, which have no communication with each "other. The original end of painting their bodies "was, probably, to exclude the cold; an end which, "if we believe ſome relations, is ſo effectually pro-"duced by it, that the men thus painted never ſhiver "at the moſt piercing blaſts. But doubtleſs any peo-"ple ſo hardened by continual ſeverities would, even "without paint, be leſs ſenſible of the cold than "the civilized inhabitants of the ſame climate. "However, this practice may contribute, in ſome "degree, to defend them from the injuries of win-"ter, and, in thoſe climates where little evaporates by "the pores, may be uſed with no great inconve-"nience; but in hot countries, where perſpiration in "greater degree is neceſſary, the natives only uſe "unction to preſerve them from the other extreme of "weather. So well do either reaſon or experience "ſupply the place of ſcience in ſavage countries (50)."

(50) Ibid. p. 201. 202.

Dr. Johnſon is unwilling to believe that the ill ſucceſs of Sir Francis Drake's laſt voyage haſtened his death. "Upon what," ſays he, "this conjecture "is grounded, does not appear, and we may be "allowed to hope, for the honour of ſo great a man, "that it is without foundation, and that he, whom no "ſeries of ſucceſs could ever betray to vanity or "negligence, could have ſupported a change of "fortune without impatience or dejection (51)."

(51) Ibid. p. 234.

Notwithſtanding the apparent juſtice, as well as candour, of this remark, we are afraid that it is not well founded. From the circumſtances, related in note [L], there is too much reaſon to apprehend that the chagrin of Drake's mind contributed to the acceleration of his deceaſe (52).

(52) Granger's Biographical Hiſtory. Vol. I. p. 248.

There are many prints of Sir Francis Drake; but the moſt authentic one is that which is given in the firſt edition of Harris's Voyages. It was engraved from an original picture in the poſſeſſion of Sir Philip Sydenham, Bart. repreſentative in Parliament for the County of Somerſet. It deſcended to Sir Philip from his anceſtor, Sir George Sydenham, whoſe only daughter Sir Francis Drake married.] K.

DRAKE (JAMES), a noted political writer and phyſician in the end of the XVIIth and beginning of the XVIIIth century, was born at Cambridge in the year 1667, and, by the care of an indulgent father, had a very liberal education. In 1684, he was admitted into the univerſity wherein he was born; and ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf not only in his college, but alſo in public, by his quickneſs and ingenuity. Some time before the Revolution, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, after having performed his exerciſes with very great applauſe; and in proceſs of time he commenced Maſter, with unuſual honours paid him by men of the brighteſt parts in the univerſity. He took a turn to London in the year 1693, where being ſoon made known, he was very much admired at all places frequented by ingenious men; and, having a particular genius to the ſtudy of Phyſic, was encouraged in the purſuit of it by Sir Thomas Millington, and the moſt eminent members of the College of Phyſicians. In 1696 he took the degree of Doctor in that Faculty (*a*), and was ſoon after Fellow of the Royal Society, as likewiſe of the College of Phyſicians. But, whether through his own inclination, or that the narrowneſs of his fortune ſtreightened him ſo as not to let him appear in a proper equipage, he had been in London but a ſhort time before the Bookſellers laid hold of him: in whoſe ſervice being liſted as an author, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee whatever he did paſs off very currently, and to meet with a favourable acceptance from the public. In 1697, he contributed very much to the publication of a pamphlet, entitled, "Commendatory "Verſes upon the Author of Prince Arthur, and King Arthur;" which was very well received. But the next book he publiſhed did not meet with the ſame favourable reception: I mean, "The Hiſtory of the laſt Parliament, begun at Weſtminſter the 10th day of "February, in the 12th year of King William, A. D. 1700." Lond. 1702, 8vo. For, the Houſe of Lords thinking it reflected too ſeverely on the memory of the late King William, they convened the author before them in May 1702 [*A*], and ordered him to be proſecuted by the Attorney-General, who brought him to a trial, in which he was acquitted the year following (*b*). In 1704, being diſguſted at his diſappointment of being made one of the Commiſſioners of the ſick and wounded as was promiſed him, and diſſatisfied at the rejecting of the *Bill to prevent Occaſional Conformity*, and the diſgrace of ſome of his friends who were ſticklers for it, he wrote in concert with Mr. Poley, Member of Parliament for Ipſwich, "The Memorial of the Church of England: "humbly offered to the Conſideration of all true Lovers of our Church and Conſtitution." Lond. 1704, 8vo. The Lord-Treaſurer Godolphin, and other great officers of the Crown in the Whig intereſt, therein ſeverely reflected upon, were ſo highly offended at the publication of it, that they repreſented it to Queen Anne as an inſult upon her Majeſty's honour, and an intimation that the Church was in danger under her adminiſtration.

(*a*) The Memorial of the Church of England, &c. To which is added an Introductory Preface, wherein is contained the life and death of the Author. Edit. 1711 8vo. The learned Dr. W. Richardſon could not find, in the Univerſity Regiſters, ſuch a perſon as W. Drake, M. D. of Cambridge.

(*b*) Memorial as above: and Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. edit. 1719. p. 841, 842. Hiſtory of Q. Anne, by A. Boyer, fol. 1735. p. 18, 19.

[*A*] *They convened the author before them in May*, 1702,] The paſſage that gave offence was in the preface, and ran thus.—'And, perhaps, there was a 'third thing in proſpect, of deeper reach than all 'theſe, which was, That ſhould it have pleaſed God, 'for our ſins, to have ſnatched from us the King on 'the ſudden, by chance of war, or other fatal acci'dent, during the tumult of arms abroad, and the 'civil diſorders they had raiſed amongſt us at home, 'and a numerous, corrupt, licentious party through'out the nation, from which the Houſe of Commons 'was ſometimes not free; they might entertain hopes, 'from the advantage of being at the helm, and the 'aſſiſtance of their rabble, to have put in practice 'their own ſchemes, and, "To have given us a new "model of government of their own projection," 'and ſo to have procured to themſelves a laſting 'impunity, and to have mounted their own beaſt, 'the rabble, and driven the ſober part of the nation, 'like cattle before them. That this is no conjecture 'will readily appear to any conſidering perſons, from 'the "Treatment her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs "of Denmark, the Heireſs apparent to the Crown, "met with all along from them, and all their party." 'They were not contented to ſhew her a conſtant ne'glect and ſlight themſelves, but their whole party 'were inſtructed not only to treat her with diſreſpect, 'but ſpight: they were buſy to traduce her with 'falſe and ſcandalous aſperſions; and ſo far they car'ried the affront, as to make her at one time almoſt "the common ſubject of the tittle-tattle of almoſt "every coffee-houſe and drawing room," 'which 'they promoted with as much zeal, application, and 'venom, as if a bill of excluſion had then been on 'the anvil, and theſe were the introductory ceremo'nies.'

This paſſage being complained of, and read, in the Upper Houſe, the Lords ordered the bookſellers, for whom that book was printed, to attend their houſe on the Saturday following. But before that day came, Dr. Drake having owned himſelf to be the author of the book in queſtion, he was on the 9th of May examined by the Lord Keeper, who aſked him, 'What 'he had to ſay concerning the ſaid book?' And the book and the paragraph being ſhewn him, 'He 'owned he wrote the book, and that paragraph in 'particular; and thought he had juſt reaſon to write 'it, he having heard her Highneſs talked of diſre'ſpectfully in almoſt every coffee-houſe.' Then he withdrew, and, after ſome debate, was called in again; and the Lord-Keeper told him, 'The houſe 'was not ſatisfied with what he had ſaid, but thought 'he trifled; and required him to acquaint the Houſe 'with the grounds of his writing that paragraph.' He anſwered, 'He found it mentioned in divers 'anonymous pamphlets publiſhed at that time, and 'hoped it was no hurt to anſwer thoſe pamphlets, 'and deſired time to recollect what thoſe pamphlets 'were;' and then withdrew. After ſome time he was called in again, and aſked, 'If he could charge 'any perſon or perſons, in the kingdom, with the 'matters aſſerted by him in that paragraph? and 'Whether he had heard any other perſon ſay, that 'they could charge any perſon whatſoever with the 'matters contained in that paragraph?' To theſe queſtions he anſwered, 'That he did not know of any 'ſuch perſon.' Being further aſked, 'If he had any 'other grounds beſides the pamphlets? And what theſe 'pamphlets were?' He ſaid, he had no other grounds beſides thoſe ſeveral pamphlets following, the two *Legion Letters*; the *Black Liſt*; the *Jura Populi Anglicani*; and *Toland's Reaſons for inviting over the Princeſs of Hanover*. Laſtly, being aſked, 'If 'in any of theſe pamphlets there was any thing ſaid 'about "Setting aſide the preſent Queen?" he anſwered, 'He did not remember there was.' Then he being

tration [*B*]. Accordingly, her Majeſty took notice of it in her ſpeech to the enſuing Parliament, October 27, 1705 (*c*) [*C*], and was addreſſed by both Houſes [*D*] upon that occaſion (*d*). Moreover, the 6th of December was appointed, by the Houſe of Lords, to enquire into the danger of the Church: when, after a long debate, it was voted, That the Church was not in danger (*e*). The 14th of that month, the Commons concurred in the ſame reſolution: in conſequence of which, they beſought her Majeſty to puniſh the authors and ſpreaders of the 'ſeditious and ſcandalous report' abovementioned. Soon after, the Queen put out a Proclamation for diſcovering the author of the *Memorial* (*f*). Whereupon, the Printer being taken into cuſtody, and examined before one of the Secretaries of State, pretended to make a diſcovery; but could do nothing more than fix it upon three of the members of the Houſe of Commons, namely, Mr. Poley, Mr. Ward, and Sir Humphrey Macworth; and related, that a woman in a maſk, with another barefaced, brought him the manuſcript, and made a bargain with him to have two hundred and fifty printed copies; which he delivered to four porters, ſent to him by the perſons concerned. But though the woman that came to the Printer without a maſk, and ſome of the porters, were found out, yet it was impoſſible to fix it with certainty upon any of the three Gentlemen abovementioned, or upon any other perſon;

(*c*) Hiſt. of Q. Anne, by Boyer, as above, p. 230.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Idem, p. 217, 218. But twenty ſix Lords proteſted againſt that reſolution. Ibid.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 220, 221.

being withdrawn, the Lords took the aforeſaid paragraph into conſideration, and reſolved and declared, 'That in the preface of a book intituled, "The Hiſ-"tory of the laſt Parliament, &c." 'written by Dr. 'Drake, as he owned at the bar, there were ſeveral 'groundleſs, falſe, and ſcandalous expreſſions, tending to create jealouſies in her Majeſty of her people, 'and to cauſe great miſunderſtandings, fears, and 'diſputes amongſt the Queen's ſubjects, and to diſturb 'the peace and quiet of the kingdom (1).'

(1) Complete Hiſtory of England, and Boyer's Hiſtory of Q Anne, as above.

[B] *And an intimation that the Church was in danger under her adminiſtration.*] The deſign of that book was not ſo much to ſhew the danger of the Church under *The government of the Queen*, as under the *then* adminiſtration; namely, that of the Lord-Treaſurer Godolphin, the Duke of Marlborough, and all thoſe who countenanced the whig or diſſenting intereſt, and had been the occaſion of the miſcarrying of the bill againſt Occaſional Conformity. And the publication of it, at that time was, with a view of influencing the election of the new parliament. Such was the real intention of that book. But, as moſt Miniſters of State are apt to repreſent affronts againſt themſelves as inſults upon their Maſters, or even as down-right treaſon, it was ſo in the preſent caſe. That the reader may beſt judge of the drift of that book, we ſhall give here the beginning of it; with a few extracts from the ſame. It begins in theſe words. 'Thoſe that look no deeper than the ſurface 'of things are apt to conclude, without heſitation, 'that the Church of England is in a very flouriſhing 'condition; its dignities and preferments make a very 'goodly ſhow, and the patronage of the Queen ſeems 'to promiſe a continuance of proſperity. But, for 'all this fine complexion and fair weather, there is a 'Hectic Fever lurking in the very bowels of it; 'which, if not timely cured, will infect all the humours, and at length deſtroy the very being of it. 'The nation has a long time abounded with Sectaries, 'who, in the preceding century, violently overturned 'both Church and State.——The ſons of thoſe men 'yet remain, and inherit many of them the principles of their fathers; it would therefore be no very 'uncharitable ſuppoſition, without any other argument, to imagine them heirs of their deſigns likewiſe.—If, ſince the Church recovered its ancient 'luſtre and authority, they have been more ſilent, 'and, in appearance, more moderate, it is not that 'they are better tempered or affected, but that, ſubmitting to the neceſſity of the times, they have diſſembled their intentions better; yet ſome overt-'attempts here, and the whole courſe of their proceedings in Scotland during the two laſt reigns, ſufficiently ſhew us what treatment we might expect, if 'they had the power.—The hiſtory of their carriage 'towards the church is public and recent, as likewiſe 'are the advances that have been made in their favour, and the repulſes which the Church has met 'with. Every thing has paſt in Scotland to the deſire of the Preſbytery, even to the endangering of 'the Church and Monarchy of England, and the diſ-'heriſon of its Conſtitution, and the immediate pre-'judice of its Sovereignty; but, on the contrary, 'nothing for the ſecurity of the Church here.—All 'attempts to ſettle it on a perpetual foundation have 'been oppoſed, and rendered ineffectual.'—Then he ſhews, what danger the Church hath been brought into, by putting its beſt friends out of their places, viz. the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rocheſter, Nottingham, Jerſey, and Winchelſea; Sir Edward Seymour; the Lords Granville, Guilford, Gower; Earl of Dorſet, Sir George Rook, and other great patrons and aſſerters of the intereſt of the Church at Court; who were turned out, without the leaſt pretence or colour of offence (2).—Next he proves, what want of moderation there is in all Sects whatſoever, though they reproach the Church of England for having none; and, conſequently, how little favour ſhe muſt expect from them, if they ſhould be uppermoſt. 'The *Independents* and *Preſbyterians* formerly 'in England and Ireland; the Kirk of *Scotland*, heretofore and at preſent; the *Anabaptiſts* at Munſter; 'the *Lutherans* in divers parts of Germany, Sweden, 'Denmark, &c. the *Calviniſts* in Holland, and at 'Geneva; and the *Roman Catholics*, at ſeveral times, 'almoſt all the world over, have in their reſpective 'turns experimentally demonſtrated by their practice, 'that they will not endure a rival Church in their dominions; and ſome of them——not even tolerate 'it (3).' In another place, he gives this excellent character of the Church of England. 'Our Church 'is not ſo rigid, or ſo capricious, as to require an 'abſolute uniformity of ſentiments among her ſons in 'matters of doubt or ſpeculation, which are not eſſential to the true faith, nor neceſſary to the maintenance of order and good diſcipline. She does not 'require "implicit Faith," nor command her ſons 'to believe as the Church believes, whether they 'comprehend her meaning or not, or can be convinced in their underſtandings that thoſe things are 'true, which ſhe delivers as ſuch. She could wiſh, 'indeed, that all her ſons had as ſound and clear underſtandings to embrace all uſeful truths as ſtrong 'conſtitutions to digeſt all wholſome food: but, like 'a tender indulgent mother, ſhe does not reject thoſe 'weak ones, who, through infirmity, cannot receive 'all that is good and conducive, if they admit all 'that is eſſential to the Chriſtian Faith, and neceſſary to Chriſtian Communion (4).'

(2) Memorial, &c. edit. 1711. p. 1, 2, 3, 4, 23.

(3) P. 7.

(4) P. 27.

[C] *Her Majeſty took notice of it in her Speech*] In theſe words.—'I cannot but with grief obſerve, there 'are ſome amongſt us, who endeavour to foment ani-'moſities.—I mention this with a little more warmth, 'becauſe there have not been wanting ſome ſo very 'malicious, as, even in print, to ſuggeſt "The "Church of England," as by law eſtabliſhed, to be 'in danger at this time (5).'

(5) Boyer's Hiſt. of Queen Anne, p. 210.

[D] *And was addreſſed by both Houſes*] The Lords, in their addreſs, promiſed, 'Ever to ſhew the utmoſt 'dteſtation of thoſe ungrateful and wicked men, who 'laboured to diſhonour her Majeſty's reign, and di-'ſtract her ſubjects with unreaſonable and groundleſs 'jealouſies,

(g) Ibid.

perſon (*g*); ſo that Dr. Drake, the true author of the *Memorial* remained undiſcovered. It was not the Parliament only that ſhewed their reſentment againſt that book; for, on the 31ſt of Auguſt, the Grand Jury of the city of London having preſented it, at the ſeſſions, as a falſe, ſcandalous, and traiterous libel, it was forthwith burnt in the ſight of the Court then ſitting: and, the Tueſday following, before the Royal Exchange, by the hands of the common hangman (*h*). But though Dr. Drake then eſcaped, yet as he was very much ſuſpected of being the author of that book, and had rendered himſelf obnoxious, upon other accounts, to ſome perſons then in power, occaſions were ſought for endeavouring to ruin him if poſſible. A news-paper he was publiſhing at that time, under the title of *Mercurius Politicus*, afforded his enemies the pretence they wanted. For, they, taking exception at ſome paſſages therein, proſecuted him in the Queen's-Bench, in the beginning of the year 1706. His caſe was argued at the bar of that Court on the 30th of April; when, upon a flaw in the information [*E*], the trial was adjourned: and, the ſixth of November following, the Doctor was acquitted (*i*). However, the government brought a writ of error (*k*). The ſeverity of this proſecution, joined to repeated diſappointments, and ill uſage from ſome of his party, flung the Doctor into a fever; of which he died at Weſtminſter, on the 2d of March 1706-7, after a ſhort confinement to his bed; not without violent exclamations againſt the rigor of his proſecutors (*l*). Beſides thoſe books of his that are mentioned above, he made a new Engliſh tranſlation of Herodotus, which was never publiſhed (*m*): And finiſhed, not long before his deceaſe, 'A New Syſtem of Anatomy,' which was firſt printed in 1707 [*F*]. He likewiſe publiſhed '*Hiſtoria Anglo-Scotica* [*G*]; or an Impartial Hiſtory of all that happened between the Kings and Kingdoms of England and Scotland, from the Beginning of the Reign of William the Conqueror, to the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Comprehending their ſeveral Homages, Incurſions, Devaſtations, Depredations, Battles, Sieges, Leagues, Truces, Breaches, Intermarriages, and divers other matters worth knowing. Faithfully extracted from the beſt Hiſtorians of both Nations. With a Prefatory Dedication.' London, 1703, 8vo.—His character is thus repreſented. He was a man of quick pregnant parts, well ſtored with learning, and improved by good converſation. He had a great maſtery of the Engliſh tongue, and wrote with eaſe and fluency in a manly ſtyle. Though various judgements were paſſed upon his political writings, according to people's different humours, paſſions, and intereſts, yet all agreed in commending his way of writing (*n*).

(*b*) Ibid. p. 179. See alſo A Detection of the Court and ſtate of England, &c. Vol. III. edit. 1718. 8vo. being a Continuation of Roger Coke's Detection, &c. p. 275. 276.

(*i*) Boyer's life of Q. Anne, as above, p. 286. and Preface to the Memorial, p. ix. x.

(*k*) Ibid.

(*l*) Preface, &c. as above, and, Annual Liſt of the deaths of eminent Perſons: at the end of Boyer's Hiſt. of Queen Anne, p. 42.

(*m*) Which was undoubtedly owing to Mr. Littlebury's excellent tranſlation, publiſhed in the year 1709. 2 vols. 8vo.

(*n*) Annual Liſt, &c. by Boyer, ubi ſupra.

'jealouſies of dangers to the Church of England: And 'to concur in all meaſures requiſite to put a ſtop to 'the malice of thoſe incendiaries, &c. (6).'

(6) Ibid.

[*E*] *Upon a flaw in the Information,*] In the libel, ſet forth in the information, the word NOR was inſerted: and, in the libel given in evidence, the word NOT. Upon arguing of that error, the court inclined for the party accuſed; whereupon the trial was adjourned (7).

(7) Boyer, as above, p. 286.

[*F*] *A new Syſtem of Anatomy, which was firſt printed in* 1707.] A ſecond edition was publiſhed in 1717 (*), and others ſince, with additions. The title of the book is, '*Anthropologia Nova*; Or, A New 'Syſtem of Anatomy. Deſcribing the Animal Oeconomy, and a ſhort Rationale of many Diſtempers 'incident to Human Bodies. Illuſtrated with above 'fourſcore figures, drawn after the life. With a 'preface by W. Wagſtaffe, M. D. and reader of 'Anatomy at Surgeons-hall.' In this preface, Dr. Wagſtaffe makes the following obſervations: 'How 'much, and how eminently Dr. Drake excelled in all 'the qualifications I have mentioned,' [*viz.* In giving the *rationale* of things, and enquiring into the nature and cauſes of *phænomena*] 'the learned world 'already have been judges, and poſterity, I am perſuaded, will reap the benefit of his labours (8).' 'The ſentiments of others are candidly and ingenuouſly delivered by him, and like one who thoroughly 'underſtood them; and whenever he diſagrees with 'or aſſents to their conjectures, or propoſes any thing 'of his own, he gives his reaſons with the utmoſt impartiality, without the triumph and oſtentation of a 'conqueror, or any fond opinion of his own merit '(9). He does not behave himſelf like a meer deſcriber of the parts, but like an unprejudiced enquirer into nature, and an abſolute maſter of his 'profeſſion. And if Dr. Lower has been ſo much and 'ſo deſervedly eſteemed for his ſolution of the *Syſtole* 'of the heart, Dr. Drake, by accounting for the '*Diaſtole* ought certainly to be allowed his ſhare of 'reputation, and to be admitted as a partner of his 'glory (10).' The plates, which are in number XXVII, are accurately drawn, and well engraved: Some of them are taken from Swammerdan. An appendix to this book was publiſhed in 1728, in one volume, 8vo.

(*) In 2 vols. in 8vo.

(8) P. iv. ſecond edition.

(9) P. vii.

(10) P. viii.

[*G*] *Hiſtoria Anglo-Scotica*; &c.] Dr. Drake was not the author, but only the publiſher, of this book. In the dedication of it, he ſays, that, 'Upon a diligent 'revital, in order, if poſſible, to diſcover the name 'of the author, and the age of his writing, *he found*, 'that it was written in, or at leaſt not finiſhed till, the 'time of King Charles the Firſt.'—But he ſays nothing more of the manuſcript, nor how it came into his hands.—There is alſo, 'A Diſcourſe (of his, in 'the Philoſophical Tranſactions (11), concerning 'ſome influence of reſpiration on the motion of the 'heart, hitherto unobſerved.'—He moreover wrote, 'The Sham-Lawyer, or, The Lucky Extravagant, a 'Comedy, 4to. acted at the Theatre-Royal, 1697.' Moſtly borrowed from two of Fletcher's plays, viz. The Spaniſh Curate, and Wit without Money (12). And put notes to the Engliſh tranſlation of Le Clerc's Hiſtory of Phyſick. Lond. 1699, 8vo. M.

(11) No. 281. p. 1217.

(12) Langbaine's Lives of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets.

*** [A correſpondent (referring to note B.) hath obſerved, that, whenever the fever of party ſhall have cooled in this iſland, it will be matter of amuſement to read the name of John of Bucks amongſt the beſt Friends of the Church. It is not, however, a very uncommon circumſtance for a perſon to be deſtitute of any principles of Religion, and yet to be very zealous for ſome particular form of eccleſiaſtical government. That a man may, at the ſame time, be an Infidel, a High-churchman, and a Perſecutor, we are afraid, has been too much confirmed by the Hiſtory of the World.

When the writer of this note was in the courſe of his academical education, he well remembers that Dr. Drake's Treatiſe on Anatomy was in ſome degree of celebrity. Whether it be ſtill held in eſtimation he is not able to ſay; but it is probable that its importance is now loſt in the elaborate productions and numerous diſcoveries of modern times.

Dr. Drake was not at all ſucceſsful as a dramatical writer. In the title page of his comedy, it is ſaid to be printed as it was *damnably* acted at Drury-lane (13). Whether the word ſignifies that the play was ill repreſented by the performers, or condemned by the audience, it is equally certain that it failed of ſucceſs upon the ſtage.] K.

(13) Biographia Dramatica, vol. ii. p. 336, 337.

DRAY-

DRAYTON (MICHAEL), a renowned Poet in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles I., was of an ancient and worthy family, originally deſcended from the town of Drayton in Leiceſterſhire; which gave name to his progenitors, as a learned Antiquary of his acquaintance has recorded (*a*). But his parents removing into the bordering county of Warwickſhire, he was born there, as we receive it from his own information (*b*); and, as it is remembered by his countryman Sir William Dugdale, as well as others, who have followed him, at Atherſton (*c*); but more particularly it appears, that the little village of Harſull, or Hartſhill, in that pariſh, will claim the honour of his birth; whereof it were the greater pity to deprive it, as it is repreſented to have been obſcure, till rendered conſpicuous for his nativity, by the author of thoſe Latin verſes at the bottom of his picture; which being publiſhed in the life-time, and under the inſpection of our Poet himſelf, before his own edition of his works, could not have eſcaped his correction had it been erroneous [*A*]. It may alſo be computed from the circumſcription upon the ſaid picture, which with all other circumſtances very agreeably correſponds, containing the year of our Lord, and that of his own age, when it was engraved, that he was born in the year 1563. In his tender age he was bleſſed with ſuch a forwardneſs of genius, ſuch a ſweetneſs of aſpect, temper, and deportment, as rendered him not only the delight of his inſtructors, but preferred him to the favour of ſome perſons of diſtinction. In the year 1573, being then but ten years of age, he appears to have been page to ſome perſon of honour, as we collect from his own words: and, as for his propenſity to learning, it no leſs evidently appears in the ſame place (*d*), that he would then conſtrue his *Cato*, and ſome other little collections of ſentences; which made him very anxious to know, *What kind of ſtrange creatures* theſe *Poets* were; and very ſolicitous with his Tutor, that, if he could, *he would make him*, of all things, *a Poet*. So he was put to the reading of Mantuan and Virgil's Eclogues, with others of the inſpired tribe; till, even then, he ſcorned any thing that looked like a ballad, though written by William Elderton [*B*]. If after this, he finiſhed not his education at the Univerſity of Cambridge, it is apparent, from the credible teſtimony of one of his own friends, that he was ſome time a ſtudent in that at Oxford [*C*]; and by the ſupport, it ſeems, of Sir Henry Goodere. However, he might not be ſo formally entered as to be remembered by Anthony Wood, though he has made greater digreſſions in the commemoration of ſeveral others, who were more diſtantly related to that Univerſity. In 1588, he ſeems, from his own deſcription of the *Spaniſh Invaſion*, which the Spaniards themſelves, with no leſs preſumption than arrogance, or vain-glory, had ſtyled *Invincible*, to have been a ſpectator, at Dover, of it's defeat (*e*); and might, poſſibly, be engaged in ſome military poſt or employment there; as we find ſome mention made of his being well ſpoken of by the Gentlemen of the Army. He took delight very early, as we have ſeen, in the ſtudy of Poetry: but how ſoon he delighted the public with any of his own, all thoſe who have written of him have been very incurious to learn or inform us. He was certainly eminent for ſome of his poetical publications, nine or ten years before the death of Queen Elizabeth, and how much ſooner, we have not yet diſcovered. At leaſt, ſo early as the year 1593, when he was but thirty years of age, he ſet forth, in print, a Collection of his *Paſtorals*: likewiſe ſome of the moſt grave and weighty poems, which have rendered him moſt memorable, and beſt ſupported his fame to poſterity, were, not longer after, publiſhed. His *Barons Wars*, and *England's Heroical Epiſtles*; His *Downfalls* of *Robert of Normandy*; *Matilda* and *Gaveſton*; for which laſt he is

(*a*) See the Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire, by W. Burton, Eſq. fol. 1622. in the town of Drayton.

(*b*) Drayton's Poly-Olbion; in Warwickſhire. Song 13.

(*c*) Sir William Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickſhire, 2d. edit. fol. Vol. II. 1730. p. 1085.

(*d*) Drayton's Elegies; in his Epiſtle to Henry Reynolds, Eſq. of Poets and Poetry.

(*e*) In his Poem intituled Moſes his Birth and Miracles; hereafter again mentioned.

[*A*] *Could not have eſcaped his Correction.*] Theſe verſes, in the vein of Arioſto, have not been cited by any author who has written of our Poet that we have met with, and are as follow:

Lux HARESHULLA tibi (*Warwici* villa, tenebris
Ante tuas cunas, obſita) prima fuit.
Arma, Viros, Veneres, Patriam modulamine dixti;
Te Patriæ reſonant Arma, Viri, Veneres.

Thus in Engliſh:

HARSULL, *ſmall town, where firſt your breath you drew,*
*Till by your birth renown'd, was known to few:*
*Albion, Arms, Legends, Love, with fame you crown'd;*
*Albion, Arms, Legends, Love, your Fame reſound.*

[*B*] *Though written by Will. Elderton.*] This Elderton was a famous Comedian of thoſe days; a facetious ſuddling companion, who, having a great readineſs at rhiming, compoſed abundance of ſonnets and catches upon love and wine, which were then in great vogue among the light and merry part of the town; but he was not more notable for his drollery and his doggerel than he was for his drinking, inſomuch that he was ſeldom remembered for his ſingular faculty in either of the former, but his thorough practice in the latter was joined to it. Wherefore we find him called the Bachanalian Buffoon, the Red-noſed ballad-maker, and ſuch like. It ſeems by this exceſſive habit he indulged himſelf in, over his ſtrong drink, that he fell a martyr to Sir John Barleycorn, as ſome of his contemporary writers have hinted (†). We find he was dead before the year 1592, and Mr. Camden has preſerved this epitaph on him:

Hic ſitus eſt ſitiens, atque ebrius Eldertonus,
Quid dico, hic ſitus eſt? hic potius ſitis eſt (1).

Which may be thus rendered or imitated:

*Dead drunk here* Elderton *does lie*;
Dead *as he is, he ſtill is* drie:
*So of him, it may well be ſaid,*
*Here* he, *but not his* thirſt, *is laid.*

(†) See the controverſial writings of Dr. G. Harvey, and T. Naſh, &c.

(1) Camden's Remains. Edit. 4to, 1614. p. 382.

[*C*] *Some time a ſtudent in that at Oxford;*] Tho' he appears not, in Wood's *Faſti*, to have taken any degree there, yet, as he was ſome time a ſtudent in this univerſity, it is conceived that he ought to have been ranked

is called, by one of his contemporaries, *Tragædiographus*; and part of his *Poly-Olbion*, were all written before the year 1598: For all which, and his other deſerts, he was highly celebrated at that time, and diſtinguiſhed not only as a great genius, but a good man; not only for the ſweetneſs and elegance of his words, but of his actions and manners; for his humane and honourable principles, as well as his refined and polite parts: And thus was he characterized, not only by Poets, or the more florid and panegyrical writers of thoſe days, but alſo by Divines, Hiſtorians, and other Scholars of the moſt ſerious and ſolid learning. Of which *Works* and *Characters*, from ſuch contemporary writers, in hopes of reviving his memory ſomewhat more proportionable to his merits than thoſe who, through their ungrateful negligence, conceited ſufficiency, or blind purſuit of ignorant guides (*f*), have very ſuperficially attempted the ſame, we ſhall here below be more particular. But, as what we find ſufficient for one note, firſt of his *Works* aforeſaid, with ſome others of his early compoſitions [*D*]: And as to thoſe *Characters* of him, ſuch

(*f*) Compare Fuller and Phillips with their plagiary Winſtanley; and Jacob, his plagiary, with him, &c.

ranked by that author among the Oxford writers, from the authority of our Poet's intimate acquaintance, Sir Aſton Cokain, in theſe lines;

> OXFORD, our other academy, you
> Full worthy muſt acknowledge of your view:
> Here ſmooth-tongu'd DRAYTON was inſpir'd by
> Mnemoſyne's manifold progeny (2).

(2) Choice Poems of ſeveral ſorts, &c. by Sir Aſton Cokain. Lond. 8vo. 1669. p. 11.

[*D*] *Firſt of his ſaid Works, and other early compoſitions:*] Firſt, of thoſe poems abovementioned. What is there called a Collection of his PASTORALS was firſt publiſhed under, at leaſt the oldeſt edition we have ſeen thereof was diſtinguiſhed with, the title of IDEA: "The Shepherd's Garland, faſhioned in nine "Eglogs; with *Rowland*'s Sacrifice to the Nine "Muſes. Dedicated to Mr. Robert Dudley:" By M. *Drayton*, and printed in 4to, 1593. This "Shep-"herd's Garland, &c." is the ſame that was reprinted afterwards, with emendations by our author, in the firſt folio edition of his works, under the title of "PASTORALS: containing Eglogues: With the "Man in the Moon." They are nine in number, written in ſtanzas of various meaſures, adorned with tales, ſonnets, &c. and in this folio edition they are dated 1619. There are many of the true rural images, and much of the beautiful ſimplicity in theſe paſtorals, for which this ſpecies of poetry is ſo much admired. Our author has been therefore juſtly applauded for theſe eclogues, by ſome able judges of our time, and claſſed among the beſt paſtoral writers in his own, for the many new and beautiful varieties, embelliſhments, and improvements, that he has introduced therein: yet ſuch has been the juſtice as well as judgement of others in our time, that though they have, in the very title-page of a late edition, profeſſed to give us his Works complete in one volume (3), neither theſe, nor many others of his moſt conſiderable compoſitions, are therein reprinted, or ſo much as ſpoken of: But perhaps a ſecond volume was intended to ſupply the deficiencies of the firſt. As to his other poems abovementioned, they are hiſtorical. In an old edition of them in 8vo. without date, but printed nearly about the middle of King James's reign, our author's Dedication before the BARONS WARS, to Sir W. Aſton, is in verſe; and in the Preface he ſeems to hint as if his travels had not afforded the leiſure and ſtudy he deſired. In his folio edition of theſe poems with others, the Dedication before thoſe *Wars*, to his ſaid patron, is in proſe. In this latter edition, theſe *Barons Wars* in the reign of Edward II. are illuſtrated with marginal notes by the author, which have been all ſince omitted (4) by his late editor, though the author of the Preliminary Diſcourſe was deſirous of a more ample commentary (5). There are commendatory verſes before both editions, by Mr. Thomas Green, E. Heywood, John Beaumont, and the learned Mr. Selden. His "England's Heroical Epiſtles" were newly enlarged, and republiſhed in 8vo, 1598; which is the moſt antient edition we have ſeen or read of. Theſe Epiſtles are written in our heroic meaſure of ten ſyllables, and are very judiciouſly explained, in the neceſſary places, by ſhort notes drawn out of good authentic hiſtories, and printed at the end of each epiſtle. There are twenty-four of them, with a ſhort ſummary, in fourteen lines, of their titles, at the end. They are profeſſedly written in the vein of *Ovid's Epiſtles*; but of a much more ſubſtantial and affecting nature, as they concern ſo many real perſons of the higheſt rank in our Chronicles, and illuſtrate ſo much real matter of fact in their moſt unfortunate, perplexing, and often criminal loves, by the ſtrongeſt ſentiments, and moſt moving numbers. Beſides the author's Preface, there are three panegyrical poems prefixed, which were addreſſed to him by William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Sterline, a famous Poet of Scotland before ſpoken of in this work (6), Sir Edmond Scory, and Mr. Thomas Haſſel. In the undated 8vo. edition, abovementioned, there are near a dozen Dedications, before as many of the Epiſtles, to ſo many of the author's friends and patrons of both ſexes. The firſt Epiſtle of Fair Roſamond to King Henry II. (7), is dedicated to Lucy Counteſs of Bedford; to whom he ſays, 'I ſtrive not to affect ſingu-'laritie, yet would faine flye imitation, &c. Much 'would ſhe ſay to a King, much would I ſay to a 'Counteſs; but that, the method of my epiſtle muſt 'conclude the modeſty of her's; which I wiſh may 'recommend my ever vowed ſervice to your honour.' In his Dedication of another Epiſtle to Lady *Anne Harrington*, the wife of Sir *John Harrington*, he forbears to enlarge upon her excellences, becauſe 'de-'jected minds want that pure fire which would give 'vigour to virtue.' The next Dedication is to Sir *Walter Aſton*, Knight of the Bath (8). The next to *Edward* Earl of *Bedford*, contains the moſt perſonal particulars of our author (†). The next is to Sir *John Swinerton*, Alderman of London (9). The next is to his worthy and eſteemed friend Mr. *James Huiſh*, upon the ſubject of Dedications. The next is to Mrs. *Elizabeth Tanfield*, ſole daughter and heir of Laurence Tanfield, Eſq. a famous lawyer. The next is to Sir *Thomas Monſon*: before the Epiſtle of King *Edward* IV. to *Jane Shore*, and her *Anſwer*. Our Poet, in his notes of the Chronicle Hiſtory, upon the ſecond of theſe two letters, after having given Sir Thomas More's deſcription of Jane Shore, mentions a curious pourtrait of her in theſe words: 'That 'picture which I have ſeen of her was ſuch, as ſhe 'roſe out of her bed in the morning, having nothing 'on but a rich mantle, caſt under one arm over her 'ſhoulder, and ſitting in a chair, on which her arm 'did lie.' We remember a late publiſhed print of her, in *metzotinto*, in a light or looſe covering, very open at her boſom; whether copied from that, or one at Eaton-College, we cannot at preſent determine (†). The dedication to the next pair of theſe Epiſtles is to Sir Henry Goodere of Poleſworth (in Warwickſhire) Knight, the nephew of that worthy old Sir Henry Goodere, who was our Poet's moſt early patron (10), in reſpect to whom, he ſays, in this Dedication, 'Till ſuch time as I may in ſome more large 'meaſure make known my love to the happy and 'generous family of the *Gooderes*, to which I confeſs 'myſelf beholding for the moſt part of my education, 'I wiſh you all happineſs.' The next is to *Henry*, the Son of *Edward Lucas*, Eſq. of whoſe parents he acknowledges himſelf to have received great favours, though there were many in England of whom he might juſtly challenge greater; 'had I not been born 'in ſo evil an hour, ſays he, as to be poyſoned with 'that gall of ingratitude.' The laſt, which is the eleventh of theſe Dedications; the ſecond brace of epiſtles having none before them, but ſeem to be joined under the patronage of the firſt, is addreſſed to the Lady Frances Goodere (†). It were eaſy for thoſe

(3) See the Works of MICHAEL DRAYTON, Eſq. &c. being all the Writings of that celebrated Author. Now firſt collected into one volume. Printed by J. Hughes, and ſold by R. Dodſley, &c. Folio, 1748

(4) In the new edition of Drayton's Works, fol. 1748.

(5) Hiſtorical Eſſay on the Life and Writings of Michael Drayton, Eſq. prefixed to the ſaid new edition of his Works, fol. 5.

(6) Vol. I.

(7) However, her ſtory had been before illuſtrated in The Complaint of Roſamond, by Sam. Daniel, 4to. 1590, &c.

(8) Sir Walter Aſton, rather perhaps.

(†) Therefore] it is tranſcribed in Note [*F*].

(9) He was Ld. Mayor of London in 1612. Tho. Delaune's *Angliæ Metropolis*, 8vo. 1690. p. 235. and Thom Dekker, the City Poet, wrote the ſolemnity of his entry, called *London Triumphing*, &c. that year, printed in 4to.

(†) Two other Poets, beſides Drayton, had written the ſtory of Shore's Wife in verſe; Tho. Churchyard, in the Mirror for Magiſtrates, and Henry Chettle.

(10) See Dugdale's Warwickſhire, of this family of the Gooderes.

(†) Who was daughter of old Sir Henry Goodere, and wife of Sir Henry the Nephew above, whom, Drayton ſays, he knew from her cradle.

as were written by authors who beſt knew the man, and were themſelves beſt qualified to judge of his talents; ſuch characters we hope may here, in this article, alſo apart, be acceptably aſſembled or referred to [*E*]. He was in theſe his younger, and indeed to his latter, years, much beloved and befriended by Sir Walter Aſton, of Tixhall in Staffordſhire, to whom, for his kind patronage, he gratefully dedicates many of his Poems, whereof

thoſe who have been converſant in theſe Poems of our author, to obſerve how the moderns, even the late Mr. Pope himſelf, have imitated Drayton, and refined upon his pattern, in thoſe diſtinctions which are eſteemed the moſt delicate improvements of our Engliſh verſification at this day; ſuch as the turns, the pauſes, the contraſts, and elegant tautologies, &c. It is alſo eaſy for ſuch readers to point out ſeveral theſts and petty larcenies which have been committed upon our Poet, however obſolete and unfaſhionable he may have been accounted, by ſome writers of eminent character; and ſhew, where verſes have been appropriated to ſome famous wits, which were compoſed by him, even as many years before they were born as they attained to when they died. We ſhall here, for brevity's ſake, mention but one inſtance, and that is in theſe lines,

> Th' *Arabian* bird which never is but one,
> Is only chaſte, becauſe ſhe is alone:
> But had our mother Nature made them two,
> They would have done as Doves and Sparrows do(11).

(11) Heroic Epiſtles; in that of King John to Matilda.

Theſe are aſcribed to a famous nobleman, who was one of the brighteſt Wits in the reign of King Charles II. and have been admired, as worthy of him: In his works they are not otherwiſe materially altered than by the tranſpoſure of the rhymes in the firſt couplet, and the retrenchment of the meaſure in both (12). His other more early and famous Hiſtorical Poems, before mentioned to have been written in Queen Elizabeth's time, are intitled, His LEGENDS; firſt, of *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*; in which is ſeen a picture of diſtreſſed integrity; ſecondly, *Matilda*, a Pattern of Chaſtity; and thirdly, *Pierce Gaveſton*, a Warning-Piece to Court Minions and Prime Miniſters againſt the abuſe of their Prince's favour. He afterwards added to them the Legend of *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of Eſſex, printed 4to. 1609, an example of ſpeedy advancement to grandeur, by politic advantages taken of his Prince's violent appetites and the troubled times (13). Our author had good encouragement for illuſtrating their hiſtories in this poetical manner; the like having been ſo well received before from other eminent hands (14). They are dedicated in his folio edition to Sir Walter Aſton; and therein are embelliſhed with ſhort and uſeful explanatory notes in the margin; which are left out in the late new folio edition. When his SONNETS were firſt publiſhed we cannot ſay, but it ſhould ſeem that he ſet them forth, or wrote ſome of them, before the death of Queen Elizabeth, becauſe among thoſe five additional ſonnets which he directed to ſome great and worthy perſonages, but never reviſed them himſelf in his folio edition, one is to *James* King of *Scots*, before he came into England; another, which might be written afterwards, is inſcribed to *Lucy*, Counteſs of *Bedford*, in which he ſays, "ſhe rain'd "upon him her ſweet ſhowers of gold;" and the laſt to Sir *Anthony Cook*, to whom he ſays of theſe rhymes, that, but for him, they had ſlept in ſable night; and that he had borrowed no man's conceits. The whole number ſhould be ſixty-eight or ſixty-nine. There was an edition of all, or moſt of thoſe poems abovementioned, publiſhed in 8vo. 1605, and another, as we have heard, in 1610, beſides the undated one of the ſame ſize before ſpoken of. His ODES (*) were written after Queen Elizabeth's death, as appears in one of them, and dedicated to Sir Henry Goodere, Gent. of the King's Privy-Chamber, in verſe. They are ſeventeen in number, and not one reprinted in the late new edition: nor is his Fable of the OWL, a pretty allegorical poem, therein preſerved. It was firſt printed ſoon after King James came to the Crown (15), and reprinted in the author's laſt edition in ſmall folio; in which there are title pages to every poem we have mentioned but the firſt, which are all dated 1619; wherefore we think this volume of them was all printed that year. The title of it is, "Poems "by Michael Drayton, Eſq; The Barons Wars, "England's Heroical Epiſtles, Idea, Odes, The Le"gends of Robert Duke of Normandy, Matilda, "Pierce Gaveſton, and the Great Cromwell: The "Owl, Eglogues, with the Man in the Moon." The reſt of his compoſitions we ſhall mention under the years they were publiſhed.

(12) The Works of the Earl of Rocheſter, &c. 8vo. 1739 p. 110.

(13) Drayton's Pref. to the folio edit. of his LEGENDS.

(14) Boccace and John Lidgate, in the Fall of Princes; alſo the Mirror of Magiſtrates, by Tho. Sackville, after Earl of Dorſet; W. Baldwin, John Higgens, Edw. Ferrars, Tho. Churchyard, T. Blener Haſſet, &c. &c. in the ſeveral editions between the years 1559, and 1620.

(*) In his folio edition.

(15) London, quarto, 1604. and there is, at leaſt in the laſt edition, a Latin encomium before it, by A. Grenewai.

[*E*] *Such characters we hope may here be acceptably aſſembled or referred to.*] And firſt, Mr. Charles Fitz-Geoffry, the learned Divine and Poet of Broadgates's Hall, in an Hiſtorical Poem he publiſhed at the time that ſome of Drayton's earlieſt pieces appeared, gives him the appellation of the "Golden-Mouth'd Poet, for the purity and preciouſneſs of his phraſe (16). And Mr. Francis Meers, alſo a Divine of no ſmall repute at that time for his moral and poetical writings, having mentioned all Drayton's hiſtorical poems recited as part of the title above, that is, all therein but the three laſt, in a work he publiſhed before the death of Queen Elizabeth, gives him this character: 'Michael Drayton, among *Scholars*, *Soldiers*, *Poets*, and 'all ſorts of people, is holde for a man of virtuous 'diſpoſition, honeſt converſation, and well-governed 'carriage, which is almoſt miraculous among good-'wits in theſe declining and corrupt times (17).' Two years after, Mr. Robert Allot, in his Common Place Book, of the Select Thoughts of our moſt eminent Engliſh Poets in that century, has many extracts from Michael Drayton's earlier pieces beforementioned, whereby he makes a figure as conſiderable as moſt of them (*). Another Poet of that time refers to an Elegiac Poem upon the death of Sir Philip Sidney, that was compoſed by Drayton; which was never reprinted in his works: and, if it was written ſoon after Sir Philip's death (18), it is likely to have been the earlieſt of his performances. That Poet calls him Noble Drayton! and obſerves, how well he bewailed our ſaid loſs in dreary verſe (19). A Divine of Cambridge at the ſame time publiſhed a dramatic performance, wherein a character being given of the Wits of that age, one of the interlocutors, in a dialogue between *Ingenioſo* and *Judicio*, ſays,

> Drayton's ſweet Muſe is like a ſanguine die,
> Able to raviſh the raſh gazer's eye.

(16) In his life and death of Sir Francis Drake, in verſe.

(17) Palladis Tamia, &c. 8vo. 1598, fol. 281. *b*.

(*) *England's Parnaſſus*, or The choiceſt Flowers of our modern Poets, &c. 8vo. 1600.

(18) In 1586.

(19) Sir Philip Sidney's *Urania*, &c. by N. B. (which is ſuppoſed to be Nich. Britton) 4to. 1606. Again, 4to, 1653. M. 3.

And the other anſwers — 'However, he wants one 'true note of a Poet of our times, and that is this; '-he cannot ſwagger it well in a tavern, or domineer 'in a hot-houſe (20).' There is a deſcription of Drayton's quoted by two or three authors of thoſe times with applauſe; and one of them, who was the learned tranſlator of Arioſto's Satires, in his verſion of another Italian Wit, where he is deſcribing, in a note, how the Muſes were deſpiſed in that age by the ſtupid Midas's, and ſlaviſh jailors of their own pelf, has ſaid, 'He will ſet down the worth of a Poet, as 'that ſweet Muſe of his, who not unworthily beareth 'the name of the Chief Archangel, ſingeth, after his 'ſoul-raviſhing manner;' part of which verſes, as quoted from the earlier editions, are as follow:

> The diff'rence only, 'twixt the God and Us,
> Allow'd by them, is but diſtinguiſh'd thus;
> They gave them breath, men by their pow'rs are born;
> That life they give, the Poet doth adorn:
> And from the world, when they diſſolve men's breath,
> He in the world doth give men life in death (21).

(20) The Return from Parnaſſus, or the Scourge of Symonie: a comedy acted by the Students of St John's College in Cambridge, 4to. Lond. 1606.

(21) The Blazon of Jealouſy, tranſlated from Bened. Varchi; with notes, by R. I. 4to. 1615. p. 48. from the Heroic Epiſt. of Hen. Howard, Earl of Surry, to Giraldine.

Mr. W. Burton, the learned Antiquary of Lindley in Leiceſterſhire, ſpeaking of Mr. Drayton as his near countryman and old acquaintance, adds farther of him theſe words, 'Who, though thoſe Tranſalpines ac-'count

whereof his *Barons Wars* was the firſt, in the ſpring of his acquaintance, as our Poet expreſſes it himſelf to him (*g*). Nevertheleſs, we have ſince gathered, from thoſe Epiſtles before-mentioned (*h*), and, till then, unobſerved by all who have written of him, that his moſt early dependence was upon another noble patron, named Sir Henry Goodere, of Poleſworth, in his own county; to whom he has liberally acknowledged himſelf obliged for the greateſt part of his education, and by whom, ſome time before his death, our Poet was recommended to the patronage of the Counteſs of Bedford; as may evidently appear in his Epiſtle to her Lord hereunder recited [*F*]. However, it is no leſs viſible, from his many dedications, and acknowledgements alſo, to Sir Walter Aſton, that he was for many years patronized by him, and accommodated with ſuch ſupplies as afforded him leiſure to furniſh ſome of his moſt elaborate compoſitions. Nay, it is intimated, we know not from what authority, that he was, by the intereſt of the ſaid Sir Walter with Sir Roger Aſton, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to King James in his minority, made, in ſome meaſure, miniſterial to an intercourſe of correſpondence between the ſaid young King of Scots and Queen Elizabeth. The words of my author are theſe; ſpeaking of the ſaid Sir Roger Aſton, and of his being of the Bed-chamber to that King when a child, that 'He was the perſon principally entruſted with the meſſages and letters that paſſed between his Maſter and Queen Elizabeth; and, by the interpoſition of Sir Walter Aſton, Mr. Drayton was, in this reſpect, very uſeful in faithfully performing the various ſervices which he was commanded (*i*).' But, if theſe ſervices were performed by Mr. Drayton ſo early as in the childhood of that King, we fear it will be found too ſoon for him to have had the intereſt or recommendation of Sir Walter Aſton thereto, becauſe, at the publication of ſome, which were not his earlieſt poems, they were but in the ſpring of their acquaintance, as he has ſaid himſelf: ſo that, if he was in any ſuch ſort truſted, it muſt be much later than that King's childhood, and nearer the cloſe of the Queen's reign. He certainly had fair proſpects from his ſervices, labours, or other teſtimonies of early attachment to the King's intereſt, of ſome favour or preferment, beſides from what he had written among his *Sonnets* in his praiſe, as a Poet, while King of Scots. He was alſo one of the foremoſt of Apollo's train in England, who welcomed his Majeſty to his Britiſh dominions with *A Congratulatory Poem to King James, &c. 4to*, 1603; and how, through intereſt or ingratitude, it might have proved his ruin, but for his own patient and prudent conduct under the indignity, he has, with as much freedom as was then convenient, himſelf informed us both in proſe and verſe (*k*). The ſame year he was choſen, by Sir Walter Aſton, one of the Eſquires who attended him when he was, with others, created Knight of the Bath at the coronation of the ſaid King (*l*). We find not that our author ever reprinted thoſe poems in praiſe of his Majeſty; and the ungrateful reception they met with, as well as the diſagreeable ſcenes he might behold of ſuch wicked vices, and effeminate vanities, as afterwards prevailed at Court, ſo degenerating from that in the Muſe-nurſing *Maiden Reign* (*m*), might damp all deſires of raiſing himſelf there. We have not time to examine how far, in his Fable of "The Owl," publiſhed in 1604, he may have made any thing applicable to his preſent caſe (*n*). In 1613, he publiſhed the firſt part of his "Poly-Olbion [*G*]." In 1619, came out his firſt folio volume of poems, before

(*g*) Drayton's Dedication of the Barons Wars to Sir Walter Aſton.

(*h*) In note [*D*].

(*i*) Hiſtorical Eſſay of the Life and Writings of Michael Drayton, Eſq. in the late new edition of his Works, as before quoted, fol. 6.

(*k*) See his Pref. to Poly Olbion; and in his Elegies, his Epiſt. to Mr. George Sandys, &c.

(*l*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, as before.

(*m*) The Dedicat. of his folio edit. to Sir W. Aſton.

(*n*) As little of his publiſhing appeared between the years 1605 and 1610, but two editions of his Poems in thoſe years, his friend J. Davis, of Hereford, in his book of Epigrams, then printed, charges him not to forſake the Muſes, &c.

'count us Tramontani, rude and barbarous, holding 'our brains ſo frozen, dull, and barren, that they can 'afford no invention or conceits; yet may he compare 'either with their old Dante, Petrarch, or Boccace, 'or their Neoteric Marinella, Pignatello, or Stiglia-'no: but why ſhould I go about to commend him, 'whoſe own works and worthineſs have ſufficiently 'extolled to the world (22)?' Other teſtimonies of our author's merit might be added were they neceſſary, and not liable to be thought tedious or ſuperfluous.

(22) Burton's Deſcrip. of Leiceſterſhire, as before.

[*F*] *As may evidently appear in his Epiſtle to her Lord here recited.*] It is in theſe words;

To the Right Honourable and my very good Lord, Edward Earl of Bedford.

'Thrice noble and my moſt gracious Lord,

'THE love I have ever borne to the illuſtrious 'houſe of Bedford, and to the honourable family of the 'Hairingtons, to the which by marriage your Lord-'ſhip is happily united hath long ſince devoted my 'true and zealous affection to your honourable ſer-'vice, and my Poems to the protection of my noble 'Ladie, your Counteſſe; to whoſe ſervice I was firſt 'bequeathed by that learned and accompliſhed Gen-'tleman, Sir Henry Goodere, not long ſince de-'ceaſed; whoſe I was, whileſt he was; whoſe pa-'tience pleaſed to beare the imperfections of my 'heedleſs and unſtayed youth. That excellent and 'matchleſs gentleman was the firſt cheriſher of my 'Muſe, which had been by his death left a poor or-'phan to the world, had he not before bequeathed it 'to that Ladie, whom he ſo dearly loved. Vouchſafe 'then, my dear Lord, to accept this Epiſtle, which I 'dedicate as zealouſly as I hope you will patronize 'willingly, until ſome more acceptable ſervice may be 'witneſs of my love to your Honour.

'Your Lordſhip's ever,

'MICH. DRAYTON (23).'

(23) His Dedic. before Queen Iſabella's Epiſt. to K. Richard II. in the octavo undated edit. of Drayton's Poems.

[*G*] *The Firſt Part of his* "Poly-Olbion, *&c.*"] By this Greek title, ſignifying *very happy*, he denotes England; and the ancient name of Albion, is by ſome derived from ὈΛΒΙΟΣ, happy (24). It is a chorographical deſcription of the rivers, mountains, foreſts, caſtles, &c. in this iſland, intermixed with the remarkable antiquities, rarities, commodities, &c. thereof. This firſt part is dedicated to Prince Henry, by whoſe encouragement it was written; and there is a picture at full length of that hopeful prince, in a military poſture, exerciſing his pike. He had ſhewn Drayton ſome ſingular marks of his favour, and ſeems to have admitted him as one of his poetical penſioners, but, dying before the book was publiſhed, our Poet loſt the benefit of his patronage. The reaſon why the publick was ſo long debarred of it, he has intimated

(24) See Mr. Seldon's notes on *Poly-Olbion*, p. 19.

before described. In 1622, the foregoing part of the "Poly-Olbion" was reprinted, together with the second part, making in all thirty books or songs. In 1626, we find him, before a copy of his own verses, styled "Poet-Laureat [*H*]." In 1627, was published the second part or volume of his poems; containing his "Battle of Agincourt," in stanzas of eight lines: "The Miseries of Queen Margaret," in the like stanza: "Nymphidia, or the Court of Fairies;" a master-piece in the grotesque kind (*o*): "The "Quest of Cynthia;" another beautiful piece; both reprinted in Dryden's Miscellanies: "The Shepherd's Sirena;" also, "The Moon Calf," a strong satire upon the masculine affectations of Women, and the effeminate disguises of the Men, in those times; as they were by others also then exposed in prose (*p*). Lastly, there are his Elegies upon sundry occasions. These are introduced by "The Vision of Ben Jonson" on the Muses of his friend Michael Drayton; wherein he is very particular in the enumeration and praise of his several compositions: also by another poem upon the "Battle of Agincourt," by J. Vaughan; and another by his friend Henry Reynolds, Esq. Those Elegies are twelve in number, though there are but eight reprinted in the late new edition. In 1630 he published another volume of poems, in 4to, intitled, "The Muses Elizium, in ten "sundry Nymphalls;" with three divine Poems, on Noah's Flood; Moses his Birth and "Miracles (†)"; and David and Goliah." The Pastoral Poems are dedicated to Edward Sackvile, Earl of Dorset, and Lord Chamberlain; whose durable Favours had now made him one of his Family; and these are written in verse of various measure. His Divine Poems are in English heroic measure, and are dedicated to the Countess of Dorset; and there are some images truly sublime in them. But there is not one of these poems revived, or so much as mentioned, in the late edition, pretending to have comprehended all the works of this celebrated Poet. At the end of the first Divine Poem, there are three copies of verses in praise of the author, by Beal Sapperton, in Latin; Mr. John-Fletcher and Thomas Andrews, in English; which last has very expressly displayed the great extent of our Poet's renown. In 1631, he exchanged his laurel for a crown of glory, as it is expressed in his monumental inscription. He was buried in Westminster-Abbey among the Poets; and the handsome table-monument of blue marble, which was raised over his grave the same year (*q*), is adorned with his effigies *in busto*, laureated. On one side is a crest of Minerva's cap, and Pegasus in a scutcheon on the other (*r*). Among those poetical friends, who have lamented his death, was Sir Aston Cokain, who, in gratitude for his having brought him acquainted with Sir Thomas

(*o*) As Mr. Walter Harte justly observes, in his notes on the sixth Thebaid of Statius, at the end of his Poems, in 8vo. 1727.

(*p*) See the pamphlets intitled *Hec Homo* and *Hic Mulier*, 4to. 1620, &c.

(†) Towards the end of the second Canto of this Poem he describes the Plagues of Egypt, from the Plague which then raged in London, at his writing thereof; which was so long before this publication as the year 1603.

(*q*) Remains, in John Stowe's Survey of London, edit. fol. 1633. p. 763.

(*r*) See the Hist. and Antiquities of Westminster-Abbey, by J. Dart, Vol. II. p. 81.

mated in his Preface, where he acknowledges that the means to finish it were owing to the bounty of Sir Walter Aston. There are eighteen songs in this volume, illustrated with the learned notes of Mr. Selden; and there are maps before every song, wherein the cities, mountains, forests, rivers, &c. are represented by the figures of men and women. His metre of twelve syllables being now antiquated, it is quoted more for the History than the Poetry in it; however, it contains many excellent lines, and is so exact, that, as Bishop Nicholson observes, 'Drayton's Poly-Olbion affords a much truer account of this kingdom, 'and the dominion of Wales, than could well be expected from the pen of a Poet (25).' 'Tis interwoven with many fine episodes; of the conquest of this island by the Romans (26); of the coming of the Saxons (27), the Danes (28), and the Normans (29), with an account of their Kings; of the noble English Warriors in the conquest of France, &c. (30) our brave navigators (31); the Saints (32); and of the Civil Wars in England (33), &c. This volume was reprinted in 1622, with the Second Part, or Continuation of Twelve Songs more, making thirty in the whole, and dedicated to Prince Charles, to whom he gives hopes of bestowing the like pains upon Scotland. There are verses before this Second Part by William Brown, Geo. Wither, and John Reynolds. 'Tis as accurately written as the First Part; but Mr. Selden, being otherwise engaged, had not time to adorn this Second with notes, and perhaps the want of a friend to help out the expence may be the reason it was not adorned with maps. From the encomiums of those Poets we shall not make any extract; but add this short one, wherewith we have been favoured by the learned and ingenious translator into Latin of some of the finest essays written by Mr. Pope, out of a Poem that is now in the press, wherein there are these lines:

Drayton, sweet ancient Bard, his Albion sung,
With their own praise her echoing Valleys rung;
His bounding Muse o'er ev'ry Mountain rode,
And ev'ry River warbled where he flow'd (34).

(34) *Sea-Piece*, Canto 2. By Dr. James Kirkpatrick.

(35) English Historical Library, edit. 1736. fol. p. 5.

(26) Song 8.

(27) Song 11.

(28) Song 12.

(29) Song 17.

(30) Song 18.

(31) Song 19.

(32) Song 24.

(33) Song 22.

[*H*] *Before a copy of his own verses styled* Poet Laureat.] Before the posthumous Poems of Abraham, the son of Dr. Philemon Holland, among the commendatory verses, the first copy of ten lines, bears this title, Michael Drayton, Esq; and Poet Laureat, in commendation of the author, &c. which ends with this distich:

Proceed, let not Apollo's stock decay,
Poets and Kings are not born ev'ry day (35).

(35) Hollandi Posthuma, &c. Cantab. impensis Hen. Holland, 4to. 1626.

It is likely this style or appellation of Poet Laureat was not formerly confined so strictly as it is now to his Majesty's servant, known by that title, who is presumed to have been at that time Ben Jonson (†); because we find it given to others only as a distinction of their excellence in the art of Poetry. So it was bestowed also upon our author's friend Mr. George Sandys; and we could produce an author who has called Francis Quarles by the same title. As for the pictures of our Poet appearing so constantly laureated, it may be a compliment also of the Painters and Gravers. The print of Mr. Drayton before the first volume of his Poems in folio, graved by W. Hole in 1613, has a wreath of bays above his head, and so has his bust in Westminster-abbey: the like had the painting of him, as we have heard, which was in the collections of the late Thomas Sclater Bacon, Esq; at his seat in Cambridgeshire; and so likewise another delicate portrait in miniature, said to be painted of him by Peter Oliver, which was in the possession of the late Lord Lansdown, and highly esteemed by him, as we have lately been satisfied, not only from an ample description (36), but also by the sight of it. And yet when we find, that the portraits of Joshua Sylvester, John Owen, and others, who never had any grant of the Poet Laureat's place, are as formally crowned with laurel as those who had

(†) Drayton himself says, He leaves the Laurel to those who may look after it; in his Dedic. to Sir W. Aston, of *The Owl*, in edit. fol. 1619.

(36) In a letter from Mr. George Vertue, dated Nov. 11. 1749.

Thomas Burdet, Bart. by our Poet, compoſed an elegy upon him [*I*]; and Ben Jonſon is ſaid to have been the author of his epitaph, which was written in letters of gold upon his monument.

had the utmoſt right to it, there is reaſon to believe, it was only an honour conferred by the artiſts who drew or engraved thoſe pictures, here mentioned, of Maſter Drayton.

[*I*] *Compoſed an elegy upon him*;] The firſt lines of the ſaid elegy are theſe;

Phoebus, art thou a god, and canſt not give
A privilege unto thy own to live?
Thou canſt; but, if that Poets ne'er ſhould die,
In Heaven, who ſhould praiſe thy deity?
Elſe ſtill, my Drayton, thou hadſt liv'd and writ;
Thy life had been immortal as thy wit.

And it ends with theſe;

But I moleſt thy quiet; ſleep, while we,
That live, cou'd leave our lives to die like Thee (37).

(37) Sir Aſton Cokain's Poems, as before, p. 66, 76.

The epitaph on his monument, aſcribed to Ben Jonſon, is in theſe words:

Doe, pious marble, let thy readers know
What they, and what their children owe
To Drayton's name; whoſe ſacred duſt
We recommend unto thy truſt;
Protect his memory, and preſerve his ſtory,
Remain a laſting monument of his glory;
And when thy ruins ſhall diſclaime
To be the treaſurer of his name;
His name, that cannot fade, ſhall be
An everlaſting monument to thee. O.

*** ["Of Poets once known and admired," ſays Dr. Viceſimus Knox, ſeveral are fallen "into total "diſrepute. Drayton was honoured by a commen- "tator who muſt have given fame to any writer. If "Selden's taſte was equal to his learning, Drayton is "indeed moſt highly diſtinguiſhed. The Poly-Ol- "bion is, however, no more read: and the ſlow "length of the tedious Alexandrine in which it is "written will prevent its revival, as it has haſtened "its Oblivion (38)." It is true, that, comparatively ſpeaking, Drayton has only a few readers; but he does not appear to have fallen into ſuch total diſrepute as is inſinuated by Dr. Knox. So ſtrongly was the remembrance of him preſerved, that in 1748 a new edition of his poems was called for, which was publiſhed by ſubſcription. It was printed in folio, and there was prefixed to it an Hiſtorical Eſſay on the Life and Writings of Drayton. Such was the eſteem in which his Poetry continued to be held, that a farther and complete impreſſion of his works was demanded, which appeared in 1753, in four volumes, octavo. At the ſame time, the defects of the folio edition (which are juſtly animadverted upon by our learned predeceſſor) were ſupplied by an appendix, containing all the pieces that had before been omitted. Upon occaſion of the appearance of the octavo impreſſion, a periodical critic obſerved as follows; "It "muſt doubtleſs afford a ſenſible pleaſure to every "lover of Engliſh poetry, to ſee ſo great a regard "paid by the preſent age (light and trifling as its "taſte is by ſome deemed) to the works of this wor- "thy bard, as to call for two editions in five years' "time; an honour paid to few of our antient poets "beſides Shakeſpeare (39)."

(38) Eſſays. Vol. II. p. 274. Firſt Edition.

(39) Monthly Review. Vol. IX. p. 187.

Mr. Headley, in his "Select Beauties of ancient Engliſh Poetry," has brought Drayton into freſh notice. Beſides inſerting ſome of his poems in the collection, he has made ſeveral judicious remarks on his poetical character. The modern teſtimonies to Drayton's merits, Mr. Headley ſays, are few when compared with his deſerts. "The caſe is, moſt readers, "diſcouraged at his voluminouſneſs, content them- "ſelves with ſuperficially ſkimming him over, with- "out going deep enough to be real judges of his ex- "cellence. He poſſeſſed a very conſiderable fertility "of mind, which enabled him to diſtinguiſh himſelf "in almoſt every ſpecies of poetry, from a trifling "ſonnet to a long topographical poem. If he any- "where ſinks below himſelf, it is in his attempts at "ſatire. The goodneſs of his heart ſeems to have "produced in him that confuſed kind of honeſt in- "dignation which deprived him of the powers of diſ- "crimination. He therefore loſt the opportunities of "ſeizing on thoſe nice alluſions, ſituations, circum- "ſtances, and tracts of character, by which vice and "folly are rendered odious and contemptible. His "Poly-Olbion is one of the moſt ſingular works this "country has produced, and ſeems to me eminently "original. The information contained in it is in ge- "neral ſo acute, that he is quoted as an authority "both by Hearne and Wood. His perpetual alluſions "to abſolute traditions, remote events, remarkable "facts and perſonages, together with his curious gene- "alogies of rivers, and his taſte for natural hiſtory, "have contributed to render his work very valuable "to the antiquary. To many juſt objections it is "moſt certainly liable. His continual perſonifica- "tions of woods, mountains, and rivers, are tedious; "and, on the whole, we muſt be ſatisfied to read ra- "ther for information than pleaſure. In the Legends "and Heroical Epiſtles, both the time and the events "are properly limited; the attention is gratified, "but not ſatiated. In the Barons Wars, too extenſive "a ſubject is opened, and the province of the hiſto- "rian too far treſpaſſed upon. In order to be intro- "duced to good incident and reflection, we muſt toil "through dry facts, liſten with patience to the deve- "lopement of uncertain primary cauſes, and at laſt, "perhaps, are obliged to have recourſe to a proſe ex- "planation in the notes. Our author, who wants "neither fire nor imagination, poſſeſſed great com- "mand of his abilities. He has written no maſques; "his perſonifications of the paſſions are few; and "that allegorical vein, which the popularity of "Spenſer's works may be fairly ſuppoſed to have "rendered faſhionable, and which over-runs our ear- "lier poetry, but ſeldom occurs in him. While his "contemporary, Jonſon, ſtudied away his fancy, and, "unable to digeſt the maſs of his reading, peopled "his pages with the heathen mythology, and gave "our language new idioms by the introduction of "Latiniſms; Drayton adopted a ſtyle that, with a "few exceptions, the preſent age may peruſe "without difficulty, and not unfrequently miſtake "for its own offspring. In a moſt pedantic æra he "was unaffected, and ſeldom exhibits his learning at "the expence of his judgement (40)."

(40) Select Beauties of ancient Engliſh Poetry. Vol. I. Biographical Sketches, p. lii.

The writer of our author's life, prefixed to the folio edition of his works, ſays, that the Poly-Olbion has hitherto had no imitators. But this is not ſtrictly true; for there appeared, in 1621, the Palæ-Albion, by William Slatyer, a ſort of chronicle in Latin and Engliſh verſe, in which he has an addreſs to Drayton, containing the following acknowledgment.

"Thy Poly-Olbion did invite
"My Palæ-Albion thus to write;
"Thine, ancient Albion's modern glories;
"Mine, modern Albion's ancient ſtories (41)".

(41) Ibid.

"The reputation of Drayton," ſays Mr. Granger, "in the reigns of Elizabeth and James the Firſt, ſtood "much on the ſame level with that of Cowley, in "the reigns of Charles the Firſt and Charles "the Second; but it has declined conſiderably ſince "that period. He frequently wants that elevation of "thought which is eſſential to poetry, though, in ſome "of the ſtanzas of his "Barons Wars," he is "ſcarcely inferior to Spenſer. In his "England's "Heroical Epiſtles," written in the manner of Ovid, "he has been, in general, happier in the choice "than the execution of his ſubjects; yet ſome of his "imitations are more in the ſpirit of that Poet than "ſeveral of the Engliſh tranſlations of him. His "Nymphidia, or Court of Fayrie," ſeems to have "been

" been the greateſt effort of his imagination, and is " the moſt generally admired of his works (42)."

(42) Biographical Hiſtory. Vol. II. p. 11.

A more exquiſite judge of poetical merit (Dr. Warton) coincides in opinion with Mr. Granger. Of Drayton's Nymphidia he ſays, that it muſt be allowed to be a perfect pattern of paſtoral elegance; and that in his Barons Wars there are many ſtrokes not unworthy of Spenſer. He farther obſerves, that Drayton, whom he calls no deſpicable genius, attempted to revive the heroical epiſtle, and has left us ſome good ſubjects, though not very artfully handled. The beſt of his productions of this kind are King John to Matilda, Elinor Cobham to Duke Humphry, William de la Poole to Queen Margaret, Jane Shore to Edward the Fourth, Lord Surrey to Geraldine, and Lady Jane Grey to Lord Guilford Dudley (43).

(43) Eſſay on the Writings and Genius of Pope. Vol. I. p. 306. Firſt Edition.

The Nymphidia, to which ſo much praiſe is juſtly given, was ſeparately printed in 1751, under the title of "The Hiſtory of Queen Mabb; or, the "Court of Fairy." Its diſtinct publication was owing to its containing the ſtory on which was founded the entertainment of Queen Mabb, a favourite pantomime at that time exhibited at Drury Lane (44).

(44) Monthly Review. Vol. IV. p. 303.

The authors of the Biographia Dramatica have ranked Drayton amongſt our dramatic poets. But this, as they themſelves are fully ſenſible, is done upon very ſlender grounds. Neither Langbane, Jacob, nor any of the other writers, have mentioned him as a Dramatiſt; but Coxeter ſays, that he had ſeen an old manuſcript to the play called "The Merry Devil of "Edmonton," which declared it to be written by Michael Drayton. The ſame play is attributed by Kirkman to Shakeſpeare; but there doth not appear in the piece itſelf any ſufficient reaſon for ſuch a ſuggeſtion. Whoever was the author of the "Merry "Devil of Edmonton," it appears to have been a popular Comedy; for it went through five editions, from the year 1608 to 1655. Meres ſpeaks of Drayton as a writer of Tragedy (45).

(45) Biographia Dramatica. Vol. I. p. 132. Vol. II. p. 230.

Mr. Thomas Warton has mentioned a circumſtance relating to Drayton's tomb in Weſtminſter Abbey, which is erected near that of Spenſer. "Heylin in- "forms us, that Drayton was not buried in the South "Ile of the Church, where his monument is now to "be ſeen; but under the North wall, near a little "door which opens to one of the Prebendal houſes. "This Heylin affirms from his own knowledge, he- "being invited to Drayton's funeral (46)."

(46) Obſervations on the Fairy Queen of Spenſer. Vol. I. p. 25.

We ſhall cloſe this article with one of Drayton's Sonnets, a ſpecies of poetry borrowed from Italy, and greatly cultivated by our older poets; which alſo has lately been revived amongſt us with uncommon eagerneſs, and in a few inſtances with remarkable ſucceſs. Mrs. Charlotte Smith, not to mention others, will immediately occur to the minds of our readers.

"To the River Ankor.

"Clear Ankor, on whoſe ſilver-ſanded ſhore
"My ſoul-ſhrin'd Saint, my fair idea, lies,
"O bleſſed brook, whoſe milk-white ſwans adore
"Thy cryſtal ſtream refined by her eyes,
"Where ſweet myrrh-breathing Zephyr in the ſpring
"Gently diſtills her Nectar-dropping ſhowers,
"Where Nightingales in Arden ſit and ſing
"Amongſt the dainty dew-impearled flowers;
"Say thus, fair Brook, when ſhalt thou ſee thy Queen?
"Lo, here thy Shepherd ſpent his wand'ring years;
"And in theſe ſhades, dear Nymph, he oft had been,
"And here to thee he ſacrific'd his tears:
"Fair Arden, thou my temple art alone,
"And thou, ſweet Ankor, art my Helicon (47)."

(47) Headley's ſelect Beauties of Ancient Engliſh Poetry.

Since this note was written, we have met with a paper in the "Gentleman's Magazine, entitled "Michael Drayton Defended;" in which, beſides pointing out ſeveral of the beauties of his poetry, the author goes ſo far as even to vindicate the Alexandrine meaſure of the Poly-Olbion (48). But in this point we can by no means agree with the anonymous critic. An Alexandrine line, in itſelf, may be very noble; but, as it almoſt uniformly requires the cæſura or pauſe to be placed on the ſixth ſyllable, it cannot admit that variety in the verſification which is abſolutely neceſſary in a long poem, and without which a poetical production, however excellent in other reſpects, muſt appear tedious in the reading.

(48) Gent. Mag. Vol. LVI. p. 1059, 1060.

An additional teſtimony to the beauty of the Nymphidia may be ſeen in Mr. Nichols's Collection of Poems, Vol. VIII. p. 305.]

K.

*** [DRUMMOND (WILLIAM), an ingenious writer, and very eminently diſtinguiſhed by his poetical talents, was born in Scotland, on the 13th of December, 1585 (*a*). He was ſon to Sir John Drummond [*A*]; and was probably born at his father's ſeat at Hawthornden. He was ſent to the High School at Edinburgh, where his abilities rendered him conſpicuous even in his youth; and he was afterwards removed to the Univerſity of Edinburgh, where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*b*). When he quitted the Univerſity, he was far from imagining that he had completed his ſtudies. He conſidered himſelf as having only commenced them; and, therefore, employed himſelf, for ſome years after, in the diligent peruſal of the beſt writers of antiquity (*c*). In 1606, when he had attained the age of twenty-one years, he was ſent by his father into France; and at Bourges he ſtudied the civil law with great diligence. He not only committed to writing the lectures of the profeſſors in that city, but alſo wrote down his own obſervations upon them; which afterwards communicating to the preſident Lockhart, he declared, that if Mr. Drummond had followed the practice of the law, "he might have made the beſt figure of any lawyer in his time (*d*)." Having continued four years abroad, he returned to Scotland again in 1610, in which year his father died. It was now ſuppoſed by his friends, who had conceived a high opinion of his talents, and who knew that he had made a conſiderable proficiency in the ſtudy of the law, that he would have engaged in that profeſſion, as affording the faireſt proſpect for the advancement of his fortune. But neither the ſtudy of the law, nor the fatigue

(*a*) Life of W. Drummond of Hawthornden, prefixed to his Works, printed at Edinb. in folio, in 1711, p. 1.
(*b*) Id. ib.
(*c*) Ibid. p. 2.
(*d*) Id. ibid.

[*A*] *Son to Sir John Drummond.*] It is ſaid that his father, 'Sir John Drummond, of Hawthornden, 'was a man of great worth.' It is added, that 'he 'was Gentleman-Uſher to King James VI. but did 'not enjoy that place long, being in three months 'afterwards taken away by death. He was imme- 'diately deſcended of the Drummonds of Carnock; 'and they, 300 years before that, (about the ſame 'time that Annabella Drummond was Queen of 'Scotland), came of the houſe of Stobhall, the chief 'of the name of Drummond; which, for antiquity, 'honour, honeſty, and loyalty, is inferior to no 'family in the nation (1).' We are likewiſe informed, that our author's mother was 'Suſannah 'Fowler, daughter to Sir William Fowler, Secretary 'to Queen Anne. She was a woman of excellent 'breeding, and of a good and virtuous life (2).'

Another writer obſerves, that the family of Drummond 'became firſt diſtinguiſhed by the marriage of 'Robert III. whoſe Queen was ſiſter to William 'Drummond of Carnock, their anceſtor, as appears 'by the patents of that King, and James I. the one 'calling him "our brother," the other, "our uncle "(3)."

(1) Life of W. Drummond of Hawthornden, prefixed to his Works, p. 1.
(2) Id. ibid.
(3) Short acct. of the Life and Writings of Drummond, prefixed to the edition of his Poems publiſhed in 1791, p. iv.

attending the practice, were agreeable to his taſte, which led him to the cultivation of polite literature. He, therefore, retired to his houſe at Hawthornden, which is ſaid to have been "a ſweet and ſolitary ſeat, and very fit and proper for the Muſes (*e*);" and here he employed himſelf in reading Greek and Roman authors, and in the production of ſome of his own compoſitions. After a recovery from a dangerous fit of illneſs, he wrote here his "Cypreſs Grove," a proſe piece, containing reflections on death, and on the vanity of human life. About the ſame time he alſo wrote his "Flowers of Sion, or Spiritual Poems [*B*]." Theſe, together with ſome other poems, and his "Cypreſs Grove [*C*]," were printed in his life-time at Edinburgh (*f*).

(e) Life, &c.

(f) Ibid. p. 4.

His retirement, and application to his ſtudies, did not prevent his becoming enamoured with a young and beautiful lady of the name of Cunningham, who was deſcended from an antient and honourable family. He paid his addreſſes to her, obtained her conſent to their union, and the day was fixed for the celebration of their nuptials. But, unhappily, ſhe was ſuddenly taken with a fever, which put a period to her life (*g*). This event ſo much affected him, that he could no longer enjoy his retirement, nor proſecute his ſtudies with tranquillity. In order to diſſipate his melancholy, he, therefore, reſolved to travel into foreign countries; and he continued abroad about eight years. He travelled through all Germany, France, and Italy; but his chief places of reſidence were Rome and Paris. The moſt conſiderable foreign univerſities were viſited by him; and he converſed with many men eminent for literature in the courſe of his travels. He alſo made an excellent collection of the beſt Greek and Latin authors [*D*], and of valuable books

(g) Id. ibid.

[*B*] *Flowers of Sion, or Spiritual Poems.*] From theſe we ſhall ſelect the following ſhort pieces:

I.

'Of this fair volume, which we world do name,
'If we the ſheets and leaves could turn with care,
'Of him who it corrects, and did it frame,
'We clear might read the art and wiſdom rare;
'Find out his power, which wildeſt powers doth tame,
'His providence extending every where,
'His juſtice which proud rebels doth not ſpare,
'In every page, no, period of the ſame.
'But ſilly we, like fooliſh children, reſt
'Well pleas'd with colour'd vellum, leaves of gold,
'Fair dangling ribbands, leaving what is beſt,
'On the great writer's ſenſe ne'er taking hold;
'Or if by chance we ſtay our minds on aught,
'It is ſome picture on the margin wrought (4).'

(4) Poems of W. Drummond of Hawthornden, edit. Edinb. 1711. p. 24.

II.

'Thrice happy he, who by ſome ſhady grove,
'Far from the clam'rous world, doth live his own,
'Tho' ſolitary, who is not alone,
'But doth converſe with that eternal love:
'O how more ſweet his birds harmonious moan,
'Or the hoarſe ſobbings of the widow'd dove,
'Than thoſe ſmooth whiſperings near a Prince's throne,
'Which good make doubtful, do the evil approve!
'O how more ſweet is Zephyr's wholeſome breath,
'And ſighs embalm'd, which new-born flow'rs unfold,
'Than that applauſe vain honour doth bequeath?
'How ſweet are ſtreams to poiſon drank in gold?
'The world is full of horrors, troubles, ſlights,
'Woods harmleſs ſhades have only true delights (5).'

(5) Ibid. p. 27, 28.

III.

'More oft than once, Death whiſper'd in mine ear,
'Grave what thou hear'ſt in diamond and gold,
'I am that monarch whom all monarchs fear,
'Who have in duſt their far-ſtretch'd pride uproll'd.
'All, all is mine beneath Moon's ſilver ſphere,
'And nought, ſave Virtue, can my power with-hold.
'This (not believ'd) experience true thee told,
'By danger late when I to thee came near.
'As bugbear then my viſage I did ſhow,
'That of my horrors thou right uſe might'ſt make,
'And a more ſacred path of living take:
'And ſtill walk armed for my ruthleſs blow.
'Truſt flattering life no more, redeem time paſt,
'And live each day as if it were thy laſt (6).'

(6) Ibid. p 29.

[*C*] *His Cypreſs Grove.*] This is ſaid, by the writer of his life, to be 'a piece of excellent proſe, 'both for the ſublimity and piety of the thoughts, 'and for the fineneſs of the ſtyle. In it he repreſents the vanity and inſtability of human affairs, 'teaches the contempt of the world, propoſes conſolations againſt the fears of death, and gives us a 'view of eternal happineſs (7).'

(7) P. ii.

[*D*] *An excellent Collection of the beſt Greek and Latin authors*, &c.] It is obſerved, by the author of his life prefixed to his Works, publiſhed in 1711, that ſome of the books collected by Mr. Drummond were 'yet to be ſeen at Hawthornden, in the poſſeſſion 'of his ſon Sir William Drummond; who, as he 'poſſeſſes his father's eſtate, ſo he does inherit many 'of his virtues, eſpecially that great honour, honeſty, 'and loyalty, which were ſo conſpicuous in our 'author. He gave a noble preſent of rare books and 'manuſcripts to the College of Edinburgh, where 'he was educated; and it is one of the moſt curious 'collections of any in that library. The catalogue of 'the books is printed anno 1627, with an excellent 'preface in ornate Latin, about the advantage and 'honour of libraries, written by himſelf (8).'

(8) P. 3.

Among his proſe pieces, are alſo the following obſervations, in Engliſh, on *Libraries:*

'As we find republicks to have flouriſhed in power 'and glory, ſo do we find them to have been eminent 'and come to the height in knowledge and letters; 'and as they builded arſenals and ſtore-houſes for 'arms to ſerve in time of war, ſo did they libraries, 'furniſhed with books for peace and war. Wits, 'howſoever pregnant and great, without books, are 'but as valiant ſoldiers without arms, and artizans 'deſtitute of tools. Of theſe did ariſe the many 'ſchools in the world, and moſtly in Europe, which 'by the bounty of ſo many renowned Princes have 'been ſo amply privileged: and theſe great men were 'not ſo much beholden to arms and their conqueſts, 'whilſt they lived, as after their deaths to letters: 'for neither their monuments of marble, nor braſs, 'nor gold, no not the diamond itſelf, are able ſo 'to preſerve the glory of their actions, as are ſome 'few ſheets of paper. Eſtates and republicks owe 'much to thoſe, who like torches waſte themſelves 'to ſhine and give light to others; but without theſe 'fathers of their countries, who endeavour to preſerve 'and communicate to poſterity what theſe ingeniouſly 'have done, their works ſhould be little better than 'ſpiders' webs: for what availeth the writing of 'books, if they be not preſerved; and how many 'excellent pieces, by the barbarity and negligence of 'ages have periſhed? To omit ancient times, as '*Ptolemæus-Philadelphus*, who erected that famous 'library in Alexandria, the Ulpian library of Trajan, 'and that of Piſiſtratus in Athens, how much is 'Florence adebted to the noble Laurentius of Medices, 'for his library, and to Beſſarion, once Biſhop of 'Nice, who at his death devouted to it a library, valued 'at Thirty Thouſand Crowns? And what oweth 'Oxford, nay this iſle, to the moſt worthy Bodley, 'whoſe library, perhaps, containeth more excellent 'books, than the ancients by all their curious ſearch 'could

books in the French, Spaniſh, and Italian languages. Having made this long ſtay abroad, he returned again to his native country, which he found in a ſtate of great confuſion and anarchy. He retired, therefore, to the ſeat of his brother-in-law, Sir John Scot, of Scotſtarvat, who was a man of letters, and with whom he made ſome ſtay: and it is ſuppoſed to have been about this time that he wrote his "Hiſtory of "the Five James's, Kings of Scotland [*E*]." He lived the greateſt part of his life in an unmarried ſtate; but having accidentally fallen in company with Elizabeth Logan, grand-daughter of Sir Robert Logan, he fancied ſhe had a great reſemblance to his firſt miſtreſs, whoſe idea was ſtill deeply impreſſed upon his mind, he became enamoured of her, and married her, after he had attained his forty-fifth year, and had by her ſeveral children. After his marriage, he lived in a retired manner at Hawthornden, and repaired his houſe with this inſcription: *Divino munere Gulielmus Drummondus ab Hawthornden, Joannis Equitis aurati filius, ut honeſto otio quieſceret, ſibi & ſucceſſoribus inſtauravit*, 1638 (*b*). The civil war which broke out about this time was a ſubject of great affliction to him; for he was much attached to the king and to the church; and, therefore, wrote many pieces in ſupport of regal and eccleſiaſtical claims. His zeal for the royal cauſe often involved him in inconveniences [*F*]; and his grief, on account of King

(*b*) Life, ut ſupra, p. 4, 6.

'could find? Our academies in former times were 'much beholden to their founders and benefactors for 'many goodly books; but by the nonage of our 'Princes, and the fury of Civil Wars, they, with 'many other monuments, had their fatal period; 'which loſs, by the liberality of our Moſt Gracious 'Prince Charles (when we ſhall be ſo happy as to be 'remembered) may be repaired; under whom the 'riſing and growth of libraries may prove as fortu-'nate, portending good ſucceſs, as the burning of 'the library of Antioch was counted and proved 'ominous to the Emperor Jovian.

'To ſuch a worthy work all the lovers of learn-'ing ſhould conſpire and contribute; and of ſmall 'beginnings who is ignorant what great effects may 'follow? If, perhaps, we will conſider the beginnings 'of the greateſt libraries of Europe, (as Democritus 'ſaid of the world, that it was made up of atoms) 'we ſhall find them but ſmall; for, how great ſoever 'in their preſent perfection they are now, theſe Car-'thages were once Magalia.

'Libraries are as foreſts, in which not only tall 'cedars and oaks are to be found, but buſhes too 'and dwarfiſh ſhrubs; and, as in Apothecaries ſhops 'all ſorts of drugs are permitted to be, ſo may all 'ſorts of books be in a library; and as they, out of 'vipers and ſcorpions, and poiſoning vegetables, 'extract often wholeſome medicaments, for the life 'of mankind; ſo, out of whatſoever book, good in-'ſtructions and examples may be acquired.

'In ſundry parts of the earth there were but ſeven 'wonders diſperſed: in one noble library many more 'worthy of greater admiration, and of greater ex-'cellency, are together to be found.

'As good huſband-men plant trees in their times, 'of which the after-age may reap the fruit, ſo ſhould 'we; and, what antiquity hath done for us, do for 'poſterity, that letters and learning do not decay, 'but ever flouriſh to the honour of God, the publick 'utility, and the conſervation of Humane Society.

'One ſaid of good Princes, that all their names 'might be drawn within the gem of one ring; but, 'we hope, by time, a volume may be compoſed of 'the names of ſuch, who conſpiring againſt barbarity, 'and the roughneſs of the former age, have thought 'it no diſhonour ſo make the Muſes beholden to their 'liberality, which, that others (who will follow their 'example) may know they have not offered to ob-'livion and ingratitude; (leaving their due to be given 'them by the after-times) we have been daring to 'regiſter in the temple of memory; which can be no 'diſadvantage to the living, and may ſerve to the 'dead for an unpoliſhed epitaph, by which they 'ſhall not all die.'

[*E*] *Hiſtory of the Five James's, Kings of Scotland.*] This work was firſt publiſhed about ſix or ſeven years after the author's death; and it was re-printed, in 8vo. in 1681. It is ſomewhat amuſing to obſerve the different characters which have been given of this hiſtorical production. Mr. Granger ſays, 'William 'Drummond was a man of fine natural genius, which 'he aſſiduouſly improved with all the advantages of 'arts, languages, and travel. He was univerſally 'eſteemed one of the beſt poets of his age, and 'ſtands in the firſt rank of modern hiſtorians. He, 'for his excellence in telling a ſtory, and intereſting 'his reader in what he relates, is thought to be 'comparable to Livy. His poems conſiſt chiefly of 'Love-Verſes, Epigrams, and Epitaphs. His hiſtory is 'of Five Kings of Scotland of the name of James (9).' Mr. Pinkerton, on the contrary, ſays of this work, that it is 'the moſt deplorable performance that ever aſpired 'to the name of hiſtory, full of falſe orations, falſe 'brilliancy, falſe ſenſe, and falſe facts. But his 'poems amply eſtabliſh his fame (10).' We confeſs, that we do not think very highly of this production of Drummond's; nor can we find much reſemblance between Livy and Drummond as hiſtorical writers. Our author has certainly given a very partial account of the reigns of the Princes concerning whom he writes, and has vindicated or palliated ſome of their moſt atrocious actions. The work alſo contains very ſervile and abſurd political ſentiments and obſervations. In one place he ſays, 'The choice a Prince maketh 'of men, whom he advanceth to great employments, 'is not ſubject to any man's cenſure. And, were it 'bad, yet ought it to be paſſed over, if not approved, 'leſt the diſcretion and judgement of the Prince be 'queſtioned, and his reputation wounded (11).' And in another place he remarks, that 'the death of ſuch 'who are *ſuſpected* to be the authors of diſorders in 'a commonwealth *ſpareth an infinite number of lives*, 'and much civil blood when they are firſt ſurprized; '*neither are too ſtrict circumſtances of law to be obſerved*, 'when a ſmall delay may aboliſh all obſerving of 'order and laws (12).'

(9) Biographical Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 315. edit. 8vo. 1775.

(10) Liſt of the Scottiſh Poets, p. 123.

(11) Hiſt. of the Five James's, p. 178. edit. 8vo. edit. 1681.

(12) Ibid. p. 14.

[*F*] *His zeal for the royal cauſe often involved him in inconveniences.*] The writer of his life ſays, 'Being reputed a malignant, he was extremely har-'raſſed by the prevailing party; and for his verſes 'and diſcourſes frequently ſummoned before their 'circular tables (13).'

(13) P. 10.

We are alſo told, that though 'he was a great 'cavalier, and much addicted to the King's party; 'yet he was forced to ſend men to the army which 'fought againſt the King; and his eſtate lying in 'three different ſhires, he had not occaſion to ſend 'one entire man, but halfs and quarters, and ſuch 'like fractions; upon which he wrote *extempore* the 'following verſes to his Majeſty:

'Of all theſe forces rais'd againſt the King,
'Tis my ſtrange hap not one whole man to bring,
'From divers pariſhes, yet divers men.
'But all in halfs and quarters; great King, then,
'In halfs and quarters if they come 'gainſt thee,
'In halfs and quarters ſend them back to me.
'Or,
'In legs and arms ſend thou them back to me (14).'

(14) Ibid. p. 9, 10.

In 1645, he received the following protection from the Marquis of Montroſe:

'James Marquis of Montroſe, His Majeſty's 'Lieutenant General of the Kingdom of Scotland:

"Theſe

King Charles the First's being brought to the scaffold, is said to have been so great as to shorten his days. He died on the 4th of December, 1649, in the sixty-fourth year of his age; and was interred in his own isle, in the Church of Lesswade, near to his house of Hawthornden (*i*). Throughout his whole life he was fond of literature and retirement, and had little inclination for riches or honours. He was well acquainted with the best Greek and Latin authors, and is said to have been a master of the Italian, Spanish, and French languages. He sometimes amused himself with playing at chess, and was a skilful player on the lute [*G*]. One of his most intimate friends appears to have been Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling [*H*]. He spent very little time in England, though he corresponded with Drayton [*I*] and Ben Jonson, the latter

(*i*) Hist. &c.

" These are to will and command all officers and " souldiers, imployed in this present expedition, (for " repressing of this treasonable and most unnatural " rebellion, so perversly hatched against his Majesty's " sacred person and authority), that none of them " trouble or molest Mr. William Drummond of Haw- " thornden, his said lands, , with " houses, biggings, yards, parts, pendicles, and " pertinents thereof, or his men, tenants, cottars, " servants and indwellers thereupon, and their wives, " bairns and families, in their bodies, goods or gear, " directly nor indirectly; as they, and every one of " them, will answer on the contrary at their highest " peril. Given at our Leaguer, at Bothwel, the " 28th of August, 1645.

" Montrose (15)."

(15) Works, p. 157.

[*G*] *Was a skilful player on the lute.*] The writer of his life says, 'He was not much taken up with 'the ordinary amusements of dancing, singing, play- 'ing, &c. though he had as much of them as a well- 'bred gentleman should have; and, when his spirits 'were too much bended by severe studies, he unbended 'them by playing on his lute, which he did to ad- 'miration. But the most part of his time was spent 'in reading the best books, and conversing with the 'learnedest men, which he improved to great ad- 'vantage (16).'

(16) Life prefixed to his Works, p. 3, 4.

[*H*] *Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling.*] In a letter, written by Mr. Drummond to Sir William Alexander in 1623, he complains of the mortality of that year, and of the number of friends that he had lost. It appears also from this letter, that he had some faith in astrology. The letter is as follows:

" To Sir William Alexander.

" SIR,

" MY silence this time past proceeded no ways of " any forgetfulness of you, but from my many new " cares and sorrows. The loss of so many friends " this season hath estranged me from myself, and " turned my mirth into mourning; what civil arms " and discord have performed in other kingdoms of " Europe, a still mortality hath done in this. So " many funerals these many years have not been seen " as in this one. There are few bands of kindred, " societies, acquaintances, or friendship, which, by " death, are not broken here, without respect of " age, vigour, rank, or quality: and justly this " mortality might claim the name of pestilence, if the " dead were deprived of customary burial. Wel " have some astrological Divines guessed that this " year should be the great judgement. What is re- " corded of the years 100 and 120, that church-yards " were not ample enough to contain the dead bodies, " but that new ground was digged up, is true in " this; and what of the year 1348, that the third of " mankind was sweeped from the earth; we may say, " that though this country hath not lost the third, " yet that the Almighty Providence hath taken away " the tenth part of the people. This is (perhaps) a " part of that judgement which the late blazing " lights of Heaven did signify unto us, the defects " of the sun, besides the malignant influences of other " celestial bodies. This one year is enough to make " men hereafter, if not altogether believe, yet fear " astrological predictions; which, though they fail " in particulars, yet strangely hold true in some " generals. Heavens, I hope, shall preserve you " *ad molliora et meliora tempora*; to be a witness and " recorder of their just proceeding on this globe of " the earth, for the good of yourself, your friends, " and all that love you.

" W. Drummond (17)." (17) Works, p. 144.

It is, however, remarkable, that in another of his letters, to another person, probably written at a different time, Mr. Drummond expresses himself in very strong terms against astrology. He says, 'I never 'found any greater folly in the actions of men than 'to see some busy themselves to understand the future 'accidents of their lives. This knowledge of things 'to come, not revealed to us, is no ways needful for 'us. Whereseever this superstition is once received, 'men are driven, and, as it were, haunted with 'furies, and are deprived of all calmness, quietness 'and rest. I never knew any who had recourse to 'those unlawful curiosities who lived the ordinary 'age of man. God omnipotent, removing his grace 'from them giveth them over to fall under the fate 'of their own fears. By the credulity and violent 'desire of him who inquireth to know these things, 'astrological predictions come to pass, not by the 'nature of the things themselves, which are fortui- 'tous events, and have no natural causes, being 'voluntary. The mistakings and uncertainties of 'these predictions should make us contemn them, '*Astrologi fingunt, non docent* (18).

(18) Ibid. p. 147.

[*I*] *He corresponded with Drayton.*] The following letters of Mr. Drummond to Drayton are published among our author's familiar epistles. They are both addressed " To the Right Worshipful, Mr. Michael " Drayton, Esq."

" SIR,

" I have understood by Mr. Davis, the direction " he received from you, to salute me here; which " undeserved favour I value above the commenda- " tions of the greatest and mightiest in this isle: " though I have not had the fortune to see you, " (which sight, is but like the near view of pictures " in tapestry) yet, almost ever since I could know " any, ye have been to me known and beloved. " Long since, your amorous (and truly heroical) " epistles did ravish me; and lately your most happy " Albion put me into a new trance; works (most " excellent portraits of a rarely indued mind) " which (if one may conjecture of what is to come) " shall be read, in spite of envy, so long as men " read books. Of your great love, courtesy, and " generous disposition, I have been informed by " more than one, of the worthiest of this country; " but what before was only known to me by fame, I " have now found by experience: your goodness " preventing me in that duty, which a strange bash- " fulness, or bashful strangeness, hindered me to " offer unto you. You have the first advantage, the " next should be mine; and hereafter you shall ex- " cuse my boldness, if, when I write to your match- " less friend Sir W. Alexander, I now and then salute " you; and in that claim though unknown, to be

" your loving and assured friend,

W. D. (19)." (19) Ibid. p. 233, 234.

" SIR,

" IF my letters were so welcome to you, what " may you think yours were to me, which must be " so much more welcome, in that the conquest I make

" is

latter of whom had so high a respect for Drummond's abilities, and so great a desire to see him, that, at the age of forty-five, he walked to Hawthornden to visit him [*K*]. Their attachment, however, appears not to have been quite reciprocal; for the account given by Drummond of Jonson, which is published in his works (*k*), is a very unfavourable one. The poetical talents of Drummond were very great; and it has been remarked by a late writer, that "among all the writers, at the beginning of the last "century, who flourished after the death of Shakespeare, there is not one, whom a "general reader of the English poetry of that age will regard with so much, and so "deserved attention, as William Drummond (*l*)." The same writer says, that "his "thoughts are often, nay generally, bold and highly poetical. He follows nature; "and his verses are delicately harmonious (*m*) [*L*]." Mr. Pinkerton stiles Drummond "a Poet of the most amiable and exquisite genius;" and remarks, that "it may safely "be said, that if any poems possess a very high degree of that exquisite Doric delicacy, "which we so much admire in Comus, &c. those of Drummond do. Milton may often "be traced in him; and he had certainly read and admired him (*n*). Some of his Sonnets [*M*] and Poems were printed at Edinburgh in 4to. in 1616; and there is said to

(*k*) P. 224, 225, 226.

(*l*) Short account of the Life and Writings of William Drummond, prefixed to the edition of his Poems printed at London, in 1791, p. 1. This was taken from a work privately printed, intitled, "Cursory Re-"marks on some "of the Antient "English Poets, "particularly "Milton."

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) List of the Scottish Poets, p. 123.

"is more than that of yours. They, who by some "strange means have had conference with some of "the old heroes, can only judge that delight I had "in reading them; for, they were to me, as if they "had come from Virgil, Ovid, or the father of our "sonnets, Petrarch. I must love this year of my "life, more dearly than any that forewent it, because "in it I was so happy to be acquainted with such "worth. Whatever were Mr. Davis's other designs, "methinks some secret prudence directed him to "those parts only: for this I will, in love of you, "surpass as far your countrymen as you go beyond "them all in true worth; and shall strive to be "second to none, save your fair and worthy mistress. "Your other letters I delivered to Andrew Hart, "and have been earnest with him in that particular. "How would I be overjoyed to see our North once "honoured with your works as before it was with "Sidney's; though it be barren of excellency in it-"self, it can both love and admire the excellency of "others."

*Decemb.* 20, 1618.

[*K*] *Walked to Hawthornden to visit him.*] In 1773, Dr. Johnson and Mr. Boswell visited Hawthornden. Mr. Boswell says, 'We surveyed Roslin Castle, the 'romantic scene around it, and the beautiful Gothic 'chapel, and dined and drank tea at the inn; after 'which we proceeded to Hawthornden, and viewed 'the caves; and I all the while had *Rare Ben* in my 'mind, and was pleased to think that this place was 'now visited, by another celebrated wit of Eng-'land (20).'

(20) Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, p. 419. edit. 1786.

[*L*] *His verses are delicately harmonious.*] It is farther observed by the writer above referred to, that, 'on the death of Henry prince of Wales, in 1612, 'Drummond wrote an elegy intitled, "Tears on the "Death of Moeliades;" a name which that prince 'had used in all his challenges of martial sport, as the 'anagram of "Miles a Deo." In this poem are lines, 'according to Denham's terms, as strong, as deep, 'as gentle, and as full, as any of his or Waller's. 'The poet laments the fate of the prince, that he died 'not in some glorious cause of war. "Against the "Turk," he says, "thou hadst ended the life and "the Christian war together:

'Or, as brave Bourbon, thou hadst made old Rome,
'Queen of the world, thy triumph and thy tomb.

'Of the lamentation of the river Forth,

'And, as she rush'd her Cyclades among,
'She seem'd to 'plain that heav'n had done her wrong.

'Farther,

'Tagus did court his love with golden streams,
'Rhine with her towns, fair Seine with all she claims;
'But ah, poor lovers! death did them betray,
'And, unsuspected, made their hopes his prey.

'And concludes,

'The virgins to thy tomb will garlands bear
'Of flow'rs, and with each flow'r let fall a tear.
'Moeliades sweet courtly nymphs deplore,
'From Thule to Hydaspes' pearly shore.

'Perhaps there are no lines in Pope, of which the 'easy flow may be more justly admired than of those 'in his third pastoral:

'Not bubbling fountains to the thirsty swain,
'Not balmy sleep to lab'rers faint with pain,
'Not show'rs to larks, or sunshine to the bee,
'Are half so charming as thy sight to me.

'When king James, first after his accession to the 'English throne, returned to Scotland in 1617, his 'arrival was celebrated by every effort of poetical 'congratulation. Upon this occasion Drummond 'composed a panegyric, intitled "The Wandering "Muses; or, The River of Forth Feasting," in 'which are found four lines apparently imitated by 'Pope in the above passage, and which do not, in 'point of harmony, fall much short of that imitation. 'He says,

"To virgins, flow'rs; to sun-burnt earth, the rain;
"To mariners, fair winds amidst the main;
"Cool shades to pilgrims whom hot glances burn,
"Are not so pleasing as thy blest return."

'Of these two poems of Drummond, it is obser-'vable, that the first was written in 1612, the last in '1617. The earliest piece of Waller is that to the 'King on his Navy, in 1625. The piece in which 'Sir John Denham's greatest force lies, Cooper's 'Hill, was not written till 1640. The harmony of 'Drummond, therefore, at a time when those, who 'are usually called the first introducers of a smooth 'and polished versification, had not yet begun to 'write, is an honour to him that should never be 'forgotten. Nor is his excellence half enough 'praised or acknowledged.

'Drummond and Petrarca had this in common, 'that each lamented, first the cruelty, and then the 'loss, of his mistress: so that their sonnets are alike 'naturally divided into two parts; those before, and 'those after, their several mistresses' deaths. It may 'justly be doubted that, among all the Sonneteers in 'the English language, any one is to be preferred to 'Drummond. He has shewn, in some of these com-'positions, nearly the spirit of Petrarca himself.

'The seventh sonnet, of the first part, has much 'resemblance to Sir William Wotton's elegant little 'Poem, on the Queen of Bohemia, *Ye meaner beau-'ties, &c.* Among Drummond's "Flowers of Sion," 'the Poem which begins, *Amidst the azure clear—Of 'Jordan's sacred streams*, eminently distinguishes him, 'whether he be considered as a Philosopher, or a 'Poet.' (21)

(21) Short acct. ut supra, p. 5—8.

[*M*] *His Sonnets,*] Our author's sonnets possess a very high degree of merit, and their versification is extremely harmonious. We shall, therefore, select from them the following.

I.

"I know that all beneath the moon decays,
"And what by mortals in this world is brought,
"In time's great periods shall return to nought;
"That fairest states have fatal nights and days.

to have been an earlier edition. Another edition, greatly enlarged, was publiſhed at London, in 8vo. in 1656, under the following title: "Poems by that moſt famous "Wit, William Drummond of Hawthornden. But, in 1711, were publiſhed, in folio, at Edinburgh, "The Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden: conſiſting of "thoſe which were formerly printed, and thoſe which were deſigned for the Preſs. "Now publiſhed from the Author's original Copies." To this edition an account of the life of the author was prefixed, to which we have been much indebted in the courſe of this article. This volume contains his "Hiſtory of the Five James's, Kings of "Scotland," his "Cypreſs Grove," ſome political tracts [*N*] and papers, Familiar Epiſtles, ſeveral

"I know that all the Muſes' heavenly lays,
"With toil of ſprite, which are ſo dearly bought,
"As idle ſounds, of few or none are ſought,
"That there is nothing lighter than vain praiſe.
"I know frail beauty's like the purple flow'r,
"To which one morn oft birth and death affords,
"That love a jarring is of mind's accords,
"Where ſenſe and will bring under reaſon's power:
"Know what I liſt, this all cannot me move,
"But that, alas, I both muſt write and love (22)."

(22) Poems of William Drummond, of Hawthornden, p. 4. edit. 1791.

II.

"All other beauties howſoe'er they ſhine
"In hairs more bright than is the golden ore,
"Or cheeks more fair than faireſt eglantine,
"Or hands like hers that comes the ſun before:
"Match'd with that heavenly hue, and ſhape divine,
"With thoſe dear ſtars which my weak thoughts adore,
"Look but as ſhadows, or, if they be more,
"It is in this, that they are like to thine.
"Who ſees thoſe eyes, their force that doth not prove;
"Who gazeth on the dimple of that chin,
"And finds not Venus' ſon entrench'd therein,
"Or hath not ſenſe, or knows not what is love.
"To ſee thee had Narciſſus had the grace,
"He would have died with wond'ring on thy face (23)."

(23) Ibid. p. 27.

III.

"O ſacred bluſh empurpling cheeks, pure ſkies
"With crimſon wings which ſpread thee like the morn;
"O baſhful look ſent from thoſe ſhining eyes,
"Which though ſlid down on earth doth Heaven adorn;
"O tongue, in which moſt luſcious nectar lies,
"That can at once both bleſs and make forlorn;
"Dear coral lip which beauty beautifies,
"That trembling ſtood before her words were born;
"And you her words; words? no, but golden chains
"Which did enſlave my ears, enſnare my ſoul,
"Wiſe image of her mind, mind that contains
"A power all power of ſenſes to controul:
"So ſweetly you from love diſſuade do me,
"That I love more, if more my love can be (24)."

(24) Ibid. p. 29.

IV.

"See Cytherea's birds, that milk-white pair
"On yonder leafy myrtle-tree which groan,
"And waken with their kiſſes in the air
"Th' enamour'd zephyrs murmuring one by one;
"If thou but ſenſe hadſt like Pygmalion's ſtone,
"Or hadſt not ſeen Meduſa's ſnaky hair,
"Love's leſſons thou might'ſt learn; and learn, ſweet fair,
"To ſummer's heat ere that thy ſpring be grown.
"And if thoſe kiſſing lovers ſeem but cold,
"Look how that elm this ivy doth embrace,
"And bids and claſps with many a wanton fold,
"And, courting ſleep, o'erſhadows all the place;
"Nay, ſeems to ſay, Dear tree, we ſhall not part,
"In ſign whereof, lo, in each leaf a heart (25)."

(25) Ibid. p. 37.

V.

"Sweet Spring, thou com'ſt with all thy goodly train,
"Thy head with flames, thy mantle bright with flow'rs,
"The zephyrs curl the green locks of the plain,
"The clouds for joy in pearls weep down their ſhow'rs.
"Sweet Spring, thou com'ſt—but, ah! my pleaſant hours,
"And happy days, with thee come not again;
"The ſad memorials only of my pain
"Do with thee come, which turn my ſweet to ſours.
"Thou art the ſame which ſtill thou wert before,
"Delicious, luſty, amiable, fair;
"But ſhe whoſe breath embalm'd thy wholeſome air
"Is gone; nor gold, nor gems can her reſtore.
"Neglected virtue, ſeaſons go and come,
"When thine forgot lie cloſed in a tomb (26)."

(26) Ibid. p. 56.

VI.

"If Heaven, the ſtars, and nature did her grace
"With all perfections found the moon above,
"And what excelleth in this lower place,
"Found place in her to breed a world of love:
"If angels' gleams ſhine on her faireſt face,
"Which makes Heaven's joy on earth the gazer prove,
"And her bright eyes (the orbs which beauty move)
"As Phœbus dazzle in his glorious race;
"What pencil paint, what colour to the ſight
"So ſweet a ſhape can ſhew? The bluſhing morn
"The red muſt lend, the milky-way the white,
"And night, the ſtars which her rich crown adorn;
"To draw her right then, and make all agree,
"The Heaven the table, Zeuxis Jove muſt be.
"Fair ſoul, in this black age ſo ſhin'd thou bright,
"And made all eyes with wonder thee behold,
"Till ugly death, depriving us of light,
"In his grim miſty arms thee did enfold.
"Who more ſhall vaunt true beauty here to ſee?
"What hope doth more in any heart remain,
"That ſuch perfections ſhall his reaſon rein,
"If beauty with thee born, too died with thee?
"World plain no more of love, nor count his harms;
"With his pale trophies death has hung his arms (27)."

(27) Ibid. p. 80, 81.

[*N*] *Some political tracts.*] One of theſe is a piece called "Irene: a Remonſtrance for Concord, Amity, "and Love, among his Majeſty's Subjects; written "after his Declaration publiſhed at Edinburgh, 22d. "of September, 1638." This performance contains very groſs flattery reſpecting Charles I. and the principles of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance are ſtrongly inculcated in it. Among other paſſages of this kind are the following: 'Love naturally beginneth 'at the moſt perfect: God loved us before we could 'love him: the father loveth the children, and the 'children after love the father: it doth not conſiſt, 'except by a certain reflexion, and a reciprocal 'being. The Prince hath deſcended from his throne, 'laying down as it were his greatneſs and power 'ſovereign, ſeeming to diminiſh himſelf, only re-'taining his fatherly love to receive us into peace and 'amity with him, (whom, if his goodneſs had not 'balanced his greatneſs, he had never accepted but 'amidſt the horrors of arms) and ſhall not we run, 'nay, take wings, with acclamations, applauſes, 'lengthened ſhouts, and burſting joys to meet him; 'and carry that ſame affection towards him (though 'not of that height and extenſion) which he hath 'carried towards us? The Prince, that vital ſpirit 'of the commonwealth, which giveth life to ſo 'many millions of lives, the faireſt image of God 'upon earth; the beſt of all chriſtian Kings, who 'truly ſerveth the true God. What ſuſpicions, 'doubts, falſe fears, miſrepreſentations, have been 'amongſt us, they proceed and come all from our-'ſelves, and remain amongſt ourſelves; reſembling 'thoſe dampiſh fogs and miſts which maſk the ſuns 'and

ſeveral Miſcellaneous Tracts, and his Poems, conſiſting of his Sonnets, which are numerous, Songs, Madrigals, Epitaphs, Divine Poems and Hymns, a Poem called "the River of Forth-feaſting [O]," a Macaronic poem, entitled, "Polemo-Middinia

" inter

' and mountains, but never approach nor reach the ' clear body of the ſun, which is the Prince (28).'— ' Obedience being the ſtrongeſt pedeſtal of concord, ' and concord the principal pillar of ſtate, we ſhould ' always embrace and follow her, if we would enjoy ' civil happineſs; or, at leaſt, uſe her as a bridle, ' helm, and ſtay to our wild perturbations and diſ- ' ordered paſſions. Imagine in the ſtatutes, edicts, ' and ordinances of Princes, there be many things ' contrary to our opinions, and which do diſpleaſe ' us; to ſuch difficulties, contrarieties, and differences, ' let us apply the remedies of patience and obedience. ' For it is not lawful for a ſubject to be a ſyndick of ' the actions of his Prince in matters of ſtate, being ' for the moſt part ignorant of the ſecret cauſes and ' motives upon which they are grounded: it belong- ' ing only to God Almighty (the ſearcher of all ' hearts) to cenſure and judge the actions of Princes, ' from whom alone they have immediately their royal ' power and ſovereignty. In the proceedings of ' Princes, that which is unknown to the ſubject, is ' often more pregnant in ſtate, and more expedient ' than that of which he findeth the reaſon. Princes ' having that preheminence and particular bleſſing ' from God, to be inſtructed in what is moſt for the ' weal of their people, more than the people them- ' ſelves; as phyſicians, who know what is convenient ' and moſt healthful for their patients, and more ' than they themſelves (29).'—' If the Prince holdeth ' not his crown of you, but of God (who diſtributeth ' honours as it ſeemeth beſt unto him) and the antient ' laws of his kingdom; if his crown be not by elec- ' tion, but by a lineal ſucceſſion; if he be not a con- ' ditional Prince, but an abſolute Sovereign; if he ' be lawfully inveſted, anointed, and crowned: why ' ſhould ye ſervants give a law to your maſter? What ' honours, riches, greatneſs, you enjoy, you have all ' from your Kings his anceſtors; and you owe him ' all ſubjection, ſervice, and obedience: who aſſume ' and uſurp the rights of their Sovereign, the laws of ' God and man proclaim worthy of death. Good ' Princes ſhould be obeyed, yea, evil Princes ſhould ' be tolerated. God, who raiſed Kings above you, ' holdeth himſelf wronged in their wrongs, and re- ' vengeth the injuries done unto them. Though ' they ſhould, in ſome things, go beyond their duties, ' they are not to be judged by their ſubjects; for no ' power within their dominions is ſuperior to theirs ' (30).'

(28) Works, p. 164.

(29) Ibid. p. 165, 166.

(30) Ibid. p. 168.

Mr. Drummond, however, exhorts the King, though in very ſervile language, to ſome degree of moderation, and not to carry matters to extremities againſt his ſubjects; ' Moſt gracious Sovereign, ' how thy prudence hath been great, thy goodneſs ' without example! The farther we are diſtant from ' thy preſence, the more bountifully haſt thou deigned ' to glance upon us, and give us the fairer aſpect of ' thy virtues. Thou haſt pitied our weakneſs; thou ' haſt not anſwered our ſtubborneſs; knowing that ' the beſt way not to be revenged of our inſolences ' was not to be like unto us. What couldeſt thou ' have done more, what ſhouldeſt thou have done ' leſs, for that diſtracted and diſtreſſed country in ' which thou waſt born? And now, ſir, (if ever this ' paper ſhall have the happineſs to kiſs your royal ' hands) as you have hitherto graciouſly caſt an eye ' upon your antient kingdom, diſdain not to liſten to ' theſe her humble ſupplications and laſt groans; ' behold her, proſtrate at your feet, come to ex- ' hibit and ſhew forth her woful eſtate and condition.

" Many (ſaith ſhe) have been my miſeries, many " my ſorrows: the open invaſions of foreigners in " antient times, the ſecret plots and conſpiracies of " mine own thereafter: the beholding of my ſanc- " tuaries defaced; my temples equalled with the " ground; my towns ranſacked; my painful " ſtruggles under the bondage of moſt terrible " governors, tolerating what their malice could in- " vent, or their boldneſs attempt; the calamities of " a rigorous and pitileſs heaven; the barbarous daily " feuds of mine inhabitants among themſelves at " home; the ſlaughters and deſtructions of them " among ſtranger-nations abroad. But no grievance, " no chance, no diſaſter, hath ſo perplexedly en- " cumbered me, and caſt me down, as that the many " merits, benefits, favours of your bleſſed father " forgot, the graciouſneſs, the goodneſs of yourſelf " deſpiſed, in the midſt of your engagements in the " neighbour-wars and troubles of Europe; my " nurſelings (diſtaining themſelves with ingratitude) " ſhould have adventured to leave in the minds of " their race and poſterity a ſuſpicion, that they did " take their blood and deſcent from men branded " with any mark of Leſe-Majeſty or rebellion. Alas, " ſir, they have not known about what they have " been diſquieting themſelves, what ſhould have been " the event of their raſh proceedings! This hath " been in them a fideration, the bleſſing of ſome " unhappy influence, deſerving rather pity than " puniſhment: and though again deſpiſing the health- " ful counſels of their friends, they ſhould reject " your favours, refuſe fooliſhly your gracious offers, " continue in their ſtubborneſs, and eſſay to run " headlong to their perdition; prove not your power " againſt them; ſhake them not; for in a little time " they will decline and fall."—" Turn not, ſir, " your country into ſhambles, a deſert wilderneſs, a " ſepulchre, a monument of deſolation. By that " duty and reverence you owe to God Almighty, " who placed you to repreſent him upon earth; by " the aſhes and memories of ſo many Kings your " predeceſſors, who here ſo peaceably reigned; by " that charity which is due to me, your native " country: if there be no King ſo good as yourſelf; " if there be no people which more dearly love " their Kings (however now in an ague) than this? " if they have loſt any thing of what they feign to " be liberty, (which is only a power to do what is " convenient); reſtore it unto them; change their " troubles into reſt, their miſeries into proſperity, " their diſſenſions into concord and peace; which, " out of that chaos wherein they now ſtruggle, that " labyrinth wherein they are like to entangle and " loſe themſelves, ſhall relieve and wind them out, " and repair every thing to its firſt luſtre and beauty. " So God ſhall be ſerved, you of all obeyed, and " your deſolate country preſerved from thoſe many " miſeries and dangers which threaten her (31)."

(31) Ibid. p. 172, 173.

[O] *The River of Forth-feaſting.*] This is a panegyric on King James I. and has a particular reference to his return to Scotland in 1617, and from this piece of courtly flattery, which is of conſiderable length, we ſhall ſelect the following lines. Immediatrly addreſſing James himſelf he ſays,

" Who of thine after-age can count the deeds,
" With all that fame in time's huge annals reads;
" How by example, more than any law,
" This people fierce thou didſt to goodneſs draw;
" How while the neighbour worlds, toſs'd by the fates,
" So many phaëtons had in their ſtates,
" Which turn'd to heedleſs flames their burniſh'd thrones,
" Thou, as enſpher'd, kept'ſt temperate thy zones;
" In Afric ſhores, the ſands that ebb and flow,
" The ſhady leaves on Arden's trees that grow,
" He ſure may count, with all the waves that meet
" To waſh the Mauritanian Atlas' feet.
" Though crown'd thou wert not, nor a King by birth,
" Thy worth deſerves the richeſt crown on earth.
" Search this half-ſphere, and the Antarctic ground,
" Where are ſuch wit and bounty to be found?
" As into ſilent night, when near the bear
" The virgin huntreſs ſhines at full moſt clear,
" And ſtrives to match her brother's golden light,
" The hoſt of ſtars doth vaniſh in her ſight;
" Arcturus dies; cool'd is the Lion's ire,
" Po burns no more with Phaëtontal fire;



" Orion

" inter Vitarvum et Nebernam [*P*]," and various other miſcellaneous poems. A new edition of his poems was printed at London, in ſmall 8vo. in 1791.]

T.

" Orion faints to ſee his arms grow black,
" And that his flaming ſword he now doth lack:
" So Europe's lights, all bright in their degree,
" Loſe all their luſtre, parallel'd with thee.
" By juſt deſcent thou from more Kings doth ſhine,
" Than many can name men in all their line:
" What moſt they toil to find, and finding hold,
" Thou ſcorneſt, orient gems, and flatt'ring gold;
" Eſteeming treaſure ſurer in men's breaſts
" Than when immur'd with marble, clos'd in
" cheſts:
" No ſtormy paſſions do diſturb thy mind,
" No miſts of greatneſs ever could thee blind:
" Who yet hath been ſo meek? Thou life didſt give
" To them who did repine to ſee thee live:
" What prince by goodneſs hath ſuch kingdoms
" gain'd?
" Who hath ſo long his people's peace maintain'd?
" Their ſwords are turn'd to ſcythes, to coulters
" ſpears,
" Some giant poſt their antique armour bears:
" Now, where the wounded knight his life did
" bleed,
" The wanton ſwain ſits piping on a reed;
" And where the cannon did Jove's thunder ſcorn,
" The gaudy huntſman winds his ſhrill-tun'd horn;
" Her green locks Ceres doth to yellow dye;
" The pilgrim ſafely in the ſhade doth lie;
" Both Pan and Pales careleſs keep their flocks;
" Seas have no dangers, ſave the winds and rocks:
" Thou art this Iſle's palladium; neither can
" (Whiles thou doſt live!) it be o'erthrown by man.
" Eye of our weſtern world! Mars-daunting King!
" With whoſe renown the earth's ſeven climates
" ring,
" Thy deeds not only claim theſe diadems,
" To which Thame, Liffy, Tay, ſubject their
" ſtreams:
" But to thy virtues rare, and gifts, is due
" All that the planet of the year doth view;
" Sure, if the world above did want a Prince,
" The world above to it would take thee hence.
" O virtue's pattern! glory of our times!
" Sent of paſt days to expiate the crimes;
" Great King, but better far than thou art great,
" Whom ſtate not honours, but who honours
" ſtate;
" By wonder borne, by wonder firſt inſtall'd,
" By wonder after to new kingdoms call'd;
" Young, kept by wonder from home-bred alarms,
" Old, ſav'd by wonder from pale traitors' harms;
" To be for this thy reign, which wonders brings,
" A King of wonder, wonder unto Kings.
" If Pict, Dane, Norman, thy ſmooth yoke had
" ſeen,
" Pict, Dane, and Norman, had thy ſubjects been;
" If Brutus knew the bliſs thy rule doth give,
" Ev'n Brutus joy would under thee to live:
" For thou thy people doſt ſo dearly love,
" That they a father, more than Prince, thee prove.
" (32)."

(32) Poems, p. 177, 178, 179. 181. edit. 1791.

[*P*] *A Macaronic poem, entitled,* " *Polemo-Middinia inter Vitarvum et Nebernam.*] Of this production Dr. Beattie ſpeaks in the following terms: 'There is 'a Poem well known in North Britain, which to a 'Scotchman who underſtands Latin is abundantly 'entertaining. It was written, in the beginning of 'the laſt century, by the famous Drummond of Haw-'thornden. The meaſure is hexameter, the numbers 'Virgilian, and the language Latin mixed with 'broad Scotch. Nothing can be more ludicrous than 'ſuch a jumble. It is dignity and meanneſs in the 'extreme;—dignity of ſound, and meanneſs of words 'and ideas. I ſhall not give a ſpecimen; as the 'humour is local, and rather coarſe, and the images 'though ſtrong, not quite delicate (33).']

(33) Beattie's Eſſays, p. 643. 4to. edit.

*** The late Mr. Headley, in his "Select Beauties of "Ancient Engliſh Poetry," though his deſign more particularly confined him to the poets of England, has very judiciouſly enriched his collection with ſeveral of Mr. Drummond's productions. Theſe are ten of his Sonnets, and four other pieces. With regard to the death of the lady whom Drummond was on the point of marrying, Mr. Headley remarks, that "this cir-"cumſtance, to a mind like his, previouſly expoſed "by nature to the anguiſh of the finer feelings, "and by a habit of retirement to reflections of a "ſerious and abſtracted caſt, muſt have had no ſmall "ſhare in tincturing his compoſitions with that in-"tereſting and tender melancholy that takes every "feeling reader with an irreſiſtible charm." "With-"out oſtentatious praiſe," adds Mr. Headley, "which "is always to be ſuſpected, it is but truth to obſerve, "that many of his Sonnets, thoſe more eſpecially which "are diveſted of Italian conceits, reſemble the beſt "Greek epigrams in their beſt taſte, in that exquiſite "delicacy of ſentiment, and ſimplicity of expreſſion, "for which our language has no ſingle term, but which "is known to all claſſical readers by the word ἀφελεια. "It is in vain we lament the fate of many of our "poets, who have undeſervedly fallen a victim to a "premature oblivion, when the finiſhed productions "of this man are little known, and ſtill leſs "read." (34)

(34) Biographical Sketches, p. xlv.

Mr. Park, of Down-Street, Piccadilly, to whoſe obliging communications we are much indebted, (and of which we ſhould have made a larger uſe, had not our article been previouſly arranged), has pointed out ſome lines, wherein Drummond himſelf appears to have been aware of the neglect with which he would probably be attended.

" I know that all the Muſe's heavenly lays
" With toil of ſpirit which are ſo dearly bought,
" As idle ſounds of few or none are ſought,
" That there is nothing lighter than vain praiſe.
" Know what I liſt, this all cannot me move,
" But that, alas! I both muſt write and love."

" May not the following paſſage," ſays the ſame gentleman, " be a delicate alluſion to his having "ſlighted the profeſſion of the bar (which his father "wiſhed him to have purſued) for the charms of claſ-"ſical literature?"

" I changed countries new delights to find;
" But, ah! for pleaſure I did find new paine—
" Enchanting pleaſure ſo did reaſon blind,
" That *Father's love and words* I ſcorn'd as vaine."

Mr. Park has mentioned another inſtance (beſides that ſpecified in note *L.*) in which Pope was evidently an imitator of Drummond. It is in the epiſtle to Abelard:

" The crime was common, common be the pain."
POPE.
" The grief was common, common were the cries."

As Drummond was the firſt,—Drummond, that introduced into England the fine Italian vein of poetry,—Mr. Park is of opinion, that, if we had had no Drummond, perhaps we ſhould never have ſeen the delicacies of Comus, Lycidas, Il Penſeroſo, and L'Allegro. But Milton's ſmaller pieces, which, for a time, were neglected, at length have had juſtice done to them; whereas Drummond has not been ſo fortunate.

There have been other editions, in part or in whole, of Drummond's works, beſides thoſe mentioned above, but the principal ones are there deſcribed. The Polemo-Middinia is ſaid to have been reprinted at Oxford, with an excellent Latin preface concerning Macaronic Poetry. A new impreſſion of the ſame poem appeared at Glaſgow in 1779. In the ſame year, and in the ſame city, was publiſhed an indifferent edition of Drummond's Hiſtory of Scotland. One

of

of his beſt ſonnets is prefixed to Patrick Gordon's famous "Hiſtory of Fernando and Lariſſa," 1615, and alludes both to Spenſer and Shakſpeare. Another is placed before Lord Stirline's Doomſday. They have not either of them been reprinted. Mr. Pennant intimates, that, at the time when he viſited Hawthornden, the portraits of the poet and his father were both there. The following verſes, by Drummond, were taken from a manuſcript in the author's hand-writing, in the collection of the Earl of Buchan, and are ſuppoſed to have been addreſſed to Drayton—probably on being preſented with a copy of his poems.

"*Dum tua melliſlui ſpecto pigmenta libelli,*
"*Pendet ab eloquio mens mihi rapta tuo;*
"*At ſenſum expendens, tamque altæ pondera mentis,*
"*Senſus ab eximio me rapit eloquio:*
"*Sed mage dædales miror te pectore qui ſic*
"*Cogis ad Italicos Anglica Verba Modos.*
"*Eloquium, Senſus, Mentis vis dædala, longe*
"*Tollit Humo ad Superos te ſuper Aſtra Deos.*"

This manuſcript, and ſeveral others, were given by Mrs. Abernethy Drummond of Hawthornden, the Poet's heir, to Lord Buchan, and have ſince been depoſited by his Lordſhip in the library of the ſociety, for hiſtory and antiquities in Scotland (35).

(35) All this information we owe to Mr. Parke.

Though it is an undoubted fact that the beauty of Drummond's numbers preceded that of Waller and Denham, we are not hence to imagine that Engliſh poetry had been previouſly deſtitute of harmonious verſification. Spenſer excelled in it in a moſt eminent degree; and there are many muſical lines in Daniel Drayton and Sir John Beaumont, though with ſome harſh mixtures. The truth of the caſe is, that ſeveral of our Engliſh writers degenerated in their verſification, which was in a great meaſure owing to the wretched taſte of compoſition introduced by Donne, and the reſt of the metaphyſical poets. After ſome time, a reformation was begun by Waller, advanced by Denham, and completed by Dryden.

A pleaſant inſtance of macaronic poetry has lately been given by Dr. Geddes, in his humorous deſcription of the public dinner of the Diſſenters at the London Tavern, on occaſion of their attempts to obtain a repeal of the Corporation and Teſt Acts.] K.

DRYDEN (JOHN), one of the moſt eminent poets this country has produced, was ſon of Eraſmus Dryden, of Tichmerſh in Northamptonſhire, third ſon of Eraſmus Dryden, of Canons Aſhby, in the ſame county, Baronet; and was born at Aldwinkle near Oundle in that county, the ninth of Auguſt, 1631 (*a*). He was educated in grammar-learning at Weſtminſter-ſchool, being King's Scholar there, under the famous Dr. Buſby; and was thence elected, in 1650, a Scholar of Trinity-College in Cambridge (*b*). During his ſtay at ſchool, he tranſlated the "Third Satire of Perſius" [*A*] for a Thurſday-night's exerciſe (*c*); and, the year before he left it, wrote a poem "On "the Death of the Lord Haſtings;" a performance very unworthy of the great poet he afterwards proved. In 1658, he publiſhed "Heroic Stanzas on the late Lord Pro-"tector, written after his Funeral" (*d*). In 1660, came out his "Aſtræa Redux [*B*], "a Poem on the happy Reſtoration and Return of his ſacred Majeſty King Charles II" (*e*); and, the ſame year, his "Panegyrick to the King on his Coronation" (*f*). In 1662, he addreſſed a poem "To the Lord Chancellor Hyde, preſented on New-Year's-day" (*g*); and the ſame year publiſhed "A Satire on the Dutch" (*b*). His next piece was his "Annus Mirabilis: The Year of Wonders, 1666: An Hiſtorical Poem" (*i*). In 1668, Mr. Dryden, upon the death of Sir William Davenant, was made Poet Laureat and Hiſtoriographer to King Charles II. (*k*); and, the ſame year, publiſhed his "Eſſay "on Dramatick Poeſy" [*C*]. Our author's firſt Play, intituled "The Wild Gallant," appeared

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. vol. II. col. 414. See the epitaph in the remark [*Y*].
(*b*) Id. ib.
(*c*) See the remark [*A*].
(*d*) See Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq. now firſt collected and publiſhed together; in two volumes, 12mo. London, 1743. vol. I. p. 17.
(*e*) Ib. p. 22.
(*f*) Ib. p. 32.
(*g*) Ib. p. 36.
(*b*) Ib. p. 135.
(*i*) Ib. p. 43.
(*k*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *During his ſtay at ſchool, he tranſlated the* "Third Satire of Perſius."] We learn this from the following advertiſement at the head of that Satire. 'I remember I tranſlated this Satire, when I was a 'King's ſcholar at Weſtminſter-ſchool, for a Thurſ-'day-night's exerciſe; and I believe that it, and 'many other of my exerciſes of this nature, in Engliſh 'Verſe, are ſtill in the hands of my learned maſter, 'the Reverend Dr. Buſby" (*l*).

(*l*) The Satires of D. J. Juvenalis, &c. Lond. 1735. 12mo. p. 257.

[*B*] *His* "Aſtræa Redux"]. A remarkable diſtich in this piece expoſed our poet to the ridicule of the wits. It was this:

An *horrid ſtillneſs* firſt pervades the ear,
And in that *ſilence* was the tempeſt fear (2).

(2) Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq. now firſt collected and publiſhed together; in two volumes, 12mo. Lond. 1743. Vol. I. p. 23.

Among others, Captain Alexander Radcliff has a fling at it in the following lines of his *News from Hell* (3):

Laureat, who was both learn'd and florid,
Was damn'd long ſince for *ſilence horrid*:
Nor had there been ſuch clutter made,
But that his *ſilence* did *invade*:
*Invade!* and ſo't might well, that's clear;
But what did it *invade?* An *Ear*.

(3) Second Part of Miſcellany Poems, p. 98. edit. 1727.

[*C*] *His* "Eſſay on Dramatic Poeſy."] It is dedicated to Charles Earl of Dorſet and Middleſex. Mr. Dryden tells his patron, that the writing this Eſſay had ſerved as an amuſement to him in the country when the violence of the plague (in 1665) had driven him from the town; but that he finds many things in it, which he does not now approve, his judgment being not a little altered ſince the writing it. Preſently after he ſays: 'For the way of writing plays in verſe, which 'I have ſeemed to favour, I have, ſince that time, 'laid the practice of it aſide, till I have more leiſure, 'becauſe I find it troubleſome and ſlow. But I am no 'way altered from my opinion of it, at leaſt with any 'reaſons which have oppoſed it. For, your lordſhip 'may eaſily obſerve, that none are very violent againſt 'it, but thoſe who have not either attempted it, or 'who have ill ſucceeded in their attempt.' In the preface *to the reader*, we are told, that the drift of this diſcourſe was to vindicate the honour of our Engliſh writers from the cenſure of thoſe who unjuſtly prefer the French before them. 'This (*ſays* Mr. Dryden) I 'intimate, leſt any ſhould think me ſo exceeding vain, 'as to teach others an art, which they underſtand much 'better than myſelf. But if this incorrect Eſſay, writ-'ten in the country, without the help of books, or ad-'vice of friends, ſhall find an acceptance in the world, 'I promiſe to myſelf a better ſucceſs of the ſecond part, 'wherein I ſhall more freely treat of the virtues and 'faults of the Engliſh poets, who have written either 'in this, the epic, or the lyric way.' The *Eſſay* is drawn up in the form of a dialogue between *Eugenius*, *Crites*, *Liſideius* and *Neander*. It was animadverted upon by Sir Robert Howard, in the *Preface* to his "Great Favourite or Duke of Lerma;" to which Mr. Dryden replied in a defence of it, prefixed to the ſecond edition of his "Indian Emperor."

[*D*] *A liſt, and ſome account, of Mr.* Dryden's plays.] I. "The Wild Gallant;" a comedy, acted at the Theatre Royal, and printed in 4to; London, 1699. This was Mr. Dryden's firſt attempt in dramatick poetry, and met with but very indifferent ſucceſs in the action. Mr. Langbaine tells us (4), Mr. Dryden confeſſed the plot

(4) Account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets, p. 175.

appeared in 1669 (*l*), and was followed by a great number of others; a list, and some account, of which we shall give in the remark [*D*]. Mr. Gerard Langbaine, a contemporary

(*l*) Langbaine's Account of the English Dramatic Poets. Lond. 1691. p. 130, &c.

plot was not originally his own: but, however, (*he adds, with a sneer,*) 'having so much altered and 'beautified it, we will do him the honour to call him 'the author of the "Wild Gallant;" as he has done "Sir Robert Howard, the author of the "Duke of 'Lerma *:" and by way of excuse I shall transcribe 'his own lines || in behalf of a new brother of Par-'nassus:

'Tis miracle to see a first good play;
'All Hawthorns do not bloom on Christmas-day:
'A slender poet must have time to grow,
'And spread and burnish as his brothers do:
'Who still looks lean, sure with some pox is curst:
'But no man can be Falstaff, fat at first.'

(*) Defence of his Essay, &c. p. 5.

(||) Prologue to Dr. Davenant's Circe. See Original Poems, &c. Vol. II. p. 242.

To say the truth, this play is so indifferent a performance in itself, and was so ill received, that, if the author had not had a peculiar force of inclination to writing, he would have been sufficiently discouraged from any farther progress. II. "The Indian Em-"peror, or, the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards: "being the Sequel of the Indian Queen:" a Tragi-Comedy, acted at the Theatre-Royal in 1670, and printed in 4to. It is dedicated to the Duchess of Monmouth and Buccleugh. It is written in heroic verse, or rhyme, and appeared on the stage with great approbation. The story may be found in Mariana's "History of Spain," B. 26, ch. 3; and Sir Paul Ricaut's "History of Peru." III. "An Evening "Love, or, The Mock Astrologer:" a Comedy, acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to. 1671. It is dedicated to the Duke of Newcastle. The principal plot of this play is built on Calderon's "El "Astrologo fingido;" and the play is, for the most part, taken from Corneille's "Feint Astrologue," Moliere's "Dépit Amoureux and Precieuses Ridicules," and Quinault's "Amant Indiscret." IV. "Marriage "Alamode: a Comedy, acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to. 1673. It is dedicated to the Earl of Rochester. This play, though styled a Comedy, is rather a Tragi-Comedy, and consists of two actions, the one serious, and the other comic; both borrowed from two stories, which the author has tacked together. The serious part is founded on the story of Sesostris and Timareta in the "Grand Cyrus," Pt. 9. B. 3. and the characters of Palamede and Rodophil on the story of Timantes and Parthenia in the same romance, Pt. 6. B. 1. The character of Doralice seems borrowed from the story of Norgaret, in a piece called "The Annals of Love;" and Melantha's making court to herself, in Rodophil's name, from "Les "Contes d'Ouville," Pt. 1. p. 13. V. "Amboyna:" a Tragedy, acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to, 1673. It is dedicated to the Lord Clifford of Chudleigh. The plot of this play is chiefly founded on history, being an account of the cruelty of the Dutch to our countrymen in Amboyna, A. D. 1618; for which see Stubbs's "Relations of the "Dutch Cruelties," &c. and Wanley's "History of "Man," B. 4. ch. 10. The Rape of Isabinda, by Harman is built on a novel in Cynthio Gyraldi, Dec. 5. Nouv. 10. VI. "Mistaken Husband: a Comedy, acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to. 1675. Mr. Langbaine tells us (5), Mr. Dryden was not the author of this play, 'though it was adopted by him, 'as an orphan, which might well deserve the charity 'of a scene which he bestowed on it.' It is in the nature of Low Comedy, or Farce, and written on the model of Plautus's "Menechmi." VIII. "Aurenge-"Zebe, or, The Great Mogul;" a tragedy, acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to. 1676. It is dedicated to the Earl of Mulgrave. The story is related at large in Tavernier's "Voyages in the Indies," Vol. I. Pt. 2. ch. 2. Mr. Langbaine (6) determines, that the characters of Aurenge-Zebe and Nourmahal are borrowed from Seneca's "Phædra and Hippolytus." But whoever considers them will see, that there is nothing alike through their whole story, excepting only the love of a mother-in-law towards her son-in-law, and the son-in-law's aversion; and as to the characters (a thing Mr. Langbaine seems never to understand), Hippolytus has an aversion to love; Aurenge-Zebe is in love: Hippolytus is a hunter; Aurenge-Zebe is a warrior: as for Nourmahal, she is a degree beyond the lewdness even of Seneca's Phædra, who degenerates extremely from her original in Euripides, and indeed has none of her qualities, but only revenge for disappointed love. Mr. Langbaine accuses our poet likewise of theft, in borrowing, or rather imitating, several passages of Seneca in this play. But, with his leave, a poet deserves praise, rather than censure, who transplants the beauties of antient authors into his own works. This play is written in heroic verse, or rhyme. VIII. "The Tempest, or, The Inchanted "Island:" a Comedy, acted at the Duke of York's Theatre, and printed in 4to. 1676. This is only an alteration of Shakspeare's "Tempest," by Sir William Davenant and Mr. Dryden. The characters of the sailors were chiefly the invention and writing of Sir William, as is acknowledged by Mr. Dryden in the preface, IX. "Feigned Innocence, or Sir Martin "Mar-all:" a Comedy, acted at the Duke of York's Theatre, and printed in 4to. 1678. The foundation of this play is originally French, the greatest part of the plot, and some of the language of Sir Martin, being taken from Quinault's "Amant Indiscret," and Moliere's "Etourdi." Warner's playing on the lute, instead of his master, is copied from Du Pare's "Fran-"cion," B. 7; and the hint of Old Moody and Sir John seems borrowed from Shakerly Marmion's (*) "Fine Companion." X. "The Assignation, or, "Love in a Nunnery:" a Comedy, acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to. 1678. It is dedicated to Sir Charles Sedley. This play, Mr. Langbaine tells us (7), was *damn'd on the stage*, or, as the author expresses it in the *epistle dedicatory*, *succeeded ill in the representation*: but, 'whether the fault was in 'the play itself, or in the lameness of the action, or in 'number of its enemies, who came resolved to damn 'it for the title,' he will not pretend, any more than the author, to determine. Mr. Ravenscroft, in the prologue to his "Careless Lovers," acted the year following, reflects on this and the preceding play, in these lines:

An author did, to please you, let his wit run,
Of late, much on a *serving man* and *cittern* (†);
And yet you wou'd not like the *serenade*;
Nay, and you damn'd his *Nuns* in *masquerade*:
You did his Spanish sing-song too abhor;
*Ah! que locura con tanto rigor!*
In fine, the whole by you so much was blam'd,
To act their parts the players were asham'd.

(*) A writer of plays in Charles the First's time.

(7) Ib. p. 154.

(†) Warner playing on the lute.

Several of the incidents and characters of this play are borrowed: those of the Duke of Mantua, Frederick, and Lucretia, from the story of Constance the Fair Nun, in the "Annals of Love," p. 81. those of Aurelian, Camillo, Laura, and Violetta, from the story of Destiny and Star, in Scarron's "Romance of the "Players" (*). Bergto's affectation of musick is taken from Quinault's Jodolet, in his "Comédie sans "Comédie;" and Frontona's throwing water on Laura, from Fontaine's "Contes," Pte. 1ere. n. 11. XI. "The State of Innocence, or, the Fall of Man:" an opera, written in heroic verse, and printed in 4to. in 1678. It is dedicated to her Royal Highness the Duchess of York, on whom the author passes the following extravagant compliment: 'Your person is 'so admirable, that it can scarce receive addition, 'when it shall be glorified; and your soul, which 'shines through it, finds it of a substance so near her 'own, that she will be pleased to pass an age within 'it, and to be confined to such a palace.' To this piece is prefixed "An Apology for Heroic Poetry and "poetic Licence." The subject is taken from Milton's "Paradise Lost," and many of that excellent poet's thoughts and expressions are copied in this play; but with what success the judicious reader will easily determine. Mr. Nat. Lee wrote commendatory verses on this play: and speaks of it in these terms:

(*) Or, Comical Romance, as it is mis-translated.

(5) Ubi supra, p. 166.

(6) Ib. p. 156.

porary writer (*m*), has treated Mr. Dryden with more ſeverity than juſtice, on account of his

(*m*) Id. ibid.

To the dead bard your fame a little owes:
For Milton did the wealthy mine diſcloſe,
And rudely caſt what you could well diſpoſe.
He roughly drew, on an old-faſhion'd ground,
A chaos; for no perfect world was found;
Till thro' the heap your mighty genius ſhin'd:
His was the golden Ore, which you refin'd.
He firſt beheld the beauteous ruſtic maid,
And to a place of ſtrength the prize convey'd:
You took her thence, to Court the virgin brought,
Dreſs'd her with gems, new-weav'd her hard-ſpun thought,
And ſofteſt language, ſweeteſt manners taught:
Till from a comet ſhe a ſtar did riſe,
Not to affright, but pleaſe, our wond'ring eyes.
Betwixt ye both is fram'd a nobler piece,
Than ere was drawn in Italy or Greece.

But theſe lines, as Mr. Dryden himſelf juſtly obſerves in the "Apology," &c. 'ought to be eſteemed the 'effect of Mr. Lee's love to him, rather than his de-'liberate and ſober judgment.' XII. "The Con-"queſt of Granada by the Spaniards," in two parts: two Tragi-Comedies, acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to. in 1678. Theſe two plays are dedicated to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, and were received on the ſtage with great applauſe. The ſtory is to be found in Mariana's "Hiſtory of Spain," B. 25. ch. 18. Thuanus's "Hiſtory," B. 48 and "Guicciardine," l. 12, &c. Mr. Langbaine tells us (8), the characters in theſe plays are all borrowed from French and Spaniſh Romances, particularly Almahide, Grand Cyrus, Ibrahim, and Guſman: but, in truth, that of Almanzor ſeems rather a copy of Homer's Achilles, ill underſtood. Theſe plays are written in heroic verſe, or rhyme. To the firſt is prefixed "An Eſſay on Heroic Plays;" and to the ſecond, "A Defence of the Epilogue, or, An Eſſay on "the Dramatic Poetry of the laſt age." Mr. Richard Leigh, a player in the Duke of York's Theatre, attacked Mr. Dryden's "Conqueſt of Grenada," in a pamphlet, intitled, "A Cenſure of the Rota: On Mr. "Dryden's Conqueſt of Granada:" Oxford 1673, in 4to. This occaſioned ſeveral other pamphlets, particularly, "The Friendly Vindication of Mr. Dryden "from the Cenſure of the Rota;" Cambridge, 1673, in 4to. "Mr. Dryden vindicated, in a Reply to the "Friendly Vindication of Mr. Dryden; with Reflex-"ions on the Rota;" London, 1673, in 4to; and "A Deſcription of the Academy of the Athenian "Virtuoſi, with a Diſcourſe held there in Vindication "of Mr. Dryden's Conqueſt of Grenada, againſt the "author of the Cenſure of the Rota;" London, 1673, in 4to. Mr. Elkenah Settle likewiſe criticiſed on theſe Plays of our author, in a Pamphlet, intitled, "Re-"flexions on ſeveral of Mr. Dryden's Plays; particu-"larly the Firſt and Second Part of the Conqueſt of "Granada; by E. Settle, Gent." London, 1687, in 4to. XIII. "All for Love, or The World well loſt:" a Tragedy, acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to. 1678. It is dedicated to the Earl of Danby. This play is written in imitation of Shakſpeare's ſtyle, and is chiefly taken from that author's "Anthony and "Cleopatra." Mr. Dryden tells us (9), he prefers the ſcene betwixt Anthony and Ventidius, in the firſt Act, to any thing he had written in this kind. At the ſame time he acknowledges the introducing of Octavia to be an error in the contrivance of the drama. 'For, though,' ſays he, 'I might uſe the 'privilege of a Poet to introduce her into Alexandria, 'yet I had not enough conſidered, that the compaſſion 'ſhe moved to herſelf and children was deſtructive to 'that which I reſerved for Anthony and Cleopatra; 'whoſe mutual love, being founded upon vice, muſt 'leſſen the favour of the audience to them, when 'virtue and innocence were oppreſſed by it. And 'though I juſtified Anthony in ſome meaſure, by 'making Octavia's departure to proceed wholly from 'herſelf, yet the force of the firſt machine ſtill re-'mained, and the dividing of pity, like the cutting 'of a river into many channels, abated the ſtrength of 'the natural ſtream.' XIV. "Tyrannic Love, or, "The Royal Martyr:" a tragedy, acted at the theatre royal, and printed in 4to, 1679. This play is written in heroic verſe, or rhyme, and dedicated to the Duke of Monmouth. The plot founded on hiſtory. See Zoſim. l. 4. Socrat. l. 5. c. 14. Herodian, l. 7, 8. Jul. Capit. in Vit. Max. Jun. XV. "Troilus and "Creſſida, or, Truth found out too late:" a tragedy, acted at the Duke's theatre, and printed in 4to, 1679. It is dedicated to the Earl of Sunderland, and has a Preface prefixed concerning "the grounds of Criticiſm "in tragedy." This play is originally Shakſpeare's, and reviſed and altered by Mr. Dryden, who added ſeveral new ſcenes; among which the laſt in the third act is allowed, even by Langbaine (10), to be a maſter-piece. The plot was taken by Shakſpeare from Chaucer's "Troilus and Creſſida," which that poet (according to Mr. Dryden) tranſlated from the original ſtory, written in Latin verſe by one Lollius, a Lombard. Mr. R. Duke addreſſed a copy of verſes to our author on occaſion of this play; in which he thus compliments him at the expence of Shakſpeare:

(8) Ib. p. 158.

(9) In the Preface.

(10) Ib. p. 173.

Shakſpeare, 'tis true, this tale of Troy firſt told;
But, as with Ennius Virgil did of old,
You found it dirt, but you have made it gold.
A dark and undigeſted heap it lay,
Like Chaos ere the dawn of infant-day;
But you did firſt the chearful light diſplay.
Confus'd it was as Epicurus' world
Of atoms, by blind chance together hurl'd;
But you have made ſuch order thro' it ſhine,
As loudly ſpeaks the workmanſhip divine.

XVI. "OEdipus, King of Thebes:" a tragedy, acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed in 4to, 1679. It was written jointly by Mr. Dryden and Mr. Lee, and is juſtly eſteemed an excellent play. The ſubject has been treated by the beſt dramatic writers in all languages, particularly by Sophocles, Seneca, and M. Corneille. Mr. Dryden, in the Preface, taxes Seneca with 'running after Philoſophical Notions, more pro-'per for the ſtudy than the ſtage;' and accuſes Corneille of failing in the character of his hero, which he calls 'an error in the firſt concoction.' XVII. "Se-"cret Love, or the Maiden Queen:" a tragi-comedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to, 1679. The ſerious part of the plot is founded on the hiſtory of "Cleobuline, Queen of Corinth;" and the characters of Celadon, Florimel, Olinda, and Sabina, are borrowed from the ſtory of Piſiſtrates and Cerintha in the "Grand Cyrus," pt. 9. b. 3. XVIII. "The Ri-"val Ladies:" a tragi-comedy, acted at the theatre royal, and printed in 4to, 1679. It is dedicated to the Earl of Orrery. The dedication is in the nature of a preface, in defence of Engliſh verſe, or rhyme. Mr. Langbaine (11) accuſes Mr. Dryden of a groſs miſtake in the preface, where he ſays, 'that the tra-'gedy of Queen Gorbuduc was written in Engliſh 'verſe, and conſequently that verſe was not ſo much a 'new way among us as an old way revived; and 'that this play was written by the late Lord Buckhurſt, 'afterwards Earl of Dorſet.' Mr. Langbaine obſerves, that Gorbuduc was not a Queen, but a King, of the race of Brute; and that the three firſt acts were written by Mr. Thomas Norton; and that the play itſelf is not in rhyme, but blank verſe. Sir Robert Howard, in the preface to his plays, anſwered this preface of Mr. Dryden's. In this play, the diſpute between Amideo and Hippolyto, and Gonſalvo's fighting with the Pirates, in the laſt act, are borrowed from the ſtory of Enclpious, Giton, &c. in Petronius Arbiter; and the cataſtrophe bears a near reſemblance to Scarron's "Rival Brothers." XIX. "The Kind Keeper, "or Mr. Limberham:" a comedy, acted at the Duke's theatre, printed in 4to, 1680. It is dedicated to John Lord Vaughan. Some of the incidents are borrowed from Cynthio Gyraldi's Novels, P. 1. Dec. 3. Nouv. 3. and from the Zelotide of M. de Pais. Mr. Langbaine, who takes this to be the beſt of Mr. Dryden's Comedies, tells us (12), that it ſo much expoſed the *keeping* part of the town, that it was ſtopped after the third night; but that the author took care to omit in the publication what had given offence on the ſtage. A writer of thoſe times concludes a ſhort "Sa-"tire againſt Keeping," with theſe lines (13):

(11) Ib. p. 168.

(12) Ib. p. 164.

(13) Cleve's Poems, p. 94.

Dryden,

Dryden, good man, thought Keepers to reclaim,
Writ a kind Satire, call'd it "Limberham."
This all the herd of Letchers ſtraight alarms;
From Charing-Croſs to Bow was up in arms.
They damn'd the Play all at one fatal blow,
And broke the glaſs that did their picture ſhow.

XX. "The Spaniſh Friar, or, The Double Diſcove-"ry:" a tragi-comedy, acted at the Duke's theatre, and printed in 4to, 1681. It is dedicated to John Lord Haughton. Mr. Langbaine is very angry with Mr. Dryden for the character of the Friar. 'Whether,' ſays he (14), 'Mr. Dryden intended his character of 'Dominick as a ſatire on the Romiſh Prieſts only, or 'on the Clergy of all opinions in general, I know 'not; but ſure I am, that he might have ſpared his 'reflecting quotation in the front of his play;

(14) Ib. p. 171.

'Ut melius poſſis fallere, ſume togam."

'But the truth is, ever ſince a certain worthy Biſhop 'refuſed orders to a certain Poet, Mr. Dryden has de-'clared open defiance to the whole clergy; and, ſince 'the church began the war, he has thought it but 'juſtice to make repriſals on the church. But, what-'ever ſucceſs this way of writing may find from the 'ſparks, it can never be approved of by ſober men, '&c.' The comic parts of Elvira, Lorenzo, &c. are founded on a novel called "The Pilgrim," written by M. S. Bremond. XXI. "The Duke of Guiſe:" a tragedy, acted at the theatre royal, and printed in 4to, 1683. It was written by Mr. Dryden and Mr. Lee, and dedicated to the Earl of Rocheſter. The plot is taken from Davila, Mezerai, and other writers of the French affairs. See alſo Thuanus, I. 93. For the ſtory of Malicorn, the conjuror, read Roſſet's "Hiſ-"toires Tragiques," &c. p. 449. This play gave great offence to the Whigs, and was immediately attacked in a pamphlet, intituled, "A Defence of the "Charter and municipal Rights of the City of Lon-"don, and the Right of other municipal Cities and "Towns of England. Directed to the Citizens of "London. By Thomas Hunt." In this piece Mr. Dryden is charged with condemning the Charter of the City of London, and executing its magiſtrates in effigy, in his "Duke of Guiſe;" a play, 'moſt certainly in-'tended to provoke the rabble into tumults and diſ-'orders.' About the ſame time were printed "Some "Reflexions upon the pretended parallel in the Play "called The Duke of Guiſe." The author of this pamphlet tells us, 'he was wearied with the dulneſs of 'this play, and extremely incenſed at the wicked and 'barbarous deſign it was intended for; that the fierceſt 'Tories were aſhamed of this piece; in ſhort, that he 'never ſaw any thing, that could be called a Play, 'more deficient in wit, good character, or entertain-'ment, than this.' In anſwer to this, and Mr. Hunt's Pamphlet, Mr. Dryden publiſhed, "The Vin-"dication: or, The Parallel of the French Holy "League and the Engliſh League and Covenant, "turned into a Seditious Libel againſt the King and "his Royal Highneſs, by Thomas Hunt, and the "author of Reflexions, &c. London, 1683, 4to." In this Vindication, he tells us, that, in the year of the Reſtoration, the firſt play he undertook was "The "Duke of Guiſe," as the faireſt way, which the act of indemnity had then left, of 'ſetting forth the riſe 'of the late Rebellion;' that at firſt it was thrown aſide, by the advice of ſome friends, to whom he ſhewed it; but that, at the earneſt requeſt of Mr. Lee (with whom he had promiſed to join in another play, after the writing of OEdipus, and who now claimed his promiſe), it was afterwards produced between them; and that only the firſt ſcene, the whole fourth act, and ſomewhat more than half the fifth, belonged to him (Mr. Dryden), all the reſt being Mr. Lee's. XXII. "Albion and Albanius:" an opera, performed at the Queen's Theatre in Dorſet Garden, and printed in folio, 1685. The ſubject of it is wholly allegorical, and intended to expoſe the Lord Shaftesbury and his party, who are repreſented by the man on the pedeſtal, with a long pale face, &c. encompaſſed by ſeveral heads, which ſuck poiſon from his ſide. The muſick for this opera was made by one Grabut; and, Mr. Langbaine tells us (15), the following ſatirical lines were made upon this occaſion:

(15) Ib. p. 152.

Grabut his yoke-mate n'er ſhall be forgot,
Whom th' God of tunes upon a Muſe begot.
Bays on a double ſcore to him belongs,
As well for *writing* as for *ſetting* ſongs:
For ſome have ſworn (th' intrigue ſo odd is laid)
That Bays and he miſtook each other's trade,
Grabut the lines, and he the muſick made.

XXIII. "Don Sebaſtian, King of Portugal:" a tragedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to, 1690. It is dedicated to the Earl of Leiceſter. This play is generally eſteemed one of the beſt of Mr. Dryden's, and was received with great applauſe; though the actors were forced to curtail it after the firſt night, it being, as the author himſelf tells us in the Preface, 'inſupportably too long.' As for the ſtory, or plot, it is chiefly founded on a French novel of the ſame name. XXIV. "King Arthur: or, The Britiſh "Worthy," a tragedy, acted at the theatre in Dorſet Garden, and printed in 4to, 1691. It is dedicated to the Marquis of Halifax. This play is more remarkable for ſinging and fine ſcenery than for any excellence of the drama. The ſtory in general is founded upon Geoffrey of Monmouth's hiſtory: the "In-"chanted Grove," and the character of Oſmond, are taken from Taſſo. XXV. "Amphytrion, or, The "Two Socias," a comedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1691. It is dedicated to Sir Leviſon Gower. This play is taken from Plautus and Moliere. XXVI. "Cleomenes, the Spartan Heroe," a tragedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to, 1692. It is dedicated to the Earl of Rocheſter. There is prefixed to it "The Life of Cleomenes," tranſlated from Plutarch by Mr. Creech. This play was at firſt prohibited by the Lord Chamberlain; but, upon examination, being found innocent of any deſign (as had been ſuggeſted) to ſatirize the government, it was ſuffered to be repreſented, and had great ſucceſs. In the Preface, the author tells us, a fooliſh objection had been raiſed againſt him by the Sparks, for Cleomenes not accepting the favours of Caſſandra. 'They,' ſays he, 'would not have refuſed a fair lady: 'I grant, they would not; but let them grant me, 'that they are not heroes.' He adds: 'Some have 'told me, that many of the fair ſex complain for want 'of tender ſcenes, and ſoft expreſſions of love. I 'will endeavour to make them ſome amends, if I 'write again; and my next hero ſhall be no Spartan.' XXVII. "Love Triumphant; or, Nature will Pre-"vail:" a tragi-comedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to, 1694. It is dedicated to the Earl of Shafteſbury, and is the laſt Mr. Dryden wrote or intended for the theatre. It met with but indifferent ſucceſs; though in many parts the genius of that great man breaks out, eſpecially in the diſcovery of Alphonſo's ſucceſsful love, and in the cataſtrophe, which is extremely affecting.—Thus, in the ſpace of twenty-five years, Mr. Dryden produced, beſides his other numerous poetical writings, twenty-ſeven plays. As to the character of Mr. Dryden's dramatic performances, we find that the Criticks, his contemporaries, made very free with them; particularly, Mr. Gerard Langbaine (16): and it muſt be confeſſed, they are not the leaſt exceptionable of his compoſitions. As to tragedy, the Criticks have obſerved, that Mr. Dryden ſeldom touches the paſſions, but deals rather in pompous language, poetical flights and deſcriptions. That this was his real taſte appears, not only from his tragedies themſelves, but from two inſtances mentioned by Mr. Gildon (17). The firſt is, that, it being recommended to him to turn his thoughts to a tranſlation of Euripides rather than of Homer, he replied, that 'he 'confeſſed he had no reliſh of that poet, who was a 'great maſter of tragic ſimplicity.' The other is, that he conſtantly expreſſed a very mean, if not contemptible, opinion of Mr. Otway, who is univerſally allowed to have ſucceeded very happily in affecting the paſſions; though, in the Preface to his tranſlation of M. Freſnoy, he ſpeaks more favourably of that Poet. The author, who mentions theſe inſtances, aſcribes this guſto in Mr. Dryden to his great converſation with French Romances. As to comedy, our Poet himſelf acknowledges his want of genius for that ſpecies of the drama. 'I know,' ſays he (18), 'I am 'not fitted by nature to write comedy: I want that 'gaiety of humour which is required in it. My con-'verſation

(16) See the next remark.

(17) In his Laws of Poetry, as laid down by the Duke of Bucks, &c. p. 211.

(18) In his Defence of the Eſſay on Dramatic Poeſy, prefixed to his Indian Emperor.

his dramatic performances [*E*]. In 1671, Mr. Dryden was publicly ridiculed on the ſtage under the character of Bays, in the Duke of Buckingham's Comedy called "The "Rehearſal [*F*]. In 1679, was publiſhed "An Eſſay on Satire [*G*]," written jointly by Mr.

'verſation is ſlow and dull, my humour ſaturnine 'and reſerved. In ſhort, I am none of thoſe, who 'endeavour to break jeſts in company, or make re-'partees. So that thoſe, who decry my Comedies, 'do me no injury, except it be in point of profit: 'reputation in them is the laſt thing to which I ſhall 'pretend.' But perhaps Mr. Dryden would have written better in both kinds of the drama, had not the neceſſity of his circumſtances obliged him to conform himſelf to the popular taſte. Hence my Lord Lanſdowne (19):

(19) In his Eſſay on Unnatural Flights in Poetry. See his Works. Vol. I. p. 93. edit. 1739.

Dryden himſelf, to pleaſe a frantic age,
Was forc'd to let his judgement ſtoop to rage:
To a wild audience he conform'd his voice,
Comply'd to cuſtom, but not err'd thro' choice.
Deem then the people's, not the writer's ſin,
Almanzor's rage, and rants of Maximin;
That fury ſpent, in each elaborate piece,
He vies for fame with ancient Rome and Greece.

(20) Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Spaniſh Fryar.

And Mr. Dryden himſelf inſinuates as much in the following paſſage (20): 'I remember ſome verſes of 'my own Maximin and Almanzor, which cry ven-'geance upon me for their extravagance.——— 'All I can ſay for thoſe paſſages, which are, I hope, 'not many, is, that I knew they were bad enough 'to pleaſe, even when I writ them. But I repent of 'them among my ſins; and, if any of their fellows 'intrude by chance into my preſent writings, I draw 'a ſtroke over all thoſe Dalilahs of the theatre, and 'am reſolved I will ſettle myſelf no reputation by the 'applauſe of fools. 'Tis not that I am mortified to 'all ambition; but I ſcorn as much to take it from 'half-witted judges, as I ſhould to raiſe an eſtate 'by cheating of bubbles; neither do I diſcommend 'the lofty ſtyle in Tragedy, which is naturally 'pompous and magnificent. But nothing is truly 'ſublime, that is not juſt and proper.' He tells us elſewhere (21), that his Spaniſh Fryar was given to the people, and that he never wrote any thing (in the dramatic way) to pleaſe himſelf, but his "Anthony "and Cleopatra, i. e. his All for Love: or, The "World well loſt."

(21) Preface to his Tranſlation of M. Du Freſnoy's Art of Painting, p. 58. Lond. 1716, 8vo.

[*E*] *Mr. Langbaine has treated Mr. Dryden with more ſeverity, than juſtice, on account of his dramatic performances.*] He begins his account of our Poet with treating him as an errant plagiary. 'Mr. Dryden, 'ſays he (22), is the moſt voluminous writer of our 'age, he having already extant above twenty plays 'of his own writing, 'as the title page of each 'would perſuade the world;' though ſome people 'have been ſo bold as to call the truth of this in 'queſtion, and to propagate in the world another 'opinion.' Speaking of Mr. Dryden's Comedies, he tells us (23), 'he is for the moſt part beholden to 'French romances and Plays, not only for his plots, 'but even a great part of his language.' Having obſerved, that Mr. Dryden, in the Preface to his "Conqueſt of Granada," magiſterially huffs at, and domineers over, the French writers, he deſires the reader to take notice, that all the characters of that play are ſtolen from the French: 'ſo that,' ſays he (24), 'Mr. Dryden took a ſecure way to conqueſt; for, 'having robbed them of their weapons, he might 'ſafely challenge them, and beat them too; eſpecially 'having gotten Pence de Leon (*) on his ſide, in 'diſguiſe, and under the title of Almanzor: and, 'ſhould Monſ. Voiture preſume to lay claim to his 'own ſong, l'Amour ſous ſa loy, &c. which Mr. Dryden has robbed him of, and placed in the play of 'Sir Martin Marr-all, (being that ſong, which begins 'Blind Love to this hour &c.) our Poet would go 'nigh to beat him with a ſtaff of his own rhimes, 'with as much eaſe, as Sir Martin defeated the 'Bailiffs in the reſcue of his rival.' Mr. Langbaine, next, undertakes the defence of Shakſpeare, Fletcher, and Jonſon, againſt the attacks of Mr. Dryden, whom he repreſents as treating the memory of thoſe great Poets with the utmoſt diſreſpect. 'Had he, 'ſays he (25), only extended his conqueſts over the 'French Poets, I had not meddled in this affair; 'and he might have taken part with Achilles and Rinaldo, againſt Cyrus and Oroondates, without my 'engaging in this foreign war: but, when I found 'him flushed with his victory over the great Scudery, 'and with Almanzor's aſſiſtance triumphing over the 'noble kingdom of Granada; and, not content with 'conqueſts abroad, like another Julius Cæſar, turning his arms upon his own country; and, as if the 'proſcription of his contemporaries' reputation was 'not ſufficient to ſatiate his implacable thirſt after 'fame, endeavouring to demoliſh the ſtatues and 'monuments of his anceſtors, the works of thoſe 'his illuſtrious predeceſſors, Shakſpeare, Fletcher, 'and Jonſon; I was reſolved to endeavour the 'reſcue and preſervation of thoſe excellent trophies 'of wit, by raiſing the *Poſſe Comitatus* upon this 'Poetic Almanzor, to put a ſtop to his ſpoils upon 'his countrymen.' The foundation of this heavy charge is, ſome paſſages in the Poſtſcript to Mr. Dryden's Conqueſt of Granada; in which he ſpeaks of Shakſpeare, 'as writing, in many places, below 'the dulleſt writers of any age; of Fletcher, as a 'perſon, that neither underſtood correct plotting, 'nor what is called the decorum of the ſtage; of 'Jonſon, as a writer, whoſe chief excellency lay in 'the low characters of vice and folly; and of all 'three together, as guilty, in every page of their 'works, of ſome ſoleciſm in ſpeech, or ſome notorious 'flaw in ſenſe. And here Mr. Langbaine applies 'to Mr. Dryden the character, which an ingenious 'writer (†) draws of a malignant wit:' 'who, conſcious of his own vices, and ſtudious to conceal them, 'endeavours by detraction to make it appear, that 'others alſo, of great eſtimation in the world, are 'tainted with the ſame, or greater: as infamous 'women generally excuſe their perſonal debaucheries, 'by incriminating upon their whole ſex, calumniating the moſt chaſte and virtuous, to palliate their 'own diſhonour.' This is the ill natured turn Mr. Langbaine gives to our author's apology, in the ſame poſtſcript, where he begs the reader's pardon for accuſing thoſe authors, deſiring him to conſider, that 'he lives in an age wherein his leaſt faults are 'ſeverely cenſured, and that he has no way left to 'extenuate his failings, but by ſhewing as great in 'thoſe whom he admires.' Mr. Langbaine proceeds to cenſure Mr. Dryden for aſſaulting, with all the bitterneſs imaginable, not only the Church of England, but alſo the ſeveral profeſſions of the Lutherans, Calviniſts, Preſbyterians, &c. though I muſt obſerve, ſays he (26), 'by the way, that ſome people among 'the perſuaſions here mentioned might juſtly have 'expected better uſage from him on account of old 'acquaintance in the year 1659.' We ſhall not enter upon Mr. Langbaine's defence of Shakſpeare, Fletcher, and Jonſon; which he concludes with theſe words: 'As to his (Mr. Dryden's) reflexions on this triumvirate (Shakſpeare, Fletcher and Jonſon) in 'general; I might eaſily prove, that his improprieties 'in grammar are equal to theirs, and that he himſelf 'has been guilty of ſoleciſms in ſpeech, and flaws in 'ſenſe: but this would be to waſte paper and time; 'and, beſides I conſider, that Apollo's laws like thoſe 'of our own nation, allow no man to be tried twice 'for the ſame crime: and Mr. Dryden having already 'been arraigned before the wits, upon the evidence 'of the Rota, and found guilty by Mr. Clifford the 'foreman of the jury; I ſhall ſuppreſs my farther 'evidence, 'till I am ſerved with a *ſubpœna* by him 'to appear before that Court, or have an action 'clapped upon me by his Proctor, as guilty of a '*Scandalum Archi-Poetæ*; and then I ſhall readily 'give in my depoſitions (27).'

(22) Ubi ſupra, p. 130.

(23) Ib. p. 131.

(24) Ib. p. 132.

(*) The chief hero in a romance called *Amadis*.

(25) Id. p. 133.

(†) Dr. Charleton, in his Different Wits of Men, p. 120.

(26) Id. p. 140

(27) Id. p. 150.

[*F*] *Mr. Dryden was ridiculed on the ſtage——in the Rehearſal.*] The character of Bays, in that excellent ſatirical Comedy, we are told (28), was originally intended for Sir Robert Howard, under the name of Bilboa. But the repreſentation being put a

(28) See the Key to the Rehearſal, printed with that play, p. 88. edit. 1735.

Mr. Dryden and the Earl of Mulgrave (*n*). In 1680, came out a Tranſlation of Ovid's Epiſtles, in Engliſh Verſe, by ſeveral hands: two of which, viz. Canace to Macareus, and Dido to Æneas, were tranſlated by Mr. Dryden, who likewiſe wrote the Preface; and that of Helen to Paris by Mr. Dryden and the Earl of Mulgrave (*o*). In 1681, Mr. Dryden publiſhed his "Abſalom and Achitophel (*p*) [*H*]; and, the ſame

(*n*) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 328.
(*o*) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 83, &c.
(*p*) Ib. Vol. I. p. 143.

ſtop to by the breaking out of the plague in 1665, it was laid by for ſeveral years, and not exhibited on the ſtage till 1671: in which interval Mr. Dryden being advanced to the Laurel, the noble author changed the name of his Poet from Bilboa to Bays, and made great alterations in his play, in order to ridicule ſeveral dramatic performances, which had appeared ſince the firſt writing of it. Thoſe of Mr. Dryden, which fell under his grace's laſh, are "The Wild Gallant," "Tyrannic Love," "The Conqueſt of Granada," "Marriage Alamode," and "Love in a Nunnery;" and how juſtly, may be ſeen in the following extracts.

Conqueſt of Granada. Part ii. p. 48.

So two kind turtles, when a ſtorm is nigh,
Look up, and ſee it gathering in the ſky;
Each calls his mate to ſhelter in the groves,
Leaving, in murmurs, their unfiniſh'd loves:
Perch'd on ſome dropping branch, they ſit alone,
And coo, and hearken to each other's moan.

Rehearſal. p. 18.

So boar and ſow, when any ſtorm is nigh,
Snuff up, and ſmell it gathering in the ſky;
Boar beckons ſow to trot in cheſnut groves,
And there conſummate their unfiniſh'd loves;
Penſive, in mud they wallow all alone,
And ſnore and gruntle to each other's moan.

Conqueſt of Granada. Part i. p. 55.

As ſome fair tulip, by a ſtorm oppreſt,
Shrinks up, and folds it's ſilken arms to reſt;
And bending to the blaſt, all pale and dead,
Hears from within the wind ſing round it's head:
So ſhrouded up your beauty diſappears;
Unveil, my love, and lay aſide your fears;
The ſtorm that caus'd your fright is paſt and gone.

Rehearſal. p. 28.

As ſome tall pine, which we on Ætna find
T'have ſtood the rage of many a boiſt'rous wind,
Feeling without that flames within do play,
Which would conſume his root and ſap away;
He ſpreads his worſted arms unto the ſkies,
Silently grieves, all pale, repines, and dies:
So ſhrouded up your bright eye diſappears;
Break forth, bright ſcorching ſun, and dry my tears.

Tyrannic Love. p. 25.

——————— My earthly part,
Which is my tyrant's right, death will remove.
I'll come all ſoul and ſpirit to your love.
With ſilent ſteps I'll follow you all day;
Or elſe before you in the ſun-beams play.
I'll lead you hence to melancholy groves,
And there repeat the ſcenes of our paſt loves.
At night I will within your curtains peep:
With empty arms embrace you, while you ſleep.
In gentle dreams I often will be by,
And ſweep along before your cloſing eye.
All dangers from your bed I will remove:
But guard it moſt from any future love.
And when at laſt in pity you will die,
I'll watch your birth of immortality:
Then, turtle-like, I'll to my mate repair,
And teach you your firſt flight in open air.

Rehearſal. p. 55.

Since death my earthly part will thus remove,
I'll come a humble-bee to your chaſte love;
With ſilent wings I'll follow you, dear cuz,
Or elſe before you in the ſun-beams buz;
And when to melancholy groves you come,
An airy ghoſt, you'll know me by my hum:
For ſound being air, a ghoſt does well become.
At night into your boſom I will creep,
And buz, but ſoftly, if you chance to ſleep;
Yet in your dreams I will paſs ſweeping by,
And then both hum and buz before your eye.

Mr. Dryden affected to deſpiſe the ſatire levelled at him in the Rehearſal, as appears from his Dedication of the tranſlation of Juvenal and Perſius (29), where ſpeaking of the many lampoons and libels, that had been written againſt him, he ſays: 'I 'anſwered not the Rehearſal, becauſe I knew the 'author ſat to himſelf when he drew the picture, 'and was the very Bays of his own farce: becauſe 'alſo I knew, that my betters were more concerned 'than I was in that ſatire; and, laſtly, becauſe 'Mr. Smith and Mr. Johnſon, the main pillars of 'it, were two ſuch languiſhing gentlemen in their 'converſation, that I could liken them to nothing 'but to their own relations, thoſe noble characters of 'men of wit and pleaſure about town.' But it is impoſſible our Poet could be inſenſible of the force of that admirable ſatire; and we ſhall be convinced that he felt its edge, if we reflect on the character of Zimri, in his Abſalom and Achitophel (30), in which he took a full revenge on the author of the Rehearſal.

(29) Edit. 1735. p. 12.

(30) See the remarks [*H*].

[*G*] *The Eſſay on Satire.*] This piece, which was handed about in manuſcript, containing reflexions on the Ducheſs of Portſmouth and the Earl of Rocheſter; they, ſuſpecting Mr. Dryden to be the author of it, hired three men, who took their opportunity to cudgel our Poet, in Will's coffee-houſe in Covent-Garden, the 16th of December, at eight of the clock at night. We give this ſtory on the authority of Anthony Wood (31).

(31) Ath. Oxon. col. 805, 806.

[*H*] *His Abſalom and Achitophel.*] This poem, which was at firſt printed without the author's name, is a ſevere ſatire on the contrivers and abettors of the rebellion, againſt King Charles II, under the Duke of Monmouth; and may ſerve to convince us of what Mr. Dryden ſays in the preface, that he could write ſeverely with more eaſe than he could gently. 'The 'violent,' ſays he, 'on both ſides, will condemn the 'character of Abſalom (*), as either too favourably, 'or too hardly drawn: but they are not the violent 'whom I deſire to pleaſe. The fault on the right-'hand, is to extenuate, palliate, and indulge; and, 'to confeſs freely, I have endeavoured to commit it. 'Beſides the reſpect, which I owe his birth, I have 'a greater for his heroic virtues; and David him-'ſelf (†) could not be more tender of the young man's 'life, than I would be of his reputation. But, 'ſince the moſt excellent natures are always the moſt 'eaſy; and, as being ſuch, are the ſooneſt perverted 'by ill counſels, eſpecially when baited with fame 'and glory; 'tis no more a wonder that he withſtood 'not the temptations of Achitophel (‖), than it was 'for Adam to have reſiſted the temptation of the two 'devils, the ſerpent and the woman (32).' Mr. Dryden goes on to aſſign the reaſon why he left the ſubject unfiniſhed. 'The concluſion of the ſtory,' ſays he, 'I purpoſely forbore to proſecute, becauſe I could 'not obtain from myſelf to ſhew Abſalom unfor-'tunate. The frame of it was cut out but for a 'picture to the waiſt; and if the draught be ſo far 'true, 'tis as much as I deſigned. Were I the 'inventor, who am only the Hiſtorian, I ſhould 'certainly conclude the piece with the reconcilement 'of Abſalom to David. And who knows but this 'may come to paſs? Things were not brought to 'extremity where I left the ſtory: there ſeems, yet, 'to be room left for a compoſure; hereafter, there 'may be only for pity. I have not ſo much as an 'uncharitable wiſh againſt Achitophel; but am con-'tent to be accuſed of a good-natured error, and 'to

(*) The Duke of Monmouth.

(†) King Charles.

(‖) Lord Shaftesbury.

(32) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 146, 147.

ſame year, his "Medal, A Satire againſt Sedition (*q*) [*I*]." In 1682, came out his "Religio Laici," (*r*). [*K*]. In 1684, he publiſhed "A Tranſlation of M. Maimbourg's "Hiſtory of the League;" in which he was employed by the command of King Charles II. on account of the plain parallel between the troubles of France and thoſe of Great Britain (*s*). Upon the death of King Charles II. he wrote his "Threnodia Auguſtalis;" a poem ſacred to the happy memory of that Prince (*t*). Soon after the acceſſion of King James II. our author turned Roman Catholick [*L*]; and, in 1686, he wrote "A "Defence

(*q*) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 189.
(*r*) Ib. p. 209.
(*s*) See the Epiſtle Dedicatory to the King.
(*t*) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 196.

'to hope, with Origen, that the devil] himſelf may, 'at laſt, be ſaved. For which reaſon, in this poem, 'he is neither brought to ſet his houſe in order, nor 'to diſpoſe of his perſon afterwards, as he in wiſ-'dom ſhall think fit (33).'

(33) Ibid.

This poem is celebrated in ſome commendatory verſes, addreſſed to the then unknown and concealed author, by Mr. Nat. Lee, Mr. Richard Duke, and Mr. N. Tate. The firſt of theſe gentlemen affirms,

'Tis ſpirit ſeen, whoſe fiery atoms roul
So brightly fierce, each ſyllable's a ſoul (34).

(34) Ib. p. 1.

The ſecond tells Mr. Dryden,

Not David's ſelf could in a nobler verſe
His glorioufly offending ſon rehearſe,
Tho' in his breaſt the Prophet's fury met,
The father's fondneſs, and the Poet's wit (35).

(35) Ib. p. 3.

And the laſt repreſents him as triumphing over the idol cauſe of faction and rebellion:

That cauſe, whoſe growth to cruſh our Prelates wrote
In vain, almoſt in vain our heroes fought;
Yet by one ſtab of your keen ſatire dies:
Before your ſacred lines their ſhatter'd Dagon lies (36).

(36) Ib. p. 4.

There are two tranſlations, in Latin verſe, of Mr. Dryden's Abſalom and Achitophel: one by Dr. William Coward, a Phyſician, of Merton-college in Oxford; publiſhed in 4*to* at Oxford 1682 (37): the other by Dr. Francis Atterbury, afterwards Biſhop of Rocheſter; publiſhed the ſame year in 4*to*. (38). That the reader may judge a little of the comparative merit of theſe two tranſlations, we ſhall tranſcribe a few lines from the beginning of the original, and ſubjoin the different verſions.

(37) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 230.
(38) Id. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1603.

The Original.

In pious times e're prieſt-craft did begin,
Before polygamy was made a ſin;
When man on many multiply'd his kind,
E're one to one was, curſedly, confin'd;
When nature prompted, and no law deny'd,
Promiſcuous uſe of concubine and bride:
Then Iſrael's Monarch, after Heaven's own heart,
His vig'rous warmth did variouſly impart
To wives and ſlaves; and, wide as his command,
Scatter'd his maker's image thro' the land (39).

(39) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 151.

Dr. Coward's Tranſlation.

*Nondum myſtarum pia fraus eluſerat orbem,*
*Nondum uni conjux perrexerat ora capiſtro;*
*Sed ſimilem amplexa eſt, natura urgente, maritum*
*Sponſaque, et innocuo reſidens in fornice pellex.*
*Tunc qui Judaicas rerum flectebat habenas,*
*Jeſſides, cœlo charum caput, integer ævi,*
*Igne pari nuptas arſit, ſervasque, tonantis*
*Ectypa ſyderei brevibus tranſcripta tabellis*
*Diffundus lati vaga per confinia regni.*

Dr. Atterbury's Tranſlation.

*Cognovere pias nondum pia ſæcula fraudes*
*Arte ſacerdotum, nondum vetuere maritos*
*Multiplici celebrare jugo connubia leges;*
*Cum vir ſponſarum numeraverat agmen, et uni*
*Non ſervare toro, fato adverſante, coactus*
*Plurima fertilibus produxit ſtemmata lumbis;*
*Cum ſtimulos natura daret, nec legibus ullis*
*Et ſponſæ et lenæ vetitum eſt commune cubile;*
*Tunc Iſraelis, cœlo cedente, Monarcha*
*Concubitu vario vernas nuptaſque fovebat;*
*Quaque erat Imperii limes, ibi meſſe ſeraci*
*Tranſcripta Archetypi ſparſus generatur imago.*

An Anſwer was publiſhed to Mr. Dryden's "Abſalom "and Achitophel," intitled, "Azariah and Huſhai," a Poem, Lond. 1682, in 4*to*, ſaid to be written by Mr. Elkanah Settle. "A Second Part of Abſalom "and Achitophel was undertaken, and written, by Mr. Tate, at the requeſt, and under the direction, of Mr. Dryden, who wrote nearly two hundred lines of it himſelf, beginning with

Next theſe a troop of buſy ſpirits preſs,

and ending with

To talk like Doeg, and to write like thee (40);

(40) Id. p. 182.

beſides ſome touches in other places.

[*I*] *His Medal, a Satire againſt Sedition.*] This poem was occaſioned by the ſtriking of a medal, on account of the indictment againſt the Earl of Shafteſbury, for high-treaſon, being found *ignoramus* by the Grand-Jury at the Old Bailey, in November 1681; for which the Whig party made great rejoicings, by ringing of bells, bonfires, &c. in all parts of London (41). The poem is introduced with a very ſatirical "Epiſtle to the Whigs;" in which the author ſays: 'I have one favour to deſire of you at parting, 'that, when you think of anſwering this poem, you 'would employ the ſame pens againſt it, who have 'combated with ſo much ſucceſs againſt "Abſalom "and Achitophel;" for, then you may aſſure your-'ſelves of a clear victory without the leaſt reply. 'Rail at me abundantly; and, not to break a cuſtom, 'do it without wit. By this method you will gain a 'conſiderable point, which is wholly to wave the 'anſwer of my arguments.—— If God has not bleſſed 'you with the talents of rhiming, make uſe of my 'poor ſtock and welcome: let your verſes run upon 'my feet; and, for the utmoſt refuge of notorious 'blockheads, reduced to the laſt extremity of ſenſe, 'turn my own lines upon me, and, in utter deſpair 'of your own ſatire, make me ſatirize myſelf (42).' The whole poem is a ſevere invective againſt the Earl of Shafteſbury, and the Whig party. Mr. Elkanah Settle wrote an anſwer to this poem, intitled, "The Medal Revers'd." Lond. 1681, 4*to*.

(41) See Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 390.

(42) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 195, 196.

[*K*] *His Religio Laici.*] The whole title is: "Religio Laici; or, A Lay-man's Faith." This piece is intended as a defence of Revealed Religion, and the excellency and authority of the Scriptures, as the only Rule of faith and manners, againſt Deiſts, Papiſts, and Preſbyterians. The author acquaints us, in the preface, that it was written for an ingenious young gentleman, his friend, upon his tranſlation of father Simon's "Critical Hiſtory of the Old Teſta-"ment;" and that the ſtyle of it is epiſtolary. Whereupon he adds: 'If any one be ſo lamentable a 'critick, as to require the ſmoothneſs, the numbers, 'and the turn of heroic poetry in this Poem, I 'muſt tell him that, if he has not read Horace, I 'have ſtudied him, and hope the ſtyle of his Epiſtles 'is not ill imitated here. The expreſſions of a poem, 'deſigned purely for inſtruction, ought to be plain 'and natural, and yet majeſtic; for here the Poet 'is preſumed to be a kind of Law-giver; and thoſe 'three qualities, which I have named, are proper to 'the legiſlative ſtyle (43).'

(43) Id. p. 225.

[*L*] *He turned Roman Catholick.*] Upon this occaſion, Mr. T. Brown wrote "The Reaſons of Mr. "Bays's

" Defence of the Papers written by the late King of bleſſed memory, and found in his " ſtrong box [*M*]." In 1687, he publiſhed his " Hind and Panther" [*N*], a poem (*u*); and, in 1688, his " Britannia Rediviva," a poem on the birth of the Prince (*w*). He was ſuppoſed to have been engaged in tranſlating M. Varillas's " Hiſtory of Hereſies," but to have dropped that deſign [*O*]. At the Revolution, having diſqualified himſelf for Court favours, by turning Papiſt, he was diſmiſſed from the office of Poet-Laureat

(*u*) Ib. p. 243.
(*w*) Ib. p. 123.

" Bays's changing his Religion conſidered, in a Dia- " logue between Crites, Eugenius, and Mr. Bays'." London, 1688, in 4*to*. Alſo, " The late Converts " expoſed: or, The Reaſons of Mr. Bays's changing " his Religion conſidered, in a Dialogue; Part the " Second." London, 1690, in 4*to*. There likewiſe appeared another piece againſt Mr. Dryden, intitled, " The Revolter; A Tragi-Comedy, acted between " the Hind and Panther and Religio Laici." London, 1687, in 4*to*.

[*M*] *His Defence of the Papers written by the late King of bleſſed Memory, and found in his ſtrong box.*] This piece was written in oppoſition to Dr. Stillingfleet's " Anſwer to ſome Papers lately printed, con- " cerning the Authority of the Catholic Church in " Matters of Faith, and the Reformation of the " Church of England." London, 1686, in 4*to*. Mr. Dryden, in the above-mentioned piece, takes occaſion, from the two Papers, publiſhed by King James II. and by him affirmed to have been found in the ſtrong Box of the deceaſed King Charles II. (44), to vindicate the authority of the Catholic Church, in decreeing matters of faith, upon this principle, that, 'The Church is more viſible than the Scripture, 'becauſe the Scripture is ſeen by the Church (45);' and to abuſe the Reformation in England, which, he affirms (46), was erected on the foundation of Luſt, Sacrilege, and Uſurpation. Dr. Stillingfleet hereupon publiſhed " A Vindication of the Anſwer to ſome late " Papers," London, 1687, in 4*to*; in which he treats Mr. Dryden with ſome ſeverity; and another author (47) obſerved, that this tract of Mr. Dryden 'is very light, and in ſome places even ridiculous; 'and ſhews that the author's talent lay towards con- 'troverſy no more in proſe, than it appears by the " Hind and Panther it did in Verſe."

(44) See the Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 422.
(45) Defence, &c. p. 2, 3.
(46) Ibid.
(47) The author of the Continuation of the preſent State of the Controverſy between the Church of Rome, &c. Lond. 1688, 4to. p. 28.

[*N*] *His Hand and Panther.*] It is divided into three parts, and is a direct defence of the Romiſh Church, chiefly by way of dialogue between a Hind, who repreſents the Church of Rome, and a Panther, who ſuſtains the character of the Church of England. Theſe two beaſts very learnedly diſcuſs the ſeveral points controverted between the two Churches, as, Tranſubſtantiation, Church-Authority, Infallibility, &c. In the preface, the author tells us, 'this Poem 'was neither impoſed on him, nor ſo much as the 'ſubject given him by any man. It was written,' ſays he, 'during the laſt winter, and the beginning of 'this ſpring, though with long interruptions of ill 'health, and other hindrances. About a fortnight 'before I had finiſhed it, his Majeſty's " Declaration 'for Liberty of Conſcience" came abroad; which, if 'I had ſo ſoon expected, I might have ſpared myſelf 'the labour of writing many things which are con- 'tained in the third Part of it. But I was always in 'ſome hope, the Church of England might have been 'perſuaded to have taken off the Penal Laws, and the 'Teſt, which was one deſign of the Poem, when I 'propoſed to myſelf the writing of it. 'Tis evident 'that ſome part of it was only occaſional, and not firſt 'intended: I mean that defence of myſelf, to which 'every honeſt man is bound, when he is injuriouſly 'attacked in print (48).' Mr. Dryden then lets us into the ſubject-matter of the Poem, and the ſtyle in which it is written. 'The firſt part,' ſays he, 'conſiſting m ſt in general characters and narration, I 'have endeavoured to raiſe, and give it the majeſtic 'Poeſy. The ſecond, being matter of diſpute, and 'chiefly concerning Church-Authority, I was obliged 'to make as plain and perſpicuous as poſſibly I could; 'yet not wholly neglecting the numbers, though I 'had not frequent occaſions for the magnificence of 'verſe. The third, which was more of the nature of 'domeſtic converſation, is, or ought to be, more 'free and familiar than the two former. There are 'in it two Epiſodes or Fables, which are interwoven 'with the main deſign; ſo that they are properly 'parts of it, though they are alſo diſtinct ſtories of 'themſelves. In both of theſe I have made uſe of the 'common-places of ſatire, whether true or falſe, 'which are urged by the members of the one Church 'againſt the other (49).' In the Firſt Part, Mr. Dryden ſpeaks of his own *converſion* in the following terms:

(43) Original Poems, &c. p. 247, 248.
(48) See the Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. III. p. 422.
(49) Ib. p. 249, 250.

But, gracious God, how well do'ſt thou provide
For erring judgments an unerring guide!
Thy throne is darkneſs in th' abyſs of light,
A blaze of glory that forbids the ſight.
O teach me to believe thee thus conceal'd,
And ſearch no farther than thyſelf reveal'd;
But her alone for my director take,
Whom thou haſt promiſs'd never to forſake!
My thoughtleſs youth was wing'd with vain deſires;
My manhood, long miſled by wand'ring fires,
Follow'd falſe lights; and, when their glimpſe was gone,
My pride ſtruck out new ſparkles of her own.
Such was I, ſuch by nature ſtill I am;
Be thine the glory, and be mine the ſhame.
Good life be now my taſk; my doubts are done—— (50).

(50) Ib. p. 252.

The Third Part begins with an apology for the Fable or contrivance of this Poem; as if Mr. Dryden foreſaw the ridicule to which it would expoſe him.

Much malice, mingled with a little wit,
Perhaps, may cenſure this myſterious writ;
Becauſe the Muſe has peopled Caledon
With Panthers, Bears, and Wolves, and Beaſts unknown,
As if we were not ſtock'd with monſters of our own.
Let Æſop anſwer, who has ſet to view
Such kinds as Greece and Phrygia never knew;
And mother Hubbard, in her homely dreſs,
Has ſharply blam'd a Britiſh Lioneſs——
Led by theſe great examples, may not I
The wanted organs of their words ſupply (51)?

(51) Ib. p. 901.

This Poem was immediately attacked by the wits, particularly by Mr. Charles Montagu, afterwards Earl of Halifax, and Mr. Matthew Prior, who joined in writing " The Hind and Panther tranſverſed to the " Story of the Country Mouſe and the City Mouſe." London, 1687, 4to. In the preface to which, the authors obſerve, That Mr. Dryden's Poem 'naturally 'falls into ridicule,' and that, in this burleſque, 'nothing is repreſented as monſtrous, and unnatural, 'which is not equally ſo in the original.' They afterwards remark, that 'We have this comfort under 'the ſeverity of Mr. Dryden's Satire, to ſee his abili- 'ties equally leſſened with his opinion of us; and 'that he could not be a fit champion againſt the Pan- 'ther, 'till he had laid aſide all his judgment.' Dr. Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, ſpeaks with great ſeverity of this Poem, as well as of its author (52).

(52) See the next remark.

[*O*] *He was ſuppoſed to have been engaged in tranſlating M. Varillas's Hiſtory of Hereſies, but to have dropped that deſign.*] This we learn from a paſſage in Dr. G. Burnet's " Defence of the Reflexions on the " Ninth Book of the firſt Volume of M. Varillas's Hiſtory of Hereſies. Being a Reply to his Anſwer (53)." The Doctor ſays: 'I have been informed from Eng- 'land, that a Gentleman, who is famous both for 'poetry, and ſeveral other things, has ſpent three 'months in tranſlating M. Varillas's Hiſtory; but 'that, as ſoon as my Reflexions appeared, he diſcon- 'tinued

(53) Page 138, 139. Amſterd. 1687. 12mo.

reat [P], in which he was ſucceeded by Mr. Thomas Shadwell; againſt whom he wrote his "Mac Flecknoe [Q]." The ſame year he publiſhed "The Life of St. Francis Xavier;" tranſlated from the French of Father Dominic Bouhours. In 1693, came out a Tranſlation of Juvenal and Perſius [R]; in which, the firſt, third, ſixth, tenth, and ſixteenth Satires of Juvenal, and Perſius entire, were done by Mr. Dryden, who prefixed a long and beautiful Diſcourſe, by way of Dedication to the Earl of Dorſet (x). He contributed likewiſe to the tranſlation of "Ovid's Metamorphoſes," publiſhed, ſeveral years after his death, by Dr. Garth; in which, the firſt book; the ſtory of Meleager and Atalanta in the eighth; that of Baucis and Philemon in the ſame; the fable of Iphis and Ianthe in the ninth; that of Pygmalion and the Statue in the tenth; the ſtory of Cinyras and Myrrha, in the ſame; that of Ceyx and Alcyone in the eleventh; the twelfth book; the Speeches of Ajax and Ulyſſes, and the Death of Ajax, in the thirteenth; the ſtory of Acis and Galatea, in the ſame; and the Pythagorean Philoſophy in the fifteenth; are Mr. Dryden's (y). In 1695, he publiſhed a tranſlation, in proſe, of "M. Du Freſnoy's Art of Painting" [S]; and, in 1697, a tranſlation of all Virgil's

(x) See the remark [R].

(y) See Original Poems, &c. Vol. II. p. 150, &c. See alſo Mr. Dryden's Fables. Lond. 1734. 12mo. p. 80, 115, 123, 127, 200, 240, 265, and 299.

'tinued his labour, finding the credit of his author was 'gone. Now, if he thinks it is recovered by his An'ſwer, he will perhaps go on with his tranſlation; 'and this may be, for aught I know, as good an 'entertainment for him, as the converſation he has ſet 'on foot between the Hinds and Panthers, and all the 'reſt of the animals; for whom M. Varillas may 'ſerve well enough as an author; and this Hiſtory 'and that Poem are ſuch extraordinary things of 'their kind, that it will be but ſuitable to ſee the au'thor of the *worſt* Poem become likewiſe the tranſlator 'of the *worſt* Hiſtory that the age has produced. If 'his grace and his wit improve both proportionably, 'we ſhall hardly find, that he has gained much by the 'change he has made, from having no religion to 'chooſe one of the worſt. It is true, he had ſome'what to ſink from in matter of wit; but, as for his 'morals, it is ſcarce poſſible for him to grow a worſe 'man than he was. He has lately wreaked his malice 'on me for ſpoiling his three months' labour; but in 'it he has done all the honour that a man can receive 'from him, which is to be railed at by him. If I had 'ill-nature enough to prompt me to wiſh a very bad 'wiſh for him, it ſhould be, that he would go on and 'finiſh his tranſlation. By that it will appear, whe'ther the Engliſh nation, which is the moſt competent 'judge in this matter, has, upon the ſeeing our de'bate, pronounced in M. Varillas's favour or me. It 'is true, Mr. D. will ſuffer a little by it; but at leaſt 'it will ſerve to keep him in from other extrava'gances; and, if he gains little honour by this work, 'yet he cannot loſe ſo much by it as he has done by 'his laſt employment.' This paſſage, beſides the fact it lets us into, ſhews how ill an opinion Dr. Burnet had entertained of Mr. Dryden (54).

(54) See the remark [Z].

[P] *He was diſmiſſed from the office of Poet-Laureat.*] Mr. Mat. Prior, in the Dedication of his Poems to the Earl of Dorſet and Middleſex, having ſaid of the great Earl of Dorſet, that 'he was ſo inviolable 'in his friendſhip, and ſo kind to the character of 'thoſe whom he had once honoured with a more in'timate acquaintance, that nothing leſs than a demon'ſtration of ſome eſſential fault could make him break 'with them; and then too his good nature did not 'conſent to it without the greateſt reluctance and dif'ficulty:' adds; 'Let me give one inſtance of this 'among many. When, as Lord Chamberlain, he 'was obliged to take the King's penſion from Mr. 'Dryden, who had long before put himſelf out of a 'poſſibility of receiving any favour from the Court; 'my Lord allowed him an equivalent out of his own 'eſtate. However diſpleaſed with the conduct of his 'old acquaintance, he relieved his neceſſities; and 'while he gave him his aſſiſtance in private, in pub'lick he extenuated and pitied his error.'

[Q] *His Mac Flecknoe.*] This is one of the beſt, and ſevereſt, ſatires in the Engliſh language. Mr. Richard Flecknoe, with whoſe name it is inſcribed, was a very indifferent Poet of thoſe times (55), or rather as Mr. Dryden expreſſes it (56),

(55) Langbaine, ubi ſupra, p. 199.

(56) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 136.

In proſe and verſe, was own'd, without diſpute,
Thro' all the realms of nonſenſe, abſolute.

[R] *The Tranſlation of Juvenal and Perſius.*] In the Dedication to the Earl of Dorſet, Mr. Dryden gives us the following account of this tranſlation: 'I 'would excuſe,' ſays he (57), 'the performance of 'this tranſlation, if it were all my own; but the bet'ter, though not the greater, part being the work of 'ſome gentlemen, who have ſucceeded very happily 'in their undertaking; let their excellences atone for 'my imperfections, and thoſe of my ſon's. I have pe'ruſed ſome of the Satires, which are done by other 'hands; and they ſeem to me as perfect in their 'kind as any thing I have ſeen in Engliſh verſe. The 'common way, which we have taken, is not a literal 'tranſlation, but a kind of paraphraſe; or ſomewhat 'which is yet more looſe, betwixt a paraphraſe and 'imitation. It was not poſſible for us, or any men, 'to have made it pleaſant any other way. If render'ing the exact ſenſe of theſe authors, almoſt line for 'line, had been our buſineſs, Barten Holiday had done 'it already to our hands.——But he wrote for 'fame, and wrote to ſcholars. We write only for the 'pleaſure and entertainment of thoſe Gentlemen and 'Ladies, who, though they are not ſcholars, are not 'ignorant: perſons of underſtanding and good ſenſe; 'who, not having been converſant in the original, or 'at leaſt not having made Latin verſe ſo much their 'buſineſs, as to be Criticks in it, would be glad to 'find, if the wit of our two great authors be anſwer'able to their fame and reputation in the world.—— 'This muſt be ſaid for our tranſlation, that if we give 'not the whole ſenſe of Juvenal, yet we give the 'moſt conſiderable part of it: we give it, in general, 'ſo clearly, that few notes are ſufficient to make us 'intelligible.——If ſometimes any of us (and it is 'but ſeldom) make him expreſs the cuſtoms and man'ners of our native country rather than of Rome, 'it is either when there was ſome kind of analogy be'twixt their cuſtoms and ours, or when, to make him 'more eaſy to vulgar underſtandings, we give him 'thoſe manners, which are familiar to us.'

(57) Dedication, p. 197.

[S] *His Tranſlation of M. Du Freſnoy's Art of Painting.*] The 'Second Edition, corrected and en'larged,' was publiſhed at London, in 1716. The Title is: "The Art of Painting: by C. A. Du Freſ"noy; with Remarks: tranſlated into Engliſh; with "an Original Preface, containing a Parallel between "Painting and Poetry; by Mr. Dryden. As alſo a "ſhort account of the moſt eminent Painters, both "ancient and modern; by R. G. (*) Eſq." It is dedicated to the Earl of Burlington. The editor acquaints us (58), that ſome liberties have been taken with this excellent tranſlation; of which he gives the following account. 'The misfortune that attended 'him (Mr. Dryden) in that undertaking was, that, 'for want of a competent knowledge in painting, he 'ſuffered himſelf to be miſled by an unſkilful guide. 'Monſ. de Piles told him, that his French Verſion was 'made at the requeſt of the author himſelf, and al'tered by him till it was wholly to his mind. This 'Mr. Dryden taking upon content, thought there 'was nothing more incumbent on him than to put it 'into the beſt *Engliſh* he could, and accordingly per'formed his part here (as in every thing elſe) with 'accuracy,

(*) Richard Graham.

(58) See the Dedication.

Virgil's Works [*T*]. Beſides the Original Pieces and Tranſlations hitherto mentioned, Mr. Dryden wrote many others, publiſhed in the Six Volumes of Miſcellanies (z), and in other collections. They conſiſt of Tranſlations from Greek and Latin Poets; Epiſtles to ſeveral perſons; Prologues and Epilogues to various plays, and on various occa-

(z) Printed ſeveral times for J. Tonſon.

'accuracy. But, it being manifeſt that the French 'tranſlator has frequently miſtaken the ſenſe of his 'author, and very often alſo not ſet in the moſt advantageous light; to do juſtice to Monſ. du Freſnoy, 'Mr. Jervas (a very good Critick in the language, as 'well as in the ſubject of the Poem) has been prevailed upon to correct what was found amiſs; and his 'amendments are every where diſtinguiſhed with proper marks.' Mr. Dryden, in his preface (59), tells us, it was not of his own choice that he undertook this work. 'Many,' ſays he, 'of our moſt ſkilful 'Painters, and other Artiſts, were pleaſed to recommend this author to me as one who perfectly underſtood the rules of painting, who gave the beſt and 'moſt conciſe inſtructions for performance, and the 'ſureſt to form the judgment of all who loved this 'noble art.' He freely owns, he thought himſelf incapable of performing this tranſlation, either to the ſatisfaction of others, or his own credit. 'Not,' ſays he (60), 'but that I underſtood the original Latin, 'and the French author, perhaps as well as moſt Engliſhmen: but I was not ſufficiently verſed in the 'Terms of Art.' However, having obtained the aſſiſtance of others in this particular, he tells the reader, he may aſſure himſelf of a tolerable tranſlation. 'In 'this one particular only,' ſays he, 'I muſt beg the 'reader's pardon: the proſe tranſlation of the poem 'is not free from poetical expreſſions, and I dare not 'promiſe, that ſome of them are not fuſtian, or at 'leaſt highly metaphorical; but this being a fault in 'the firſt digeſtion (that is, the original Latin) was 'not to be remedied on the ſecond, viz. the tranſla'tion.' When Mr. Dryden undertook this work, he was already engaged, he tells us (61), in the Tranſlation of Virgil, from whom he borrowed only two months; and he acquaints us (62), that his preface was begun and ended in twelve mornings; and 'perhaps,' ſays he, 'the judges of Painting and Poetry, 'when I tell them how ſhort a time it coſt me, may 'make the ſame anſwer, which my Lord Rocheſter 'made to one, who, to commend a bad Tragedy, ſaid 'it was written in three weeks: How the devil could 'he be ſo long about it?' Mr. Pope has addreſſed a copy of verſes "To Mr. Jervas, with Freſnoy's Art "of Painting, tranſlated by Mr. Dryden," in which are theſe lines:

(59) P. 1.

(60) Pref. p. 3.

(61) Ib. p. 4.

(62) Ib. p. 60.

Read theſe inſtructive leaves, in which conſpire
Freſnoy's cloſe art, and Dryden's native fire:
And reading wiſh, like theirs, our fate and fame,
So mix'd our ſtudies, and ſo join'd our name;
Like them to ſhine thro' long ſucceeding age,
So juſt thy ſkill, ſo regular my rage (63).

(63) Works of A. Pope, Eſq. Vol. II. p. 67. edit. 1735. 8vo.

[*T*] *His Tranſlation of Virgil*] It has paſſed through ſeveral editions, and appeared in various forms. The Paſtorals (or Eclogues) are dedicated to Hugh Lord Clifford, Baron of Chudleigh. Mr. Dryden tells his patron, 'What he now offers his Lord'ſhip is the wretched remainder of a ſickly age (*), worn 'out with ſtudy, and oppreſſed by fortune; without 'other ſupport than the conſtancy and patience of a 'Chriſtian (64);' and he adds (65), that he began this work in his grand climacterick. The Life of Virgil, which follows this Dedication, the two Prefaces to the Paſtorals and Georgicks, and all the Arguments in proſe to the whole tranſlation, were given him, he tells us (66), by two worthy friends of his (||); who, ſeeing him ſtraitened in his time, took pity on him, and lent him their aſſiſtance. Beſides this, Mr. Dryden had the advantage of peruſing the Earl of Lauderdale's tranſlation of the Æneis; of which he gives us the following account: 'The late Earl of 'Lauderdale ſent me over his new tranſlation of the 'Æneis; which he had ended before I engaged in 'the ſame deſign. Neither did I then intend it: but 'ſome propoſals being afterwards made me by my 'Bookſeller, I deſired his Lordſhip's leave that I 'might accept them; which he freely granted, and 'I have his letter yet to ſhew for that permiſſion. He 'reſolved to have printed his work; which he might 'have done two years before I could publiſh mine; 'and had performed it, if death had not prevented 'him (†). But, having his manuſcript in my hands, 'I conſulted it as often as I doubted of my author's 'ſenſe. For, no man underſtood Virgil better than 'that learned nobleman (67).' Mr. Congreve, likewiſe, he tells us (68), did him the favour to reviſe the Æneis, and compare his verſion with the original. And, 'I ſhall never be aſhamed to own,' adds Mr. Dryden, 'that this excellent young man has ſhewed 'me many faults, which I have endeavoured to cor'rect.' The tranſlation of the Georgicks is dedicated to the Earl of Cheſterfield; and that of the Æneis to the Earl of Mulgrave. This latter dedication contains the author's thoughts on Epic Poetry, particularly that of Virgil. At the end of the Æneis, is a Poſtſcript to the reader; in which Mr. Dryden acquaints him (69), that the Firſt Georgick, and the greateſt part of the laſt Æneid, were tranſlated at Denham-Court, the houſe of Sir William Bowyer; and the Seventh Æneid, at Burleigh, the ſeat of the Earl of Exeter. And, ſpeaking of ſome particular parts of Virgil, tranſlated by other hands, he ſays: 'Whoever has given the world the tranſlation of part 'of the Third Georgic, which he calls 'The Power 'of Love,' has put me to ſufficient pains to make my 'own not inferior to his. As my Lord Roſcommon's 'Silenus had formerly given me the ſame trouble. 'The moſt ingenious Mr. Addiſon of Oxford has alſo 'been as troubleſome to me as the other two, and on 'the ſame account: After his Bees, my little ſwarm 'is ſcarcely worth the hiving. "Mr. Cowley's Praiſe 'of a Country Life" is rather an imitation of Virgil 'than a verſion (70).' Mr. Dryden likewiſe informs us (71), that, when he began this work, Gilbert Dolben, Eſq; ſon of Dr. Dolben, Archbiſhop of York, made him a preſent of all the ſeveral editions of Virgil, and all the Commentaries of thoſe Editions in Latin: 'Amongſt which,' ſays he, 'I could not but 'prefer the Dauphin's as the laſt, the ſhorteſt, and the 'moſt judicious. Fabrini I had alſo ſent me from 'Italy; but either he underſtands Virgil very imper'fectly, or I have no knowledge of my author.' The Poſtſcript is followed by ſome Notes and Obſervations on Virgil's Works in Engliſh, which the author tells us (72), he wrote *par maniere d'acquit*, becauſe he had obliged himſelf by articles to do ſomewhat of that kind.——It is generally allowed, that Mr. Dryden's tranſlation of Virgil is, upon the whole, extremely well performed; at leaſt, better than by any other Poet in any other language. Dr. Felton ſays in its commendation, that 'Thoſe who excel him, where 'they obſerve he hath failed, will fall below in a 'thouſand inſtances where he hath excelled (73): And Mr. Pope, the beſt Poet of his times, ſpeaking of Mr. Dryden's tranſlation of ſome part of Homer, ſays, 'Had he tranſlated the whole work, I wou'd no 'more have attempted Homer after him than Virgil; 'his verſion of whom (notwithſtanding ſome human 'errors) is the moſt noble and ſpirited tranſlation I 'know in any language (74).' Dr. Trapp (75) charges Mr. Dryden with groſſly miſtaking his author's ſenſe in many places; with adding or retrenching, as his turn is beſt ſerved by either; and with being leaſt a tranſlator, where he ſhines moſt as a Poet: and whereas it is a juſt rule laid down by my Lord Roſcommon, that a tranſlator, in regard to his author, ſhould

(*) Mr. Dryden was then ſixty-ſix years old.

(64) The Works of Virgil, &c. edit. 1721. 12mo. Vol. I. p. 7.

(65) Ib. p. 8.

(66) Ib. Vol. III. p. 435.

(||) The Preface to (or Eſſay on) the Georgicks was written by Mr. Addiſon.

(†) My Lord Lauderdale's Tranſlation has been ſince publiſhed.

(67) Ib. p. 434, 435.

(68) Ibid.

(69) Ib. p. 1005.

(70) Ib. p. 1007.

(71) Ib. p. 1005.

(72) Ib. p. 1007, 1008.

(73) Diſſertation on reading the Claſſicks, &c. Lond. 1730. p. 130.

(74) Preface to the Iliad of Homer, tranſlated by Mr. Pope.

(75) See his Works of Virgil, tranſlated into Engliſh blank Verſe, &c. Lond. 1735. 12mo. Pref. to the Æneis, p. 83—89.

Fall as he falls, and as he riſes riſe;

Mr. Dryden, he tells us, frequently acts the very reverſe of this precept; of which he produces ſome inſtances, and remarks in general, that the firſt ſix Books of the Æneis, which are the beſt and moſt perfect in the Original, are the leaſt ſo in the Tranſlation, and the ſix laſt Books *vice verſa*.

ſions;

fions; Elegies; Epitaphs; and Songs (*a*). His laſt work was his Fables [*U*], Ancient and Modern; tranſlated into verſe from Homer, Ovid, Boccace, and Chaucer. A new collection of our author's Poetical Works has been ſince publiſhed (*b*), under the title of "Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq; now firſt publiſhed and "collected together [*W*]." As to his performances in proſe, beſides thoſe already mentioned, he wrote the Lives of Plutarch and Lucian, prefixed to the tranſlations of thoſe authors by ſeveral hands; the Life of Polybius, before the tranſlation of that Hiſtorian by Sir Henry Sheer; and the Preface to the "Dialogue concerning Women," by William Walſh, Eſq. This great Poet died the firſt of May 1701 (*c*), and was interred in Weſtminſter Abbey [*X*], where a monument has been ſince erected over him, by John late Duke of Bucks [*Y*]. We ſhall ſet down his character, as repreſented by different

(*a*) See Original Poems, &c. Vol. II.

(*b*) For J. and R. Tonſon. In two Vols. 12mo. Lond. 1743.

(*c*) See his epitaph in the remark [*Y*].

[*U*] *His Fables.*] To this work is prefixed, by way of Preface, a critical Account of the authors, from whom the Fables are tranſlated. Among the original pieces, the "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day" is juſtly eſteemed one of the moſt perfect in any language, and has been ſet to muſick more than once; particularly, in the winter of the year 1735, by that great maſter Mr. Handel; and publicly performed, with the utmoſt applauſe, on the theatre in Covent-Garden. Mr. Pope has celebrated this Ode in the following lines:

Hear how Timotheus' vary'd lays ſurprize,
And bid alternate paſſions fall and riſe!
While, at each change, the ſon of Libyan Jove
Now burns with glory, and then melts with love:
Now his fierce eyes with ſparkling fury glow;
Now ſighs ſteal out, and tears begin to flow:
Perſians and Greeks like turns of nature found,
And the world's victor ſtood ſubdu'd by ſound:
The power of muſick all our hearts allow;
And what Timotheus was, is Dryden now (76).

(76) Eſſay on Criticiſm, v. 376.

All the other parts of the Miſcellany are ſo excellent, that the reader muſt think Mr. Dryden (as, he tells us (77), he thought himſelf) 'as vigorous as ever in the 'faculties of his ſoul,' though he was ſixty-eight years of age at the publication of this his laſt work.

(77) In the Preface.

[*W*] *Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq; now firſt collected and publiſhed together.*] The editor acquaints us in the Preface with the motives to the publication of this collection. 'It was 'thought,' he tells us, 'but juſtice to the productions 'of ſo excellent a poet, to ſet them free, at laſt, from 'ſo diſadvantageous, if not unnatural, an union (viz. 'of being blended with the Compoſitions of inferior 'Writers); an union, which, like the cruelty of Me'zentius in Virgil, was no leſs than a junction of liv'ing and dead bodies together.' And a little farther: 'It is now high time the partnerſhip ſhould be diſ'ſolved, and Mr. Dryden left to ſtand upon his own 'bottom. His credit, as a Poet, is out of all danger, 'though the withdrawing his ſtock may, probably, 'expoſe many of his co-partners to the hazard of a 'Poetical Bankruptcy.' There is a collection of "Original Poems and Tranſlations by Mr. Dryden," publiſhed by J. Tonſon, in 1701, in a thin folio: but, as it contains not much above half the pieces, ſo it does not at all anſwer the deſign of this collection, which, with the author's Plays, Fables, and Tranſlations of Virgil, Juvenal, and Perſius, is intended to complete Mr. Dryden's works in twelves. The firſt volume of this collection conſiſts of our author's larger poems; and the ſecond, of his Tranſlations, Epiſtles, Prologues, Epilogues, Elegies, Epitaphs, and Songs. Particular care, we are told, has been taken to render this edition as correct as poſſible, by reforming numberleſs errors of the preſs, which have been continued down through all editions hitherto publiſhed; but eſpecially by obſerving the ſtricteſt accuracy in the pointing: 'An article of correctneſs,' ſays the editor very juſtly, 'too generally neglected, though ſo much of 'the beauty, as well as the perſpicuity, of language 'depends upon it.'

(78) Compiled, &c. by Charles Wilſon, Eſq; Lond. 1730, 8vo. Part ii. p. 3, &c.

(79) Dr. Sprat, Biſhop of Rocheſter.

[*X*] *He was interred in Weſtminſter-Abbey.*] There are ſome more circumſtances, relating to the funeral of Mr. Dryden, recorded in the "Memoirs of the Life of "Mr. Congreve (78);" with which we ſhall entertain the reader. The day after Mr. Dryden's death, the Dean of Weſtminſter (79) ſent word to the Lady Elizabeth Howard, Mr. Dryden's widow, that he would make a preſent of the ground, and all the other Abbey Fees. The Lord Halifax likewiſe ſent to the Lady Elizabeth, and Mr. Charles Dryden her ſon, offering to defray the expences of our Poet's funeral, and afterwards to beſtow 500 pounds on a monument in the Abbey; which generous offer was accepted. Accordingly, on the Sunday following, the company being aſſembled, the corpſe was put into a velvet hearſe, attended by eighteen mourning coaches. When they were juſt ready to move, the Lord Jefferies, ſon of the Lord Chancellor Jefferies, with ſome of his rakiſh companions, coming by, aſked whoſe funeral it was; and, being told it was Mr. Dryden's, he proteſted he ſhould not be buried in that private manner; that he would himſelf, with the Lady Elizabeth's leave, have the honour of his interment, and would beſtow a thouſand pounds on a monument in the Abbey for him. This put a ſtop to the proceſſion, and Lord Jefferies, with ſeveral of the gentlemen, who had alighted from the coaches, went up ſtairs to the Lady Elizabeth, who was ſick in bed. His Lordſhip repeated the purport of what he had ſaid below; but the Lady Elizabeth abſolutely refuſing her conſent, he fell on his knees, vowing never to riſe till his requeſt was granted. The Lady, under a ſudden ſurprize, fainted away; the Lord Jefferies, pretending to have obtained her conſent, ordered the body to be carried to Mr. Ruſſel's an undertaker in Cheapſide, and leave it there till farther orders. In the mean time, the Abbey was lighted up, the ground opened, the Choir attending, and the Biſhop waiting ſome hours to no purpoſe for the corpſe. The next day, Mr. Charles Dryden waited upon the Lord Halifax, and the Biſhop, and endeavoured in vain to excuſe his mother, by relating the truth. Three days after, the undertaker, having received no orders, waited on the Lord Jefferies, who pretended it was a drunken frolic, that he remembered nothing of the matter, and he might do what he pleaſed with the body. Upon this, the undertaker waited on the Lady Elizabeth, who deſired a day's reſpite, which was granted. Mr. Charles Dryden immediately wrote to the Lord Jefferies, who returned for anſwer, That he knew nothing of the matter, and would be troubled no more about it. Mr. Dryden applied again to the Lord Halifax, and the Biſhop of Rocheſter, who abſolutely refuſed to do any thing in the affair. In this diſtreſs, Dr. Garth ſent for the corpſe to the College of Phyſicians, and propoſed a funeral by ſubſcription: which ſucceeding about three weeks after Mr. Dryden's deceaſe, Dr. Garth pronounced a fine Latin Oration over the body; which was conveyed from the College, attended by a numerous train of coaches, to Weſtminſter Abbey. After the funeral, Mr. Charles Dryden ſent a challenge to the Lord Jefferies, which the latter refuſed; and Mr. Dryden publickly declaring, he would watch every opportunity to meet and fight him, his Lordſhip thought fit to leave the town upon it.

[*Y*] *A Monument has been ſince erected over him by John late Duke of Buckinghamſhire.*] Mr. Dryden had no monument erected to him for ſeveral years; to which Mr. Pope alludes in his Epitaph intended for Mr. Rowe (80), in which is this line, ſpeaking of Dryden:

Beneath a rude and nameleſs ſtone he lies,

(80) Works of A. Pope, Eſq; edit. 1735. 12mo. Vol. II. p. 155.

In a note upon which, we are informed, that the tomb of Mr. Dryden was erected upon this hint by the Duke of

different writers, in the remark [Z]. It is insinuated, that he had offered himself for the Provostship of Eton College (*d*). He himself tells us, he had formed a plan for an Heroic Poem (*e*); but he did not live to execute any part of it. Mr. Dryden married

(*d*) See Tom Brown's "Late Converts exposed," &c. in the Preface.

(*e*) See the Dedication of his *Aureng-Zebe*.

of Buckingham; to which was originally intended this Epitaph:

This Sheffield rais'd: The sacred dust below
Was Dryden once: The rest who does not know?

Which the author since changed into the plain inscription now upon it, being only the name of that great Poet. The inscription is,

J. DRYDEN.
Natus Aug. 9, 1631.
Mortuus Maii 1, 1701.

Johannes Sheffield, Dux Buckinghamiensis, fecit.

[Z] *Mr. Dryden's Character, as represented by different writers.*] To shew our impartiality, we shall begin with Bishop Burnet, who, speaking of the corruption of the times, says, 'The Stage was defiled 'beyond all example, Dryden, the great master of 'Dramatic Poesy, being a monster of immodesty and 'impurities of all sorts (81).' The late Lord Lansdown took upon himself to vindicate Mr. Dryden's character from this severe imputation. He observes (82), that, 'He was so much a stranger to immo-'desty, that modesty in too great a degree was his 'failing. A monster of impurities of all sorts!' adds his Lordship: 'Good God! What an idea must that 'give! Is there any wickedness under the sun, but 'what is comprized in those few words? But, as it 'happens, he was the reverse of all this, a man of 'regular life and conversation, as all his acquaintance 'can vouch. And I cannot but grieve that such 'rash expressions should escape from a Bishop's pen. 'If bearing false witness against one's neighbour is a 'breach of the Commandment, can there be a more 'flagrant one than this?' His Lordship concludes with observing, that Mr. Dryden's writings 'will do 'honour to his name and country, and his Poems last 'as long as the Bishop's Sermons.' Mr. Burnet, the Bishop's son, in reply to this passage of my Lord Lansdown's, observes (83), that immodesty, in the Bishop's words, is not opposed to modesty, but chastness, and that this expression, as well as that of "Impurities of "all sorts," can only be meant of Dramatic Poesy, of which only the Bishop was speaking; and have nothing to do with Mr. Dryden's life and conversation. Indeed, he acknowledges, a writer more accurate in his style would rather have used the term *obscenities*. Whereupon he asks: 'Are not Dryden's Comedies 'then full of obscenities, of immodesty, and impuri-'ties?' He instances in his "Limberham, or The "Kind Keeper;" and then says: 'Where is the Cler-'gyman, who would not merit his Lordship's esteem 'instead of censure, for calling this play 'a monster 'of immodesty and impurities of all sorts?' And 'this, this only is Dr. Burnet's crime, for which he 'is to be unbishoped, unchristianed, and stigmatized, 'as a flagrant false witness against his neighbour.' Mr. Congreve, in the Dedication of our Poet's Dramatic Works to the Duke of Newcastle, has drawn his character to very great advantage. 'Mr. Dryden,' he tells us, 'had personal qualities to challenge both 'love and esteem from all who were truly acquainted 'with him. He was of a nature exceedingly humane 'and compassionate; easily forgiving injuries, and 'capable of a prompt and sincere reconciliation with 'them who had offended him.——His friendship, 'where he professed it, went much beyond his pro-'fessions.——As his reading had been very extensive, 'so was he very happy in a memory tenacious of every 'thing that he had read. He was not more possessed 'of knowledge than he was communicative of it. 'But then his communication of it was by no means 'pedantic, or imposed upon the conversation; but 'just such, and went so far, as by the natural turns 'of the discourse, in which he was engaged, it 'was necessarily promoted or required. He was 'extreme ready and gentle in his correction of the 'errors of any writer who thought fit to consult 'him; and full as ready and patient to admit of the 'reprehensions of others in respect of his own over-'sights or mistakes. He was of very easy, I may say 'of very pleasing, access; but something slow, and 'as it were diffident in his advances to others. He 'had something in his nature that abhorred intrusion 'in any society whatsoever. Indeed it is to be re-'gretted, that he was rather blameable in the other 'extreme: for by that means he was personally less 'known, and consequently his character might be-'come liable both to misapprehensions and misrepre-'sentations.——He was, of all the men that ever I 'knew, one of the most modest, and the most easily to 'be discountenanced, in his approaches, either to his 'superiors, or his equals.———As to his Writings '——I may venture to say in general terms, that no 'man hath written in our language so much, and so 'various matter, and, in so various manners, so well. 'Another thing I may say very peculiar to him; 'which is, that his parts did not decline with his 'years; but that he was an improving writer to 'the last, even to near seventy years of age, im-'proving even in fire and imagination as well as in 'judgment: witness his "Ode on St. Cecilia's 'Day," and his "Fables," his latest performances. 'He was equally excellent in verse and in prose. His 'prose had all the clearness imaginable, together with 'all the nobleness of expressions, all the graces and 'ornaments proper and peculiar to it, without devi-'ating into the language or diction of poetry.—I 'have heard him frequently own with pleasure, that, 'if he had any talent of English prose, it was owing 'to his having often read the writings of the great 'Archbishop Tillotson. His versification and his 'numbers he could learn of nobody: for he first pos-'sessed those talents in perfection in our tongue; and 'they who have best succeeded in them since his time 'have been indebted to his example; and, the more 'they have been able to imitate him, the better have 'they succeeded.——In his Poems, his diction is, 'wherever his subject requires it, so sublimely and so 'truly poetical, that its essence, like that of pure 'gold, cannot be destroyed. Take his verses, and 'divest them of their rhimes, disjoint them in their 'numbers, transpose their expressions, make what ar-'rangement and disposition you please of his words, 'yet shall there eternally be poetry, and something 'which will be found incapable of being reduced to 'absolute prose.——What he has done in any one 'species, or distinct kind (of writing), would have 'been sufficient to have acquired him a great name. 'If he had written nothing but his Prefaces, or no-'thing but his Songs, or his Prologues, each of them 'would have entitled him to the preference and dis-'tinction of excelling in his kind.' It should be remembered, that Mr. Congreve, in drawing this character of Mr. Dryden, discharged an obligation laid upon him by our Poet in these lines (84):

Be kind to my remains; and O defend,
Against your judgment, your departed friend!
Let not th' insulting foe my fame pursue,
But shade those laurels which descend to you.

(84) See his verses to Mr. Congreve on his Comedy called The Double Dealer; prefixed to that play.

Dr. Garth, in his Preface to the translation of "Ovid's "Metamorphoses," in which Mr. Dryden's share is considerable, speaks of him as follows: 'I cannot pass by 'that admirable English Poet, without endeavouring 'to make his country sensible of the obligations they 'have to his Muse. Whether they consider the flow-'ing grace of his versification; the vigorous sallies of 'his fancy; or the peculiar delicacy of his periods; 'they will discover excellences never to be enough 'admired. If they trace him from the first pro-'ductions of his youth, to the last performances of 'his age, they will find, that, as the tyranny of rhyme 'never imposed on the perspicuity of the sense, so a 'languid

(81) Burnet's History of his own times, Vol. I.

(82) Letter to the author of the Reflexions Historical and Political, &c. p. 5.

(83) Remarks upon the Lord Lansdowne's Letter, &c. p. 25.

ried the Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the Earl of Berkshire, who survived him about eight years, and by whom he had three sons, Charles, John, and Henry [*AA*]. B.

'languid sense never wanted to be set off by the harmony of rhyme: and as his early works wanted no force or spirit.——As a translator, he was just; as an inventor, he was rich.——With all these wondrous talents, he was libelled in his life-time by the very men, who had no other excellences, but as they were his imitators. Where he was allowed to have sentiments superior to all others, they charged him with theft. But how did he steal? no otherwise than, like those that steal beggars children, only to cloath them the better.' The testimony of so great a Poet, and so good a judge, as Mr. Pope, must not be omitted, when we are setting down the praises of Mr. Dryden. In a letter to Mr. Wycherley, dated December the 26th, 1704 (85), he says: 'It was certainly a great satisfaction to me, to see and converse with a man, whom in his writings I had so long known with pleasure. But it was a high addition to it, to hear you at our very first meeting doing justice to your dead friend Mr. Dryden. I was not so happy as to know him; *Virgilium tantum vidi*. Had I been born early enough, I must have known and loved him. For I have been assured, not only by yourself, but by Mr. Congreve and Sir William Trumbull, that his personal qualities were as amiable as his poetical, notwithstanding the many libellous misrepresentations of them; against which the former of those gentlemen has told me he will one day vindicate him (*), I suppose those injuries were begun by the violence of party; but it is no doubt they were continued by envy at his success and fame. And these scribblers, who attacked him in his latter times, were only like gnats in a summer's evening, which are never troublesome, but in the finest and most glorious season; for, his fire, like the sun's, shone clearest towards its setting.' The Editor of "Original Poems and Translations by John Dryden, "Esq; &c." (86), speaking, in the Preface, of his character, says: 'Posterity has been just to his fame, 'and he stands now in full possession of that established 'reputation, so justly due to the sprightliness of his 'wit, the liveliness of his imagination, the beauty of 'his sentiments and expression, but especially that improved harmony of his numbers, so happily begun 'by his predecessor Mr. Waller; and, if since brought 'to a greater perfection by a POET of our own times '(†), it is what he himself always owned to be owing to the foundation laid by Mr. Dryden. To this 'honour may be added another, that he improved 'our Prose as much as our Verse, and is, in that way 'too, one of the most correct writers in the English 'Language.'

[*AA*] *He had three sons, Charles, John, and Henry.*] Charles became usher of the palace to Pope Clement XI. and, upon his return to England, left his brother John to officiate in his room, and was drowned in swimming cross the Thames near Windsor, in 1704. He wrote several pieces, and translated the Sixth Satire of Juvenal. Mr. John Dryden translated the Fourteenth Satire of Juvenal, and was author of a Comedy intituled, "The Husband his own Cuckold" (87). He died at Rome not many months after his father. Mr. Henry Dryden entered into a religious Order.

*** [Since the preceding article was written, Dryden has been the subject of much and various observation. Both the applauses of his works, and the strictures upon them, have been very numerous; and his poetical reputation has been widely extended and encreased. To recite every thing which we have met with, and even marked down, with regard to him, would carry us to too great a length. Our additions will be sufficiently copious, if we only advert to the remarks which come from writers of distinguished ability. Dr. Johnson's admirable life, in particular, will demand a minute attention and various extracts.

Though, concerning the personal History of Dryden, little new matter can now be collected, Dr. Johnson has made upon it many interesting observations. Dryden is reported by Derrick, one of his Biographers, to have inherited from his father an estate of two hundred a year, and to have been bred an Anabaptist. 'For either of these particulars,' says Dr. Johnson, 'no authority is given. Such a 'fortune ought to have secured him from that poverty 'which seems always to have oppressed him; or, if 'he had wasted it, to have made him ashamed of 'publishing his necessities. But though he had many 'enemies, who undoubtedly examined his life with a 'scrutiny sufficiently malicious, I do not remember 'that he is ever charged with waste of his patrimony. 'He was indeed sometimes reproached for his first 'religion. I am therefore inclined to believe that 'Derrick's intelligence was partly true, and partly 'erroneous (88).'

When Dryden was at the University, he does not appear to have been eager of Poetical Distinction, or to have lavished his early wit either on fictitious subjects or public occasions. 'He probably considered,' observes Dr. Johnson, 'that he, who purposed to be 'an author, ought first to be a student. He obtained, 'whatever was the reason, no Fellowship in the 'College. Why he was excluded cannot now be 'known, and it is vain to guess; had he thought 'himself injured, he knew how to complain. In 'his Life of Plutarch he mentions his education in 'the College with gratitude; but in a Prologue at 'Oxford he has these lines:

'Oxford to him a dearer name shall be
'Than his own mother University:
'Thebes did his rude unknowing youth engage;
'He chooses Athens in his riper age (89).

There is a circumstance, hitherto wholly unnoticed by Dryden's Biographers, which shews his early reputation for knowledge; and that is, his having been chosen a member of the Royal Society soon after the formation of that institution. He was elected a Fellow of that Society on the nineteenth of November, 1662, and admitted on the twenty-sixth of the same month (90). Few Poets, we believe, have solicited an introduction into that learned body, since Cowley, Denham, and Dryden.

It was at the time of Dryden's publishing his "Annus Mirabilis" that he began to exercise the domination of conscious genius, by recommending his own performance: 'I am satisfied that as the 'Prince and General (Rupert and Monk) are incomparably the best subjects I ever had, so what I 'have written on them is much better than what I 'have performed on any other. As I have endeavoured to adorn my Poem with noble thoughts, so 'much more to express those thoughts with elocution.' It was, throughout his life, his custom to recommend his works, by a representation of the difficulties that he had encountered, without appearing, says Dr. Johnson, sufficiently to have considered, that where there is no difficulty there is no praise.

The "Annus Mirabilis" was addressed to Sir Robert Howard, nearly at the time in which he and Dryden had their controversy concerning dramatic rhyme, which circumstance has drawn from Dr. Johnson the following remarks: 'There seems to be, in 'the conduct of Sir Robert Howard and Dryden to 'each other, something that is not now easily to be 'explained. Dryden, in his Dedication to the Earl 'of Orrery, had defended dramatic rhyme; and Howard, in a Preface to a Collection of Plays, had censured his opinion. Dryden vindicated himself in 'his "Dialogue on Dramatic Poetry." Howard, in 'his Preface to the "Duke of Lerma," animadverted on the vindication; and Dryden, in a Preface 'to the "Indian Emperor," replied to the animadversions with great asperity, and almost with contumely. The dedication to this play is dated the 'year in which the "Annus Mirabilis" was published. Here appears a strange inconsistency: but 'Langbaine affords some help, by relating that the 'answer

(85) Works of A. Pope, Esq. Vol. V. p. 2. edit. 1737. 12mo.

(*) He did so in the Dedication of Mr. Dryden's Plays to the Duke of Newcastle. See towards the beginning of this remark.

(86) In two volumes, 12mo. 1743.

(†) Mr. Pope.

(87) Printed in 1696.

(88) Lives of the most eminent English Poets. Vol. ii. p. 2.

(89) Ibid. p. 3, 4.

(90) Birch's History of the Royal Society. Vol. I. p. 125, 127.

'answer to Howard was not published in the first 'edition of the Play, but was added when it was 'afterwards reprinted; and as the "Duke of Lerma" 'did not appear till 1668, the same year in which 'the Dialogue was published, there was time enough 'for enmity to grow up between authors, who, 'writing both for the theatre, were naturally rivals. '(91).'

(91) Lives of the Poets, ubi supra. p. 9—11.

Dr. Johnson has taken particular notice of Dryden's Controversy with Settle. As Dryden's pamphlet has never been thought worthy of republication, and is not easily to be found, the Doctor has endeavoured to gratify the curiosity of his readers, by giving large extracts from it; larger, indeed, than the performance merited. Our great Biographer's concluding remark is admirable. "Such was the 'criticism to which the genius of Dryden could be 'reduced between rage and terrour; rage with little 'provocation, and terrour with little danger. To 'see the highest minds thus levelled with the mean-'est may produce some solace to the consciousness 'of weakness, and some mortification to the pride 'of wisdom. But let it be remembered, that minds 'are not levelled in their powers but when they are 'first levelled in their desires. Dryden and Settle had 'both placed their happiness in the claps of mul-'titudes.' Elkanah Settle's Tragedy, entitled, "The "Empress of Morocco," which was written in rhyme, and for a while was much applauded, is said to have been the first play embellished with Sculptures. Even this circumstance seems to have given poor Dryden great disturbance (92).

(92) Ibid. p. 13, 21, 23.

Dr. Warton, from a communication of Mr. Pope to Mr. Spence, has related a circumstance that farther illustrates our Poet's behaviour to contemporary dramatists. 'Old Jacob Tonson used to say, that Dry-'den was a little jealous of rivals. He would com-'pliment Crown when a play of his failed, but was 'very cold to him if he met with success. He some-'times used to say that Crown had some genius, but 'then he added always, that his father and Crown's 'mother were very well acquainted (93).'

(93) Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope. Vol. II p. 311. First Edition.

We are indebted to Dr. Warton for an anecdote of a far more interesting nature relative to the composition of the famous Ode for St. Cæcilia's Day. Mr. 'St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, happening 'to pay a morning-visit to Dryden, whom he always 'respected, found him in an unusual agitation of 'spirits, even to a trembling. "I have been up all "night," replied the old Bard: "my musical friends 'made me promise to write them an Ode for the 'feast of St. Cæcilia. I have been so struck with 'the subject which occurred to me, that I could not 'leave it till I had completed it: here it is, finished 'at one sitting." And immediately he shewed him 'this Ode, which places the British Lyric Poetry 'above that of any other nation. This anecdote, as 'true as it is curious, was imparted by Lord Boling-'broke to Pope, by Pope to Mr. Gilbert West, by 'him to the ingenious friend who communicated it 'to me (94). The rapidity; and yet the perspicuity 'of the thoughts, the glow and the expressiveness of 'the images, those certain marks of the first sketch of 'a master, conspire to corroborate the truth of the 'fact (95).'

(94) Richard Berenger, Esq.

(95) Essay on Pope, ubi supra, p. 82—84.

There is an Anecdote in the Gentleman's Magazine, not only of less consequence, but of less authority, as we know not from what quarter it comes. We shall, however, insert it, and leave it to take its chance with our readers. 'Dryden being with the 'Earl of Mulgrave (afterwards Duke of Bucks) at 'his seat near Whitby in Yorkshire, they agreed to 'play at bowls for a wager, and promised that neither 'of them should try the ground before-hand. But 'in the night Dryden's servant happened to discover 'his Lordship by moon-light taking his distances, 'and measuring his casts, and informed his master. 'He took no notice of it; but the next day, after he 'had bowled, Lord Mulgrave, as he delivered his 'bowl, cried out, "My life, Dryden, to a horse-"t——d that I beat you." "Lay me an even "wager, my Lord," said the poet, "and I will take "it up (96)."

(96) Gent. Mag. Vol. LIX. P. 493.

As one of the greatest events of Dryden's life was his conversion to Popery, we shall transcribe Dr. Johnson's candid and sagacious reflections upon that transaction. 'Soon after the accession of King James, 'when the design of reconciling the nation to the 'Church of Rome became apparent, and the religion 'of the Court gave the only title to its favours, 'Dryden declared himself a convert to Popery. This 'at any other time might have passed with little 'censure. Sir Kenelm Digby embraced Popery; the 'two Reinolds reciprocally converted one another; 'and Chillingworth himself was awhile so entangled 'in the wilds of controversy as to retire for quiet to 'an infallible Church. If men of argument and 'study can find such difficulties, or such motives, as 'may either unite them to the Church of Rome, or 'detain them in uncertainty, there can be no wonder 'that a man, who perhaps never enquired why he 'was a Protestant, should by an artful and experienced 'disputant be made a Papist, over-borne by the 'sudden violence of new and unexpected arguments, 'or deceived by a representation which shews only 'the doubts on one part, and only the evidence on 'the other.

'That conversion will always be suspected that 'apparently concurs with interest. He, that never 'finds his error till it hinders his progress towards 'wealth or honour, will not be thought to love 'truth only for herself. Yet it may easily happen 'that information may come at a commodious time; 'and as truth and interest are not by any fatal neces-'sity at variance, that one may by accident introduce 'the other. When opinions are struggling into 'popularity, the arguments by which they are 'opposed or defended become more known; and he 'that changes his profession would perhaps have 'changed it before, with the like opportunities of 'instruction. This was then the state of Popery; 'every artifice was used to shew it in its fairest form; 'and it must be owned to be a religion of external 'appearance sufficiently attractive.

'It is natural to hope that a comprehensive is like-'wise an elevated soul, and that whoever is wise is 'also honest. I am willing to believe that Dryden, 'having employed his mind, active as it was, upon 'different studies, and filled it, capacious as it was, 'with other materials, came unprovided to the con-'troversy, and wanted rather skill to discover the 'right than virtue to maintain it. But enquiries into 'the heart are not for man: we must now leave him 'to his judge (97).'

(97) Lives of the Poets, ubi supra. p. 60—62.

Dryden had once formed the design of writing an epic Poem on the actions either of Arthur or the Black Prince. 'He considered," says Dr. Johnson, 'the epick as necessarily including some kind of 'supernatural agency, and had imagined a new kind 'of contest between the Guardian Angels of king-'doms, of whom he conceived that each might be 'represented zealous for his charge, without any in-'tended opposition to the purposes of the Supreme 'Being, of which all created minds must in part be 'ignorant. This is the most reasonable scheme of 'celestial interposition that ever was formed. The 'surprizes and terrors of enchantments, which have 'succeeded to the intrigues and oppositions of Pagan 'Deities, afford very striking scenes, and open a 'vast extent to the imagination; but, as Boileau 'observes, and Boileau will seldom be found mistaken, 'with this incurable defect, that in a contest between 'Heaven and Hell we know at the beginning which is 'to prevail: for this reason we follow Rinaldo to 'the enchanted wood with more curiosity than terror. 'In the scheme of Dryden there is one great diffi-'culty, which yet he would perhaps have had address 'enough to surmount. In a war, justice can be but of 'one side; and to entitle the hero to the protection 'of angels, he must fight in the defence of indubi-'table right. Yet some of the celestial beings, thus 'opposed to each other, must have been represented 'as defending guilt. That this Poem was never 'written is reasonably to be lamented. It would 'doubtless have improved our numbers, and enlarged 'our language, and might perhaps have contributed 'by pleasing instruction to rectify our opinions, and 'purify

'purify our manners.' A public ſtipend was required by him as the indeſpenſable condition of ſuch an undertaking; but this was not likely in thoſe times to be obtained; as riches were not become familiar to us, nor had the nation yet learned to be liberal (98).

(98) Life, &c. p. 71—73.

Dryden had ſome time before his deceaſe been a cripple in his limbs, and at length died in Gerard-ſtreet of a mortification in his leg. Concerning the ſtory of his funeral, related in Note [X], Dr Johnſon juſtly obſerves, that it appears with no great evidence. All the confirmation of it, he has met with, is in a letter of Farquhar, and he only relates that Dryden's funeral was tumultuary and confuſed. 'Suppoſing 'the ſtory true," ſays the Doctor, 'we may remark 'that the gradual change of manners, though im-'perceptible in its proceſs, appears great, when dif-'ferent times, and thoſe not very diſtant, are com-'pared. If at this time a young drunken Lord 'ſhould interrupt the pompous regularity of a mag-'nificent funeral; what would be the event, but 'that he would be joſtled out of the way, and com-'pelled to be quiet? If he ſhould thruſt himſelf 'into a houſe, he would be ſent roughly away; and, 'what is yet more to the honour of the preſent time, 'I believe that thoſe, who had ſubſcribed to the fune-'ral of a man like Dryden, would not, for ſuch 'an accident, have withdrawn their contributions '(99).'

(99) Ibid. p. 75, 80.

Dr Johnſon's remarks on the perſonal character of Dryden, in addition to thoſe of Congreve, are too important to be omitted. 'To this account of Con-'greve nothing can be objected but the fondneſs of 'friendſhip; and to have excited that fondneſs in 'ſuch a mind is no ſmall degree of praiſe. The 'diſpoſition of Dryden, however, is ſhewn in this 'character rather as it exhibited itſelf in curſory 'converſation, than as it operated on the more im-'portant parts of life. His placability and his 'friendſhip indeed were ſolid virtues; but courteſy 'and good-humour are often found with little real 'worth. Since Congreve, who knew him ſo well, 'has told us no more, the reſt muſt be collected as 'it can from other teſtimonies, and particularly from 'thoſe notices which Dryden has very liberally given 'of himſelf.

'The modeſty which made him ſo ſlow to advance, 'and ſo eaſy to be repulſed, was certainly no ſuſ-'picion of deficient merit, or unconſciouſneſs of his 'own value: he appears to have known, in its whole 'extent, the dignity of his character, and to have 'ſet a very high value on his own powers and per-'formances. He probably did not offer his conver-'ſation, becauſe he expected it to be ſolicited; and 'he retired from a cold reception, not ſubmiſſive but 'indignant, with ſuch reverence of his own greatneſs 'as made him unwilling to expoſe it to neglect or 'violation.

'His modeſty was by no means inconſiſtent with 'oſtentatiouſneſs: he is diligent enough to remind 'the world of his merit, and expreſſes with very 'little ſcruple his high opinion of his own powers; 'but his ſelf-commendations are read without ſcorn 'or indignation: we allow his claims, and love his 'frankneſs,

'Tradition, however, has not allowed that his 'confidence in himſelf exempted him from jealouſy 'of others. He is accuſed of envy and inſidiouſneſs; 'and is particularly charged with inciting Creech to 'tranſlate Horace, that he might loſe the reputation 'which Lucretius had given him. Of this charge 'we immediately diſcover that it is merely conjec-'tural; the purpoſe was ſuch as no man would con-'feſs; and a crime, that admits no proof, why ſhould 'we believe?

'He has been deſcribed as magiſterially preſiding 'over the younger writers, and aſſuming the diſtri-'bution of poetical fame; but he who excels has a 'right to teach, and he whoſe judgement is incon-'teſtable may, without uſurpation, examine and 'decide.

'Congreve repreſents him as ready to adviſe and 'inſtruct; but there is reaſon to believe that his 'communication was rather uſeful than entertaining. 'He declares of himſelf that he was ſaturnine, and 'not one of thoſe whoſe ſprightly ſayings diverted 'company; and one of his cenſurers makes him ſay,

'Nor wine nor love could ever ſee me gay;
'To writing bred, I knew not what to ſay.

'There are men whoſe powers operate only at 'leiſure and in retirement, and whoſe intellectual 'vigour deſerts them in converſation; whom merri-'ment confuſes, and objection diſconcerts; whoſe 'baſhfulneſs reſtrains their exertion, and ſuffers them 'not to ſpeak till the time of ſpeaking is paſt; or 'whoſe attention to their own character makes them 'unwilling to utter at hazard what has not been con-'ſidered, and cannot be recalled.

'Of Dryden's ſluggiſhneſs in converſation it is vain 'to ſearch or to gueſs the cauſe. He certainly wanted 'neither ſentiments nor language; his intellectual 'treaſures were great, though they were locked up 'from his own uſe. *His thoughts*, when he wrote, '*flowed in upon him ſo faſt, that his only care was 'which to chuſe, and which to reject.* Such rapidity 'of compoſition naturally promiſes a flow of talk; 'yet we muſt be content to believe what an enemy 'ſays of him, when he likewiſe ſays it of himſelf. 'But, whatever was his character as a companion, it 'appears that he lived in familiarity with the higheſt 'perſons of his time. It is related by Carte of the 'Duke of Ormond, that he uſed often to paſs a night 'with Dryden, and thoſe with whom Dryden con-'ſorted. Who they were Carte has not told; but 'certainly the convivial table at which Ormond ſat 'was not ſurrounded with a Plebeian Society. He 'was indeed reproached with boaſting of his famili-'arity with the great; and Horace will ſupport him 'in the opinion, that to pleaſe ſuperiors is not the 'loweſt kind of merit.

'The merit of pleaſing muſt, however, be eſti-'mated by the means. Favour is not always gained 'by good actions or laudable qualities. Careſſes and 'preferments are often beſtowed on the auxiliaries of 'vice, the procurers of pleaſure, or the flatterers of 'vanity. Dryden has never been charged with any 'perſonal agency unworthy of a good character; 'he abetted vice and vanity only with his pen. One 'of his enemies has accuſed him of lewdneſs in his 'converſation; but if accuſation without proof be 'credited, who ſhall be innocent?

'His works afford too many examples of diſſolute 'licentiouſneſs, and abject adulation; but they were 'probably, like his merriment, artificial and con-'ſtrained; the effects of ſtudy and meditation, and 'his trade rather than his pleaſure. Of the mind 'that can trade in corruption, and can deliberately 'pollute itſelf with ideal wickedneſs for the ſake of 'ſpreading the contagion in Society, I wiſh not to 'conceal or excuſe the depravity.—Such degradation 'of the dignity of genius, ſuch abuſe of ſuperlative 'abilities, cannot be contemplated but with grief 'and indignation. What conſolation can be had, 'Dryden has afforded, by living to repent, and to 'teſtify his repentance.

'Of dramatic immorality he did not want exam-'ples among his predeceſſors, or companions among 'his contemporaries: but, in the meanneſs and ſervi-'lity of hyperbolical adulation, I know not whether, 'ſince the days in which Roman Emperors were 'deified, he has been ever equalled, except by Afra 'Behn in an addreſs to Eleanor Gwyn. When once 'he has undertaken the taſk of praiſe, he no longer 'retaines ſhame in himſelf, nor ſuppoſes it in his 'patron. As many odoriferous bodies are obſerved 'to diffuſe perfumes from year to year, without ſen-'ſible diminution of bulk or weight, he appears 'never to have impoveriſhed his mint of flattery by 'his expences, however laviſh. He had all the 'forms of excellence, intellectual and moral, com-'bined in his mind, with endleſs variation; and when 'he had ſcattered on the hero of the day the golden 'ſhower of wit and virtue, he had ready for him, 'whom he wiſhed to court on the morrow, new wit 'and virtue with another ſtamp. Of this kind of 'meanneſs he never ſeems to decline the practice, or 'lament the neceſſity: he conſiders the great as 'entitled to encomiaſtic homage, and brings praiſe 'rather as a tribute than a gift, more delighted with

'the

the fertility of his invention than mortified by the proſtitution of his judgment. It is indeed not certain, that on theſe occaſions his judgment much rebelled againſt his intereſt. There are minds which eaſily ſink into ſubmiſſion, that look on grandeur with undiſtinguiſhing reverence, and diſcover no defect where there is elevation of rank and affluence of riches.

'With his praiſes of others and of himſelf is always intermingled a ſtrain of diſcontent and lamentation, a ſullen growl of reſentment, or a querulous murmur of diſtreſs. His works are under-valued, his merit unrewarded, and *he has few thanks to pay his ſtars that he was born among Engliſhmen.* To his critics he is ſometimes contemptuous, ſometimes reſentful, and ſometimes ſubmiſſive. The writer, who thinks his works formed for duration, miſtakes his intereſt when he mentions his enemies. He degrades his own dignity by ſhewing that he was affected by their cenſures, and gives laſting importance to names, which, left to themſelves, would vaniſh from remembrance. From this principle Dryden did not oft depart; his complaints are for the greater part general; he ſeldom pollutes his page with an adverſe name. He condeſcended indeed to a controverſy with Settle, in which he perhaps may be conſidered rather as aſſaulting than repelling; and, ſince Settle is ſunk into oblivion, his libel remains injurious only to himſelf. Among anſwers to critics, no poetical attacks, or alterations, are to be included: they are, like other poems, effuſions of genius, produced as much to obtain praiſe as to obviate cenſure. Theſe Dryden practiſed, and in theſe he excelled (100)." Of Collier, Blackmore, and Milbourne, he only took ſome general notice, in the preface to his Fables.

(100) Ibid. p. 83—91.

The malignity which Dryden often expreſſed againſt the clergy is imputed by Langbaine to a repulſe which he ſuffered when he ſolicited ordination; but he 'denied that he ever deſigned to enter into the Church; 'and ſuch a denial,' obſerves Dr. Johnſon, 'he 'would not have hazarded, if he could have been 'convicted of falſehood. Malevolence to the clergy,' adds the Doctor, 'is ſeldom at a great diſtance from 'irreverence of religion, and Dryden affords no exception to this obſervation. His writings exhibit many 'paſſages, which, with all the allowance that can 'be made for characters and occaſions, are ſuch as 'piety would not have admitted, and ſuch as may 'vitiate light and unprincipled minds. But there is 'no reaſon for ſuppoſing that he diſbelieved the 'religion which he diſobeyed. He forgot his duty 'rather than diſowned it. His tendency to profaneneſs is the effect of levity, negligence, and 'looſe converſation, with a deſire of accommodating 'himſelf to the corruption of the times, by venturing 'to be wicked as far as he durſt. When he profeſſed himſelf a convert to Popery, he did not pretend to have received any new conviction of the 'fundamental doctrines of Chriſtianity (101)."

(101) Ibid. P. 94, 95.

The perſecution of critics was not the worſt of Dryden's vexations; for he was much more diſturbed by the importunities of want. His complaints of poverty are ſo frequently repeated, that it is impoſſible not to deteſt the age which could impoſe on ſuch a man the neceſſity of ſolicitations, or not to deſpiſe the man who could ſubmit to ſolicitations without neceſſity. It is to be feared that the greater part of his life was paſſed in exigences, though of his ſupplies or his expences it is not now eaſy to form a probable eſtimate. Excepting the ſalary of the Laureate, to which King James added the office of Hiſtoriographer, perhaps with ſome additional emolument, his whole revenue ſeems to have been caſual; 'and it is well known,' adds Dr. Johnſon, 'that he ſeldom lives frugally who 'lives by chance. Hope is always liberal, and they 'that truſt her promiſes make little ſcruple of re'velling to-day on the profits of the morrow (102).'

(102) Ibid. P. 95, 96.

The advantage which Dryden derived from his plays was not great. Dr. Warton ſays, that he generally got twenty-five pounds for the copy, and ſeventy-pounds for his benefits (103). From the number of his theatrical performances it might naturally be ſuppoſed that he muſt have improved his fortune, or, at leaſt, that he muſt have ſet penury at defiance. 'But in Dryden's time,' obſerves Dr. Johnſon, 'the drama was very far from that univerſal 'approbation which it has now obtained. The 'play-houſe was abhorred by the Puritans, and 'avoided by thoſe who deſired the character of 'ſerioufneſs or decency. A grave lawyer would have 'debaſed his dignity, and a young trader would 'have impaired his credit, by appearing in thoſe 'manſions of diſſolute licentiouſneſs. The profits of 'the Theatre, when ſo many claſſes of the people 'were deducted from the audience, were not great; 'and the Poet had for a long time but a ſingle night. 'The firſt that had two nights was Southern, and 'the firſt that had three was Rowe. There were, 'however, in thoſe days, arts of improving a Poet's 'profit, which Dryden forebore to practiſe; and a 'play therefore ſeldom produced him more than a 'hundred pounds, by the accumulated gain of the 'third night, the dedication, and the copy (104).'

(103) Eſſay on the Writings and Genius of Pope. Vol. I. p. 311.

(104) Lives of the Poets, ubi ſupra. p. 47, 48.

Of the produce of his other works much intelligence cannot now be obtained. By diſcourſing with the late Mr. Tonſon, Dr. Johnſon could not find that any memorials of the tranſactions between his predeceſſor and Dryden had been preſerved, excepting the following papers:

"I do hereby promiſe to pay to John Dryden, Eſq. "or order, on the 25th of March 1699, the ſum of "two hundred and fifty guineas, in conſideration of "ten thouſand verſes, which the ſaid John Dryden, "Eſq. is to deliver to me Jacob Tonſon when "finiſhed, whereof ſeven thouſand five hundred verſes, "more or leſs, are already in the ſaid Jacob Tonſon's "poſſeſſion. And I do hereby farther promiſe, and "engage myſelf to make up the ſaid ſum of two "hundred and fifty guineas three hundred pounds "ſterling to the ſaid John Dryden, Eſq. his execu"tors, adminiſtrators, or aſſigns, at the beginning of the "ſecond impreſſion of the ſaid ten thouſand verſes.

"In witneſs whereof I have hereunto ſet my hand "and ſeal, this 20th day of March, 1698-9.

"JACOB TONSON.

"Sealed and delivered, being firſt "duly ſtampt, purſuant to the "act of parliament for that "purpoſe, in the preſence of "Ben. Portlock. "Will. Congreve."

"March 24th, 1698.

"Received then of Mr. Jacob Tonſon the ſum of "two hundred ſixty-eight pounds fifteen ſhillings, "in purſuance of an agreement for ten thouſand "verſes, to be delivered by me to the ſaid Jacob "Tonſon, whereof I have already delivered to him "about ſeven thouſand five hundred more or leſs; "he the ſaid Jacob Tonſon being obliged to make "up the foreſaid ſum of two hundred ſixty-eight "pounds fifteen ſhillings three hundred pounds, at "the beginning of the ſecond impreſſion of the afore"ſaid ten thouſand verſes; I ſay, received by me

"JOHN DRYDEN.

"Witneſs, Charles Dryden."

Two hundred and fifty guineas, at 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* is 268*l.* 15*s.*

From the dates of this contract, it is manifeſt that it relates to the volume of Fables, which contains about twelve thouſand verſes, and for which therefore the payment muſt have been afterwards enlarged. Dr. Johnſon was told of a letter yet remaining, in which Dryden deſires Tonſon to bring him money, to pay for a watch which he had ordered for his ſon, and which the maker would not leave without the price. He had probably no recourſe in his exigencies but to his Bookſeller; and the general conduct of traders was much leſs liberal in thoſe times than in our own; their views being narrower, and their manners groſſer. That the delicacy of the Poet was ſometimes expoſed to the mercantile ruggedneſs of that race appears from the teſtimony of Lord Bolingbroke, who related to Dr. King of Oxford, that one day, when he viſited Dryden, they heard, as they were converſing, another perſon entering the houſe. 'This,' ſaid Dryden, 'is Tonſon. You will take 'care not to depart before he goes away; for I have 'not

'not completed the sheet which I promised him; and, 'if you leave me unprotected, I must suffer all the 'rudeness to which his resentment can prompt his 'tongue.' What rewards he obtained for his Poems, besides the payment of his bookseller, cannot be ascertained. Mr. Derrick was informed, by some of Dryden's relations, that his Fables obtained five hundred pounds from the Dutchess of Ormond; a present not unsuitable to the magnificence of that splendid family. The same writer quotes Moyle, as relating that forty pounds were paid by a musical society for "Alexander's Feast." There is reason to believe that in those days, when the payments of the Exchequer were dilatory and uncertain, the Laureat sometimes felt the effects of this disorder; for he complains, in one of his prefaces, of those, who, being intrusted with the distribution of the Prince's bounty, suffer such as depend upon it to languish in penury. Tradition has preserved little of his petty habits or slight amusements. Dr. Johnson found two men to whom Dryden was personally known; one of whom said, that at the house which he frequented, called Will's Coffee-house, the appeal upon any literary dispute was made to him; and the other related, that his armed chair, which in the winter had a settled and prescriptive place by the fire, was in the summer placed in the balcony. The two places were called by him his winter and his summer seat (105).

(105) Lives of the Poets, ubi supra. p. 96—100.

Dr. Johnson says, that he knows not any account of the person of Dryden (106). But from the State Poems we learn that he was a short thick man. The nick-name given him by his enemies was Poet Squab. His head by Kneller, which was in the possession of the late James West, Esq. would lead a spectator to imagine that he was graceful in his person; but Kneller was a great mender of nature. From his picture of Lady Essex Mostyn, one would suppose her to have been a well-shaped woman, whereas she was very crooked (107).

(106) Ibid. p. 82.

Concerning Dryden's private character he himself thus speaks, in a letter to Dennis, written in 1694. 'For my principles of religion, I will not justify 'them to you: I know yours are far different. For 'the same reason, I shall say nothing of my princi-'ples of state: I believe you, in yours, follow the 'dictates of your reason, as I, in mine, do those of 'my conscience: if I thought myself in an error, I 'would retract it. For my morals, between man and 'man, I am not to be my own judge. I appeal to 'the world if I have deceived or defrauded any man; 'and for my private conversation, they who see me 'every day can be the best witnesses whether or no 'it be blameless and inoffensive (108)."

(107) From a very respectable correspondent.

(108) Davies's Dramatic Miscellanies. Vol. III. p. 174, 175.

From the circumstances of a more personal nature, we proceed to consider Dryden in his intellectual and literary character. And here he presents himself to us as a Dramatic Author, a Critic, a Scholar, a Writer of prose, and a general poet. Concerning each of these objects we shall collect the principal observations, of a later date than the original article, which we have met with in the course of our reading.

That the fame of Dryden does not at present rest on his dramatic productions, but depends on considerations of a more important nature, is now universally understood. Nevertheless, as his plays were twenty-seven, or twenty-eight in number, and were the chief employment of twenty-five years of his life, his character as a Dramatist is a matter of consequence; for which reason we shall attend to the remarks on some of his pieces for the stage, that have been made by Dr. Johnson and the authors of the "Biographia Dramatica."—"The Wild Gallant." In this he began with no happy auspices; 'for, his 'performance was so much disapproved, that he was 'compelled to recal it, and change it from its im-'perfect state to the form in which it now appears, 'and which is yet sufficiently defective to vindicate 'the critics (109)."—"The Rival Ladies." This, which was Dryden's second play, and published in 1664, is numbered xviii. in the list inserted in note [*D*]. It was dedicated to the Earl of Orrery; and here our Poet made his first Essay of Dramatic Rhyme, which he defends in the Dedication with sufficient certainty of a favourable hearing; for, Orrery was himself a writer of rhyming Tragedies (110).—The scene of the play lies in Alicant; and the dispute betwixt Amideo and Hypolito, and Gonsalvo's fighting with the pirates, are borrowed from Encolpius, Giton, Eumolphus, and Tryphena's boarding the vessel of Lycas in Petronius Arbiter. In the catastrophe there is a near resemblance to that of Scarron's "Rival Brothers (111)"—"The Indian Emperor." Of the connection of this Tragedy with Howard's "Indian Queen," notice was given to the audience by printed bills, distributed at the door; an expedient supposed to be ridiculed in the "Rehearsal," when Bays tells how many reams he has printed, to instil into his auditory some conception of his plot. There is in this play the description of night, which Rymer has made famous by preferring it to those of all other Poets (112).—"Secret Love: or, the Maiden Queen." It is numbered xvii in Note [*D*], and represented as having been acted in 1679; whereas it was first performed in 1668. In the Preface, Dryden discusses a curious question, whether a Poet can judge well of his own productions: and determines very justly, that, of the plan and disposition, and all that can be reduced to principles of science, the author may depend upon his own opinion; but that, in those parts where fancy predominates, self-love may easily be deceived. 'He might have observed,' adds Dr. Johnson, 'that what is good only because it pleases, can-'not be pronounced good till it has been found to 'please (113)."—"Sir Martin Mar-all." It was first performed in 1668, and not in 1678, as said in note [*D*]. Downes says, that the Duke of Newcastle gave this play to Dryden, who adapted it to the stage; and it is remarkable that it is entered on the books of the Stationers' Company as the production of that Nobleman (114.)—"The Tempest." Acted at Dorset-Gardens, in 1670. The whole ground-work of this Play is built on the Tempest of Shakspeare; and the greatest part of the language and some entire scenes are copied from it verbatim. Dryden, however, has made a considerable alteration in the plot and conduct of the play, and introduced three new characters, viz. a sister to Miranda who, like her, has never seen a man; a youth, who has never beheld a woman; and a female monster, sister and companion to Caliban. Besides all this, he has somewhat enlarged the characters of the sailors, greatly extended the musical parts, and terminated the whole with a kind of Masque. In short, he has rendered it, in several respects, more showy, more intricate, and fitter to keep up the general attention of the audience; and yet, to the immortal evidence of the superiority of Shakspeare's abilities over every other genius, the work of Dryden, interwoven as it is with the very texture of the original play, and fine as it must be considered taken singly, appears here but as patch-work, or as fruit entirely unequal to the noble stock on which it is engrafted (115).—"An Even-"ing's Love; or, the Mock Astrologer." This Comedy is dedicated to the illustrious Duke of Newcastle, whom Dryden courts by adding to his praises those of his lady, not only as a lover but partner of his studies. 'The Preface,' says Dr. Johnson, 'seems 'very elaborately written, and contains many just 'remarks on the fathers of the English Drama. 'Shakspeare's plots, he says, are in the hundred 'Novels of Cinthio; those of Beaumont and Fletcher 'in Spanish stories; Jonson only made them for 'himself. His criticisms upon Tragedy, Comedy, 'and Farce, are judicious and profound. He endea-'vours to defend the immorality of some of his 'Comedies by the example of former writers; which 'is only to say, that he was not the first nor perhaps 'the greatest offender. Against those that accused 'him of plagiarism, he alleges a favourable ex-'pression of the King: 'He only desired that they, 'who accuse me of thefts, would steal him plays like 'mine;' and then relates how much labour he spends 'in fitting for the English stage what he borrows 'from others (116).'—"Tyrannic Love." 'This,' says Dr. Johnson, 'was another Tragedy in rhyme, 'conspicuous for many passages of strength and 'elegance, and many of empty noise and ridiculous 'turbulence. The rants of Maximin have been 'always the sport of criticism; and were at length, 'if his own confession may be trusted, the shame of 'the writer. Of this play he takes care to let the 'reader know, that it was contrived and written in 'seven

(109) Lives of the Poets, ubi supra. p. 6, 7.

(110) Ibid. p. 7.

(111) Biographia Dramatica. Vol. II. p. 309.

(112) Lives of the Poets, ubi supra, p. 8.

(113) Biographia Dramatica, ubi supra, p. 332. Johnson, ubi supra, p. 12.

(114) Biographia Dramatica, ubi supra, p. 345.

(115) Ibid. p. 366, 367.

(116) Lives of the Poets, ubi supra, p. 24.

'seven weeks. Want of time was often his excuse, 'or perhaps shortness of time was his private boast 'in the form of an apology.'—"The Conquest of "Granada." The two parts of which this performance consists 'are written with a seeming determination 'to glut the public with dramatic wonders; to exhibit 'in its highest elevation a theatrical meteor of in-'credible love and impossible valour, and to leave 'no wilder flight to the extravagance of posterity. 'All the rays of romantic heat, whether amorous or 'warlike, glow in Almanzor by a kind of concen-'tration. He is above all laws; he is exempt from 'all restraints; he ranges the world at will, and 'governs wherever he appears. He fights without 'enquiring the cause, and loves in spite of the 'obligations of justice, of rejection by his mistress, 'and of prohibition from the dead. Yet the scenes 'are, for the most part, delightful; they exhibit a 'kind of illustrious depravity, and majestic madness: 'such as, if it is sometimes despised, is often reverenced, 'and in which the ridiculous is mingled with the 'astonishing.' The extravagance of this play naturally drew upon it the censures of the critics, one of whom was Martin Clifford, to whom Sprat addressed the Life of Cowley, with such veneration of his critical powers as might naturally excite great expectations of instruction from his remarks; but, from the specimens produced by Dr. Johnson, it appears that honest credulity should beware of receiving characters from contemporary writers (117). Whatever objections might justly be made to the two parts of the "Con-"quest of Granada," they both of them met with great success in the representation. Langbaine has taken uncommon pains to point out how much Dryden, in the formation of these pieces, has borrowed from the celebrated romances of Almahide, Grand Cyrus, Ibrahim and Guzman. Yet surely this envy was unnecessary; since, as the plot of the whole was built on history, 'it should rather be esteemed as a 'merit,' observe the writers of the Biographia Dramatica, 'than a blemish in the author, that he has, 'like an industrious bee, collected his honey from 'all the choicest flowers which adorned the field he 'was traversing, whether the more cultivated ones 'of serious, or the wilder of romantic history (118).'—"Amboyna." 'This,' says Dr. Johnson, 'is a tissue 'of mingled dialogue in verse and prose, and was 'perhaps written in less time than the "Virgin-"Martyr;" though the author thought not fit, either 'ostentatiously or mournfully, to tell how little labour 'it cost him, or at how short a warning he produced 'it. It was a temporary performance, written in 'the time of the Dutch war, to inflame the nation 'against their enemies; to whom he hopes, as he 'declares in his Epilogue, to make his Poetry 'not less destructive than that by which Tyrtæus of 'old animated the Spartans (119).'—"State of "Innocence." Though Dryden calls this an Opera, it is rather a Tragedy in heroic rhyme, but of which the personages are such as cannot decently be exhibited on the stage. 'Some such production was 'foreseen by Marvel, who thus writes to Milton:

'Or if a work so infinite be spann'd,
'Jealous I was lest some less skilful hand,
'Such as disquiet always what is well
'And by ill-imitating would excel,
'Might hence presume, the whole creation's day,
'To change in scenes, and shew it in a play.'

"The State of Innocence" is another of our Poet's hasty productions, the heat of his imagination having raised it in a month. Dr. Johnson has animadverted with just severity on the extravagance of the Dedication, and the falsehood of the Preface (120).—"Aureng-Zebe." This Tragedy is founded on the actions of a great Prince then reigning, but over nations not likely to be acquainted with the transactions of the English stage. The country is at such a distance, that the manners might be safely falsified, and the incidents feigned; remoteness of place affording the same conveniences to a Poet as length of time. This play has the appearance of being the most elaborate of all the Dramas of Dryden that are written in rhyme. Though the personages are imperial, the dialogue is often domestic, and therefore susceptible of sentiments accommodated to familiar incidents. There are many passages that may be read with pleasure, and the complaint of Life is celebrated (120). It is (121) spoken by Aureng-Zebe, and is as follows:

'When I consider life, 'tis all a cheat;
'Yet, fool'd with hope, men favour the deceit:
'Trust on, in hopes to-morrow will repay,
'To-morrow's falser than the former day;
'Lies more; and, when it says we shall be bless'd
'With new joys, cuts off what we possess'd.
'Strange cozenage! None, would live past years again,
'Yet all hope pleasure from what yet remain;
'And from the dregs of life hope to receive
'What the first sprightly runnings cannot give.
'I'm tired of waiting for this chemic gold,
'Which fools us young, and beggars us when old.

The reply of Nourmahul is not unworthy of notice:

'Tis not for nothing that we life pursue:
'It pays our hopes with something that is new.
'Each day's a mistress unenjoy'd before;
'Like travellers, we're pleas'd with seeing more.
'Did you but know what joys your way attend,
'You would not hurry to your journey's end (122).'

"All for Love; or, the World Well Lost." This is the only play of Dryden's which he wrote for 'himself; the rest were given to the people. 'It is,' says Dr. Johnson, 'by universal consent accounted 'the work in which he has admitted the fewest im-'proprieties of style or character; but it has one fault 'equal to many, though rather moral than critical, 'that, by admitting the romantic omnipotence of 'love, he has recommended as laudable and worthy 'of imitation that conduct which, through all ages, 'the good have censured as vicious, and the bad 'despised as foolish (123).' It is observed, in the Biographia Dramatica, that there needs, perhaps, no other reason to be assigned for the 'All for Love's' being the most complete of Dryden's dramatic pieces, than that it was the only one which he was permitted to bring to that perfection which leisure and application, added to a most capital degree of genius, might be expected to attain. Though the plot and general design of it are borrowed from Shakspeare, and he has fallen short of his first model in fire and originality, he has surpassed him in point of regularity and poetic harmony. Indeed, it may possibly stand hereafter as a matter of contest, whether this Tragedy is or is not to be esteemed an invincible master-piece of the power of English Poetry (124).—"Troilus and "Cressida." The last scene in the third act is a master-piece. It may be suspected that the Essay on the Grounds of Criticism in Tragedy, prefixed to this play, was occasioned by Rymer's Book on the same subject (125).—"Oedipus King of Thebes." The first and third acts of this Tragedy were written by Dryden, and he drew the machinery of the whole. It is one of the best executed pieces that either of the two celebrated authors were concerned in, though it is not without its faults. The writers have happily availed themselves of several beauties both in Sophocles and Seneca. Whenever the Oedipus has been revived, it has never failed to affect the audience in a very powerful manner. Some years ago, at a representation of it in Dublin, where Elringham acted the part of Oedipus, one of the instrumental performers, who was sitting in the orchestra to see the piece, was so violently affected with the feigned distraction of that monarch, that he was immediately seized with a real madness, which is said never to have left him through life (126).—"The Spanish Fryar." Of this Tragi-Comedy Dr. Johnson remarks, that it is eminent for the happy coincidence and coalition of the two plots. 'As it was written,' he adds, 'against the Papists, 'it would naturally at that time have friends and 'enemies; and partly by the popularity which it 'obtained at first, and partly by the real power both 'of the serious and risible part it continued long a 'favourite of the public. It was Dryden's opinion, 'at least for some time, and he maintains it in the 'Dedication of this play, that the Drama required an 'alternation of comic and tragic scenes, and that it is 'necessary to mitigate, by alleviations of merriment, 'the pressure of ponderous events, and the fatigue of 'toilsome

(117) Lives, &c. p. 25—28.

(118) Biographia Dramatica. Vol. II. p. 64.

(119) Johnson, ubi supra, p. 37, 38.

(120) Ibid. p. 40, 41.

(121) Ibid.

(122) Davies's Dramatic Miscellanies. Vol. III. p. 159, 160.

(123) Johnson, ubi supra, p. 43.

(124) Biog. Dram. ubi supra, p. 9.

(125) Johnson, ubi supra, p. 38.

(126) Biog. Dram. ubi supra, p. 260.

'toilsome passions. *Whoever*, says he, *cannot perform* '*both parts, is but half a writer for the stage* (127).' The writers of the Biographia Dramatica have entered into a particular vindication of Dryden against Langbaine's charge of his calling a reflection upon the whole body of the clergy in his character of Dominic the Friar; and contend that the satire thrown out in the play is only general against such ecclesiastical men as disgrace their cloth by wicked and unreasonable actions (128).—"The Duke of Guise." Dr Johnson is of opinion that this Tragedy deserves notice only for the offence which it gave to the remnant of the Covenanters, and in general to the enemies of the Court, who attacked him with great violence and were answered by him, though at last he seemed to withdraw from the conflict, by transferring the greater part of the blame or merit to his partner. The play was professedly written for the party of the Duke of York, whose succession was then opposed; and a parallel was intended between the Leaguers of France and the covenanters of England, which intention produced the controversy (129).—"Albion and Albanius." Downes tells us, that this Opera happening to be performed at an unlucky time, being the very day on which the Duke of Monmouth landed in the West, and the kingdom in a great consternation, it ran but six nights, which, not answering half the charge the company had been at in getting it up, involved them very deeply in debt (130).—"Don Sebastian King of Portugal." This, Dr. Johnson observes, is commonly esteemed either the first or second of Dryden's dramatic performances. 'It is,' adds the Doctor, 'too long to 'be all acted, and has many characters and many 'incidents; and though it is not without sallies of 'frantic dignity, and more noise than meaning, yet 'as it makes approaches to the possibilities of real 'life, and has some sentiments which leave a strong 'impression, it continued long to attract attention. 'Amidst the distresses of Princes, and the vicissitudes 'of Empire, are inserted several scenes which the 'writer intended for comic; but which, I suppose, 'that age did not much commend, and this would not 'endure. There are, however passages of excellence 'universally acknowledged: the dispute and the re'conciliation of Dorax and Sebastian have always been 'admired.'—"Amphytrion." This is a Comedy which succeeded at its first appearance, and was long considered as a very diverting entertainment. It has of late years been occasionally revived.—"King Ar"thur." Dr. Johnson says, that this was the last work which Dryden performed for King Charles, who did not live to see it exhibited; and that *it does not seem to have been ever brought upon the stage*. Nevertheless, in the next sentence but one the Doctor adds, that, *when it was first brought upon the stage*, news that the Duke of Monmouth had landed was told in the Theatre; upon which the company departed, and "Arthur" was exhibited no more. Our great Biographer has here committed a singular act of inadvertence; besides which, he has mistaken what befell the "Albion and Albanius" as happening to "Ar"thur." "King Arthur" appears to have been first represented in 1691, and has within these few years been revived, with alterations, as a musical Drama. The dedication to the Marquis of Halifax contains a very elegant character of King Charles, and a pleasing account of his latter life (131). In the "King Ar"thur," the contrast of character between Philadel, a gentle aërial spirit, friendly to the Christians, and Grimbald, a fierce earthly goblin, engaged on the adverse party, is not only well designed, but executed with the hand of a master (132).—"Cleomenes." This Tragedy, says Dr. Johnson, 'is only remark'able as it occasioned an incident related in the "Guardian," and allusively mentioned by Dryden 'in his Preface. As he came out from the repre'sentation, he was accosted thus by some airy strip'ling: "*Had I been left alone with a young beauty I* "*would not have spent my time like your Spartan.*" "*That Sir*, said Dryden, *perhaps is true; but give* "*me leave to tell you, that you are no hero.*"—"Love "Triumphant." In the Dedication of this piece, to the Earl of Salisbury, Dryden mentions *the lowness of fortune to which he has voluntarily reduced himself, and of which he has no reason to be ashamed*. The catastrophe of the play, proceeding merely from a change of mind, is confessed by the author to be defective. It must, however, be acknowledged, that in several parts of the piece the genius of Dryden breaks forth, especially in the discovery of Alphonso's victorious Love, and in the very last scene, the catastrophe of which is extremely affecting, notwithstanding that it is brought about contrary to the rules of Aristotle. As the "Love Triumphant" was not well received upon the stage it happened that our Poet began and ended his dramatic labours with ill success (133).

That Dryden's talent was not Dramatic poetry is generally agreed, and the opinion is sanctioned by Dr. Warton (134). There has not been wanting, however, a critic who has been a vindicater of Dryden in his character of a writer for the stage. After remarking that Lee and Otway have only left some Dramatic pieces, while Dryden has composed with success in every species of poetry, and that they cannot be compared with him in extent of genius, the work we refer to goes on as follows: 'But, waving 'this claim, we shall only consider him in his theatri'cal capacity, although he himself thought his genius 'less adapted to the Drama than to Epic poetry. 'The business of the tragic muse is to melt the 'audience into pity, or fill them with terror. Lee 'has frequently effected the latter, but it is a fear 'often blended with horror. Otway was successful 'in exciting the tender passions. This power he, in 'a great measure, gained from his subjects, which, 'though seldom regularly conducted, yet, from their 'domestic nature, have a strong influence on the 'spectator. But does Dryden never thaw the soul 'into commiseration, nor freeze it with terror? We 'shall not mention the noble flights of poetry, which 'are scattered so profusely through all his plays, and 'which shew more of the *fervidum ingenium*, and '*os magna sonaturum*, than any thing in Otway. 'We shall not instance his many beautiful descrip'tions, which are so pleasing to the fancy; nor his 'high and finished colouring, which is essential to 'poetry; but shall only observe, that Dryden raises 'the dramatic passions in the "Conquest of Mexico," '"Don Sebastian," and "All for Love," more than 'most critics are willing to allow. But is not the 'Drama too much circumscribed in its province? 'Let us hazard an opinion.—Is not man a compound 'of reason as well as of passion, and may not one 'weep and start at a Tragedy, without being either 'the wiser or the better? But, at a representation of 'a play of Dryden's, besides being *properly moved*, 'there are sentences, every where, which improve, 'and on which the mind may ruminate with satis'faction in the closet. And is not that dramatic 'composition the most excellent, which equally im'presses the mental œconomy? There is certainly 'more distress in Banks's Queen Mary than in 'Johnson's Irene; but will any one presume to say, 'that Banks is as good a Poet as Johnson? Were 'there no other monument of Dryden's poetical 'talents than his description of a ship in the Con'quest of Mexico, and of Cleopatra on the Cydnus in '"All for Love," we should not hesitate one moment 'to prefer him to Otway and Lee, and to station 'him after Milton, *longo sed proximus intervallo* (135).' Though this passage might admit of some strictures, it must be allowed, on the whole, to be an ingenious, as well as a candid defence of Dryden's dramatic character.

The catalogue of Dryden's plays, which, in appearance, is so elaborately given in note [*D*], is remarkably erroneous with respect to chronological order; nor did Dr. Johnson think it worth while to attend accurately to the subject. We shall, therefore, insert, from the Biographia Dramatica, a List of them, specifying the years in which they were first represented or published.

1. "The Wild Gallant." This was his first piece, but, it is believed, not printed before 1669.
2. "The Rival Ladies," 1664.
3. "The Indian Emperor," 1667.
4. "Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen," 1668.
5. "Sir Martin Mar-all," 1668.
6. "The Tempest," 1670.
7. "An Evening's Love, or the Mock Astrologer," 1671.
8. "Tyrannic Love, or the Royal Martyr," 1671.
9. "The

(127) Johnson, ubi supra, p. 38, 39.

(128) Biog. Dram. ubi supra, p. 350.

(129) Johnson, ubi supra, p. 39.

(130) Biog. Dram. ubi supra, p. 6.

(131) Johnson, ubi supra, p. 44—46.

(132) Biog. Dram. ubi supra, p. 179.

(133) Johnson, ubi supra, p. 45—47. Biog. Dram. ubi supra, p. 205, 206.

(134) Essay on Pope. Vol. II. p. 311. First edition.

(135) Monthly Review. Vol. XIV. p. 534, 535.

9. "The Conqueſt of Granada," 1672.
10. "Almanzor and Almahide, or the Conqueſt "of Granada, Part II." 1672.
11. "Marriage Alamode," 1673.
12. "The Aſſignation, or Love in a Nunnery," 1673.
13. "Amboyna," 1673.
14. "The State of Ignorance, and Fall of Man," 1674.
15. "Aurengzebe," 1676.
16. "All for Love," 1678.
17. "Oedipus," 1679.
18. "Troilus and Creſſida," 1679.
19. "The Kind Keeper, or Mr. Limberham," 1680.
20. "The Spaniſh Fryar," 1681.
21. "The Duke of Guiſe," 1683.
22. "Albion and Albanius," 1685.
23. "Don Sebaſtian," 1690.
24. "Amphitryon," 1691.
25. "King Arthur," 1691.
26. "Cleomenes, the Spartan Hero," 1692.
27. "Love Triumphant," 1694.

In 1675, Dryden brought upon the ſtage a play, called, "The Miſtaken Huſband," of which he only wrote one ſcene (136).

(136) Biog. Dram. Vol. II. p. 140, 141.

It is generally ſaid, by Dryden's Biographers, that, about the time of his ſucceeding Sir William Davenant as Poet Laureat, he engaged himſelf by contract to write four plays in each year. If, however, he entered into ſuch an engagement, it is evident that he never carried it into execution (137). "It is certain," ſays Dr. Johnſon, "that in one year he publiſhed "*Love for Love*, *Aſſignation*, two parts of the *Con-* "*queſt of Granada*, *Sir Martin Mar-all*, and the "*State of Innocence*, ſix complete plays; with a cele- "rity of performance, which, though all Langbaine's "charges of plagiariſm ſhould be allowed, ſhews "ſuch facility of compoſition, ſuch readineſs of lan- "guage, and ſuch copiouſneſs of ſentiment, as, ſince "the time of Lopez de Vega, perhaps no other au- "thor has poſſeſſed (138)." It is to be regretted, that ſo ingenious a remark ſhould be totally built on a wrong foundation. The ſix plays mentioned by Johnſon are, indeed, repreſented (with ſome degree of inaccuracy) in note D, and in Langbaine, as having been publiſhed in 1678; but moſt of them were only then reprinted, and it is an undoubted fact, that they were not written in that year. Nay, it is remarkable, that Dryden produced only one dramatic performance in 1678, and this, after an interval of two years from the appearance of his laſt work of the ſame kind, his "Aurengzebe." The performance we ſpeak of was his "All for Love," his beſt play; the play which he wrote at leiſure; which he wrote for himſelf, and not for the people.

(137) Ib. p. 138.

(138) Johnſon, ubi ſupra, p. 49.

We come next to Dryden's character as a Critic, which is ſo admirably deſcribed by Dr. Johnſon, that we ſhall lay it before our readers at large. "Dryden," ſays the Doctor, "may be properly, conſidered as the father of Engliſh criticiſm, as the writer who firſt taught us to determine upon principles the merit of compoſition. Of our former poets, the greateſt dramatiſt wrote without rules, conducted through life and nature by a genius that rarely miſled, and rarely deſerted him. Of the reſt, thoſe who knew the laws of propriety had neglected to teach them.

"Two "Arts of Engliſh Poetry" were written in the days of Elizabeth by Webb and Puttenham, from which ſomething might be learned, and a few hints had been given by Johnſon and Cowley; but Dryden's "Eſſay on Dramatic Poetry" was the firſt regular and valuable treatiſe on the art of writing.

"He who, having formed his opinions in the preſent age of Engliſh literature, turns back to peruſe this dialogue, will not perhaps find much increaſe of knowledge, or much novelty of inſtruction; but he is to remember that critical principles were then in the hands of a few, who had gathered them partly from the Antients, and partly from the Italians and French. The ſtructure of dramatic poems was then not generally underſtood. Audiences applauded by inſtinct, and poets perhaps often pleaſed by chance.

"A writer who obtains his full purpoſe loſes himſelf in his own luſtre. Of an opinion which is no longer doubted the evidence ceaſes to be examined. Of an art univerſally practiſed, the firſt teacher is forgotten. Learning once made popular is no longer learning; it has the appearance of ſomething which we have beſtowed upon ourſelves, as the dew appears to riſe from the field which it refreſhes.

"To judge rightly of an author, we muſt tranſport ourſelves to his time, and examine what were the wants of his contemporaries, and what were his means of ſupplying them. That which is eaſy at one time was difficult at another. Dryden at leaſt imported his ſcience, and gave his country what it wanted before; or rather, he imported only the materials, and manufactured them by his own ſkill.

"The dialogue on the Drama was one of his firſt eſſays of criticiſm, written when he was yet a timorous candidate for reputation, and therefore laboured with that diligence which he might allow himſelf ſomewhat to remit, when his name gave ſanction to his poſitions, and his awe of the public was abated, partly by cuſtom, and partly by ſucceſs. It will not be eaſy to find, in all the opulence of our language, a treatiſe ſo artfully variegated with ſucceſſive repreſentations of oppoſite probabilities, ſo enlivened with imagery, ſo brightened with illuſtrations. His portraits of the Engliſh dramatiſts are wrought with great ſpirit and diligence. The account of Shakſpeare may ſtand as a perpetual model of encomiaſtic criticiſm; being lofty without exaggeration. The praiſe laviſhed by Longinus on the atteſtation of the heroes of Marathon, by Demoſthenes, fades away before it. In a few lines is exhibited a character, ſo extenſive in its comprehenſion, and ſo curious in its limitations, that nothing can be added, diminiſhed, or reformed; nor can the editors and admirers of Shakſpeare, in all their emulation of reverence, boaſt of much more than of having diffuſed and paraphraſed this epitome of excellence, of having changed Dryden's gold for baſer metal, of lower value though of greater bulk.

"In this, and in all his other eſſays on the ſame ſubject, the criticiſm of Dryden is the criticiſm of a poet; not a dull collection of theorems, not a rude detection of faults, which perhaps the cenſor was not able to have committed; but a gay and vigorous diſſertation, where delight is mingled with inſtruction, and where the author proves his right of judgment by his power of performance,

"The different manner and effect with which critical knowledge may be conveyed was perhaps never more clearly exemplified than in the performances of Rymer and Dryden. It was ſaid of a diſpute between two mathematicians, "malim cum Scaligero errare quam cum Clavio recte ſapere;" that *it was more eligible to go wrong with one than right with the other*. A tendency of the ſame kind every mind muſt feel at the peruſal of Dryden's Prefaces and Rymer's Diſcourſes. With Dryden we are wandering in queſt of Truth; whom we find, if we find her at all, dreſt in the graces of elegance; and, if we miſs her, the labour of the purſuit rewards itſelf; we are led only through fragrance and flowers: Rymer, without taking a nearer, takes a rougher, way; every ſtep is to be made through thorns and brambles; and Truth, if we meet her, appears repulſive by her mien and ungraceful by her habit. Dryden's criticiſm has the majeſty of a queen; Rymer's has the ferocity of a tyrant.

"As he had ſtudied with great diligence the art of poetry, and enlarged and rectified his notions by experience perpetually increaſing, he had his mind ſtored with principles and obſervations; he poured out his knowledge with little labour; for, of labour, notwithſtanding the multiplicity of his productions, there is ſufficient reaſon to ſuſpect that he was not a lover. To write *con amore*, with fondneſs for the employment, with unwillingneſs to take leave of his own idea, and an unwearied purſuit of unattainable perfection, was, I think, no part of his character.

"His Criticiſm may be conſidered as general or occaſional. In his general precepts, which depend upon the nature of things, and the ſtructure of the human mind, he may doubtleſs be ſafely recommended to the confidence of the reader; but his occaſional and particular poſitions were ſometimes intereſted, ſometimes negligent, and ſometimes capricious. It is not without reaſon that Trapp, ſpeaking of the praiſes which he beſtows on Palamon and Arcite, ſays, "*Novimus* "*judicium Drydeni de poemate quodam* Chauceri, *pul-*

"*chre*

" *chro ſane illo, et admodum laudando, nimirum quod* " *non modo vere epicum ſit, ſed Iliada etiam atque* " *Æneada æquet, imo ſuperet. Sed novimus eodem* " *tempore viri illius maximi non ſemper accuratiſſimas* " *eſſe cenſuras, nec ad ſeveriſſimam critices normam* " *exactas: illo judice id plerumque optimum eſt quod* " *nunc præ manibus habet, & in quo nunc occupatur.*"

" He is therefore by no means conſtant to himſelf. His defence and deſertion of dramatic rhyme is generally known. Spence, in his remarks on Pope's Odyſſey, produces what he thinks an unconquerable quotation from Dryden's preface to the Eneid, in favour of tranſlating an epic poem into blank verſe; but he forgets that when his author attempted the Iliad, ſome years afterwards, he departed from his own deciſion, and tranſlated into rhyme.

" When he has any objection to obviate, or any licence to defend, he is not very ſcrupulous about what he aſſerts, nor very cautious, if the preſent purpoſe be ſerved, not to entangle himſelf in his own ſophiſtries. But, when all arts are exhauſted, like other hunted animals, he ſometimes ſtands at bay; when he cannot diſown the groſſneſs of one of his plays, he declares that he knows not any law that preſcribes morality to a comic poet (139)."

(139) Johnſon, ubi ſupra, p. 103—109.

Dr. Johnſon's obſervations on the learning of Dryden are particularly curious. " His remarks," ſays the Doctor, " on ancient or modern writers are not always to be truſted. His parallel of the verſification of Ovid with that of Claudian has been very juſtly cenſured by Sewel (140). His compariſon of the firſt line of Virgil with the firſt of Statius is not happier. Virgil, he ſays, is ſoft and gentle, and would have thought Statius mad if he had heard him thundering out

(140) Preface to Ovid's Metamorphoſes.

*Quæ ſuperimpoſito moles geminata coloſſo.*

" Statius perhaps heats himſelf, as he proceeds, to exaggerations ſomewhat hyperbolical; but undoubtedly Virgil would have been too haſty, if he had condemned him to ſtraw for one ſounding line. Dryden wanted an inſtance, and the firſt that occurred was impreſſed into the ſervice.

" What he wiſhes to ſay, he ſays at hazard; he cited Gorboduc, which he had never ſeen; gives a falſe account of Chapman's verſification, and diſcovers, in the preface to his Fables, that he tranſlated the firſt book of the Iliad, without knowing what was in the ſecond.

" It will be difficult to prove that Dryden ever made any great advances in literature. As having diſtinguiſhed himſelf at Weſtminſter under the tuition of Buſby, who advanced his ſcholars to a height of knowledge very rarely attained in grammar-ſchools, he reſided afterwards at Cambridge, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that his ſkill in the ancient languages was deficient, compared with that of common ſtudents; but his ſcholaſtic acquiſitions ſeem not proportionate to his opportunities and abilities. He could not, like Milton or Cowley, have made his name illuſtrious merely by his learning. He mentions but few books, and thoſe ſuch as lie in the beaten track of regular ſtudy; from which if ever he departs, he is in danger of loſing himſelf in unknown regions.

" In his Dialogue on the Drama, he pronounces with great confidence that the Latin tragedy of Medea is not Ovid's, becauſe it is not ſufficiently intereſting and pathetic. He might have determined the queſtion upon ſurer evidence; for, it is quoted by Quintilian as the work of Seneca; and the only line which remains of Ovid's play, for one line is left us, is not there to be found. There was therefore no need of the gravity of conjecture, or the diſcuſſion of plot or ſentiment, to find what was already known upon higher authority than ſuch diſcuſſions can ever reach.

" His literature, though not always free from oſtentation, will be commonly found either obvious, and made his own by the art of dreſſing it; or ſuperficial, which, by what he gives, ſhews what he wanted; or erroneous, haſtily collected, and negligently ſcattered.

" Yet it cannot be ſaid that his genius is ever unprovided of matter, or that his fancy languiſhes in penury of ideas. His works abound with knowledge, and ſparkle with illuſtrations. There is ſcarcely any ſcience or faculty that does not ſupply him with occaſional images and lucky ſimilitudes; every page diſcovers a mind very widely acquainted both with art and nature, and in full poſſeſſion of great ſtores of intellectual wealth. Of him that knows much, it is natural to ſuppoſe that he has read with diligence; yet I rather believe that the knowledge of Dryden was gleaned from accidental intelligence and various converſation, by a quick apprehenſion, a judicious ſelection, and a happy memory, a keen appetite of knowledge, and a powerful digeſtion; by vigilance that permitted nothing to paſs without notice, and a habit of reflection that ſuffered nothing uſeful to be loſt. A mind like Dryden's, always curious, always active, to which every underſtanding was proud to be aſſociated, and of which every one ſolicited the regard, by an ambitious diſplay of himſelf, had a more pleaſant, perhaps a nearer, way, to knowledge than by the ſilent progreſs of ſolitary reading. I do not ſuppoſe that he deſpiſed books, or intentionally neglected them; but that he was carried out, by the impetuoſity of his genius, to more vivid and ſpeedy inſtructors; and that his ſtudies were rather deſultory and fortuitous than conſtant and ſyſtematical.

" It muſt be confeſſed that he ſcarcely ever appears to want book-learning but when he mentions books; and to him may be transferred the praiſe which he gives his maſter Charles:

> His converſation, wit, and parts,
> His knowledge in the nobleſt uſeful arts,
> Were ſuch, dead authors could not give,
> But habitudes of thoſe that live;
> Who, lighting him, did greater lights receive:
> He drain'd from all, and all they knew,
> His apprehenſion quick, his judgment true:
> That the moſt learn'd with ſhame confeſs
> His knowledge more, his reading only leſs.

" Of all this, however, if the proof be demanded, I will not undertake to give it; the atoms of probability of which my opinion has been formed, lie ſcattered over all his works; and, by him who thinks the queſtion worth his notice, his works muſt be peruſed with very cloſe attention (141)."

(141) Johnſon, ubi ſupra, p. 103—114.

Perhaps this account of Dryden's Literature is rather below what was its real ſtandard. Dr. Beattie thinks that his learning was great, but that he did not avail himſelf of it ſo much as might have been expected; which was owing to his unhappy circumſtances, or perhaps to the faſhion of his age, alike unfriendly to good morals and good writing. That he has been guilty of many miſtakes, in regard to the ancient mythology, has been ſhewn by the author of " Polymetis;" and it muſt be allowed, by his impartial readers, that it would have been of great uſe to him to have poſſeſſed ſomething of a more claſſical taſte (142).

(142) Beattie's Eſſays, p. 741.

Dryden's compoſitions in proſe have frequently been the juſt object of applauſe. " His Prefaces," ſays Dr. Johnſon, " have not the formality of a ſettled " ſtyle, in which the firſt half of the ſentence betrays " the other. The clauſes are never balanced, nor " the periods modelled; every word ſeems to drop by " chance, though it falls into its proper place. No- " thing is cold or languid; the whole is airy, ani- " mated, and vigorous; what is great, is ſplendid. " He may be thought to mention himſelf too fre- " quently; but, while he forces himſelf upon our " eſteem, we cannot refuſe him to ſtand high in his " own. Every thing is excuſed by the play of images " and ſprightlineſs of expreſſion. Though all is eaſy, " nothing is feeble; though all ſeems careleſs, there " is nothing harſh; and though, ſince his earlier " works, more than a century has paſt, they have " nothing yet uncouth or obſolete. He who writes " much will not eaſily eſcape a manner, ſuch a re- " currence of particular modes as may be eaſily noted. " Dryden is always *another and the ſame*; he does " not exhibit a ſecond time the ſame elegances in " the ſame form, nor appears to have any art other " than that of expreſſing with clearneſs what he " thinks with vigour. His ſtyle could not eaſily be " imitated, either ſeriouſly or ludicrouſly; for, be- " ing always equable and always varied, it has no " prominent or diſcriminative characters. The beauty, " who is totally free from diſproportion of parts or " features,

" features, cannot be ridiculed by an overcharged re-
" ſemblance (143)."

(143) Johnſon, ubi ſupra, p. 114, 115.

The proſe of Dryden, in Dr. Warton's opinion, is the moſt numerous and ſweet, the moſt *mellow* and *generous*, of any our language has yet produced (144). " Dry-
" den," obſerves a late anonymous author, " never
" wrote much in proſe; but what he did write is ca-
" pital in its kind. It is nervous in the ſenſe, and
" highly adorned in the periods." (145) " There is
" no modern writer," ſays Dr. Beattie, " whoſe ſtyle
" is more diſtinguiſhable. Energy and eaſe are its
" chief characters. The former is owing to a happy
" choice of expreſſions, equally emphatical and plain;
" the latter to a laudable partiality in favour of the
" idioms and radical words of the Engliſh tongue;
" the *native* riches and *peculiar* genius whereof are
" perhaps more apparent in him than in any other
" of our poets. In Dryden's more correct pieces, we
" meet with no affectation of words of Greek or Latin
" etymology, no cumberſome pomp of epithets, no
" drawling circumlocutions, no idle glare of images,
" no blunderings round about a meaning: his Engliſh
" is pure and ſimple, nervous and clear, to a degree
" which Pope has never exceeded, and not always
" equalled. Yet his attachment to the vernacular
" idiom, as well as the faſhion of his age, often be-
" trays him into a vulgarity, and even meanneſs of
" expreſſion (146)." Theſe remarks of Dr. Beattie extend to the character of Dryden's ſtyle in verſe, as well as in proſe.

(144) Eſſay on Pope, vol. I. p. 17.

(145) Letters from a Tutor to his Pupils, p. 75.

(146) Beattie's Eſſays, p. 359.

Eminent as Dryden is in the views we have already conſidered, it is in his capacity as a general poet that his luſtre is principally apparent. " From his proſe,"
obſerves Dr. Johnſon, " he derives only ſecondary
" praiſe. The veneration, with which his name is
" pronounced by every cultivator of Engliſh litera-
" ture, is paid to him as he refined the language,
" improved the ſentiments, and tuned the numbers
" of Engliſh poetry." Some advances towards nature and harmony had already been made by Waller and Denham; but, though they had done much, they left much to do. " More examples of more modes of
" compoſition were neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of
" regularity, and the introduction of propriety in
" word and thought." Before the time of Dryden there was no poetical diction, no ſyſtem of words at once refined from the groſſneſs of domeſtic uſe, and free from the harſhneſs of terms appropriated to particular arts. The happy combinations of words which diſtinguiſh poetry from proſe had been rarely attempted; and it may be doubted whether Waller and Denham could have over-borne the prejudices which had long prevailed, and which had been ſanctioned by Cowley, had not Dryden appeared. To him was owing the eſtabliſhment of the new verſification, as it was called; and from his time Engliſh poetry has had no tendency to relapſe to its former ſavageneſs. Poetical tranſlation, in particular, in which the affluence and comprehenſion of our language are illuſtriouſly diſplayed, had been conducted in a very ſervile manner. Cowley, indeed, had aſſerted his liberty; but he ſpread his wings ſo boldly that he left his authors. It was reſerved for Dryden to fix the limits of this liberty, and to give us juſt rules and examples of tranſlation (147).

(147) Johnſon, ubi ſupra, p. 115. 119.

After theſe and other excellent remarks, eſpecially on occaſional poetry, Dr. Johnſon proceeds to a critical examination of Dryden's Poems, in their due order. To purſue our admirable Biographer through the courſe of his criticiſms, would carry this article to an unreaſonable length. We muſt, therefore, quit the ſubject, though with reluctance, and content ourſelves with inſerting the reſult of the whole, in Dr. Johnſon's elaborate and ſagacious deſcription of Dryden's mind.

" In a general ſurvey of Dryden's labours, he appears to have a mind very comprehenſive by nature, and much enriched with acquired knowledge. His compoſitions are the effects of a vigorous genius operating upon large materials.

" The power that predominated in his intellectual operations, was rather ſtrong reaſon than quick ſenſibility. Upon all occaſions that were preſented, he ſtudied rather than felt, and produced ſentiments not ſuch as nature enforces, but meditation ſupplies. With the ſimple and elemental paſſions, as they ſpring ſeparate in the mind, he ſeems not much acquainted; and ſeldom deſcribes them but as they are compli cated by the various relations of ſociety, and confuſed in the tumults and agitations of life.

" What he ſays of love may contribute to the explanation of his character:

> Love various minds does variouſly inſpire;
> It ſtirs in gentle boſoms gentle fire,
> Like that of incenſe on the altar laid;
> But raging flames tempeſtuous ſou's invade;
> A fire which every windy paſſion blows,
> With pride it mounts, or with revenge it glows.

" Dryden's was not one of the *gentle boſoms:* love, as it ſubſiſts in itſelf, with no tendency but to the perſon loved, and wiſhing only for correſpondent kindneſs; ſuch love as ſhuts out all other intereſt; the Love of the Golden Age, was too ſoft and ſubtle to put his faculties in motion. He hardly conceived it but in its turbulent effervеſcence with ſome other deſires; when it was inflamed by rivalry, or obſtructed by difficulties: when it invigorated ambition, or exaſperated revenge.

" He is therefore, with all his variety of excellence, not often pathetic; and had ſo little ſenſibility of the power of effuſions purely natural, that he did not eſteem them in others. Simplicity gave him no pleaſure; and for the firſt part of his life he looked on Otway with contempt, though at laſt, indeed very late, he confeſſed that in his play *there* was *Nature, which is the chief beauty.*

" We do not always know our own motives. I am not certain whether it was not rather the difficulty which he found in exhibiting the genuine operations of the heart, than a ſervile ſubmiſſion to an injudicious audience, that filled his plays with falſe magnificence. It was neceſſary to fix attention; and the mind can be captivated only by recollection or by curioſity; by reviving natural ſentiments, or impreſſing new appearances of things: ſentences were readier at his call than images; he could more eaſily fill the ear with ſome ſplendid novelty than awaken thoſe ideas that ſlumber in the heart.

" The favourite exerciſe of his mind was ratiocination; and, that argument might not be too ſoon at an end, he delighted to talk of liberty and neceſſity, deſtiny and contingence; theſe he diſcuſſes in the language of the ſchool with ſo much profundity, that the terms which he uſes are not always underſtood. It is indeed learning, but learning out of place.

" When once he had engaged himſelf in diſputation, thoughts flowed in on either ſide: he was now no longer at a loſs; he had always objections and ſolutions at command; *verbaque proviſam rem*—give him matter for his verſe, and he finds without difficulty verſe for his matter.

" In Comedy, for which he profeſſes himſelf not naturally qualified, the mirth which he excites will perhaps not be found ſo much to ariſe from any original humour, or peculiarity of character nicely diſtinguiſhed and diligently purſued, as from incidents and circumſtances, artifices and ſurprizes; from jeſts of action rather than of ſentiment. What he had of humourous or paſſionate, he ſeems to have had not from himſelf, but from other poets; if not always as a plagiary, at leaſt as an imitator.

" Next to argument, his delight was in wild and daring ſallies of ſentiment, in the irregular and excentric violence of wit. He delighted to tread upon the brink of meaning, where light and darkneſs begin to mingle; to approach the precipice of abſurdity, and hover over the abyſs of unideal vacancy. This inclination ſometimes produced nonſenſe, which he knew; as,

> Move ſwiftly, ſun, and fly a lover's pace,
> Leave weeks and months behind thee in thy race.
> Amariel flies
> To guard thee from the demons of the air;
> My flaming ſword above them to diſplay,
> All keen, and ground upon the edge of day.

And ſometimes it iſſued in abſurdities, of which perhaps he was not conſcious:

Then

Then we upon our orb's laſt verge ſhall go,
And ſee the ocean leaning on the ſky;
From thence our rolling neighbours we ſhall know,
And on the lunar world ſecurely pry.

Theſe lines have no meaning; but may we not ſay, in imitation of Cowley on another book,

'Tis ſo like *ſenſe* 'twill ſerve the turn as well?

"This endeavour after the grand and the new produced many ſentiments either great or bulky, and many images either juſt or ſplendid:

I am as free as Nature firſt made man,
Ere the baſe laws of ſervitude began,
When wild in woods the noble ſavage ran.

—'Tis but becauſe the Living death ne'er knew,
They fear to prove it as a thing that 's new:
Let me th' experiment before you try,
I 'll ſhew you firſt how eaſy 'tis to die.

—There with a foreſt of their darts he ſtrove,
And ſtood like Capaneus defying Jove;
With his broad ſword the boldeſt beating down,
While Fate grew pale leſt he ſhould win the town,
And turn'd the iron leaves of his dark book
To make new dooms, or mend what it miſtook.

—I beg no pity for this mouldering clay;
For if you give it burial, there it takes
Poſſeſſion of your earth;
If burnt, and ſcatter'd in the air, the winds
That ſtrew my duſt diffuſe my royalty,
And ſpread me o'er your clime; for where one atom
Of mine ſhall light, know there Sebaſtian reigns.

Of theſe quotations the two firſt may be allowed to be great, the two latter only tumid.

"Of ſuch ſelection there is no end. I will add only a few more paſſages; of which the firſt, though it may perhaps not be quite clear in proſe, is not too obſcure for poetry, as the meaning that it has is noble:

No, there is a neceſſity in Fate,
Why ſtill the brave bold man is fortunate;
He keeps his object ever full in ſight,
And that aſſurance holds him firm and right;
True, 'tis a narrow way that leads to bliſs,
But right before there is no precipice;
Fear makes men look aſide, and ſo their footing miſs.

"Of the images which the two following citations afford, the firſt is elegant, the ſecond magnificent; whether either be juſt, let the reader judge:

What precious drops are theſe,
Which ſilently each other's track purſue,
Bright as young diamonds in their infant dew?

—Reſign your caſtle—
—Enter, brave Sir; for when you ſpeak the word,
The gates ſhall open of their own accord;
The genius of the place its Lord ſhall meet,
And bow its towery forehead at your feet.

"Theſe burſts of extravagance Dryden calls the Dalilahs of the Theatre; and owns that many noiſy lines of Maximin and Almanzor call out for vengeance upon him; "but I knew," ſays he, "that they were bad "enough to pleaſe, even when I wrote them." There is ſurely reaſon to ſuſpect that he pleaſed himſelf as well as his audience; and that theſe, like the harlots of other men, had his love, though not his approbation.

"He had ſometimes faults of a leſs generous and ſplendid kind. He makes, like almoſt all other poets, very frequent uſe of mythology, and ſometimes connects religion and fable too cloſely without diſtinction.

"He deſcends to diſplay his knowledge with pedantic oſtentation; as when, in tranſlating Virgil, he ſays, "talk to the larboard"—and "veer ſtarboard" —and talks, in another work, of "virtue ſpooming "before the wind." His vanity now and then betrays his ignorance;

They Nature's king through Nature's opticks view'd;
Revers'd they view'd him leſſen'd to their eyes.

He had heard of reverſing a teleſcope, and unluckily reverſes the object.

"He is ſometimes unexpectedly mean. When he deſcribes the Supreme Being as moved by prayer to ſtop the Fire of London, what is his expreſſion?

A hollow cryſtal pyramid he takes,
In firmamental waters dipp'd above,
Of this a broad *extinguiſher* he makes,
And *hoods* the flames that to their quarry ſtrove.

"When he deſcribes the Laſt Day, and the deciſive tribunal, he intermingles this image:

When rattling bones together fly,
From the four quarters of the ſky.

"It was indeed never in his power to reſiſt the temptation of a jeſt. In his Elegy on Cromwell:

No ſooner was the Frenchman's cauſe embrac'd,
Than the light Monſieur the grave Don outweigh'd;
His fortune turn'd the ſcale—

"He had a vanity, unworthy of his abilities, to ſhew, as may be ſuſpected, the rank of the company with whom he lived, by the uſe of French words, which had then crept into converſation; ſuch as *fraicheur* for *coolneſs*, *fougue* for *turbulence*, and a few more, none of which the language has incorporated or retained. They continue only where they ſtood firſt, perpetual warnings to future innovators.

"Theſe are his faults of affectation; his faults of negligence are beyond recital. Such is the unevenneſs of his compoſitions, that ten lines are ſeldom found together without ſomething of which the reader is aſhamed. Dryden was no rigid judge of his own pages; he ſeldom ſtruggled after ſupreme excellence, but ſnatched in haſte what was within his reach; and, when he could content others, was himſelf contented. He did not keep preſent to his mind an idea of pure perfection; nor compare his works, ſuch as they were, with what they might be made. He knew to whom he ſhould be oppoſed. He had more muſick than Waller, more vigour than Denham, and more nature than Cowley; and from his contemporaries he was in no danger. Standing therefore in the higheſt place, he had no care to riſe by contending with himſelf; but, while there was no name above his own, was willing to enjoy fame on the eaſieſt terms.

"He was no lover of labour. What he thought ſufficient, he did not ſtop to make better; and allowed himſelf to leave many parts unfiniſhed, in confidence that the good lines would overbalance the bad. What he had once written, he diſmiſſed from his thoughts; and, I believe, there is no example to be found of any correction or improvement made by him after publication. The haſtineſs of his productions might be the effect of neceſſity; but his ſubſequent neglect could hardly have any other cauſe than impatience of ſtudy.

"What can be ſaid of his verſification will be little more than a dilatation of the praiſe given it by Pope:

Waller was ſmooth; but Dryden taught to join
The varying verſe, the full-reſounding line,
The long majeſtic march, and energy divine.

"Some improvements had been already made in Engliſh numbers; but the full force of our language was not yet felt; the verſe that was ſmooth was commonly feeble. If Cowley had ſometimes a finiſhed line, he had it by chance. Dryden knew how to chuſe the flowing and the ſonorous words; to vary the pauſes, and adjuſt the accents; to diverſify the cadence, and yet preſerve the ſmoothneſs of his metre.

"Of Triplets and Alexandrines, though he did not introduce the uſe, he eſtabliſhed it. The triplet has long ſubſiſted among us. Dryden ſeems not to have traced it higher than to Chapman's Homer; but it is to be found in Phaer's Virgil, written in the reign of Mary, and in Hall's Satires, publiſhed five years before the death of Elizabeth.

"The

"The Alexandrine was, I believe, firſt uſed by Spenſer, for the ſake of cloſing his ſtanza with a fuller ſound. We had a longer meaſure of fourteen ſyllables, into which the Eneid was tranſlated by Phaer, and other works of the ancients by other writers; of which Chapman's Iliad was, I believe, the laſt.

The two firſt lines of Phaer's third Eneid will exemplify this meaſure:

When Aſia's ſtate was overthrown, and Priam's kingdom ſtout,
All guiltleſs, by the power of gods above was rooted out.

"As theſe lines had their break, or *cæſura*, always at the eighth ſyllable, it was thought, in time, commodious to divide them; and quatrains of lines, alternately, conſiſting of eight and ſix ſyllables, make the moſt ſoft and pleaſing of our lyric meaſures; as,

Relentleſs Time, deſtroying pow'r,
Which ſtone and braſs obey,
Who giv'ſt to every flying hour
To work ſome new decay.

"In the Alexandrine, when its power was once felt, ſome poems, as "Drayton's Polyolbion," were wholly written; and ſometimes the meaſures of twelve and fourteen ſyllables were interchanged with one another. Cowley was the firſt that inſerted the Alexandrine at pleaſure among the heroic lines of ten ſyllables, and from him Dryden profeſſes to have adopted it.

"The Triplet and Alexandrine are not univerſally approved. Swift always cenſured them, and wrote ſome lines to ridicule them. In examining their propriety, it is to be conſidered that the eſſence of verſe is regularity, and its ornament is variety. To write verſe, is to diſpoſe ſyllables and ſounds harmonically by ſome known and ſettled rule; a rule however lax enough to ſubſtitute ſimilitude for identity, to admit change without breach or order, and to relieve the ear without diſappointing it. Thus a Latin hexameter is formed from dactyls and ſpondees differently combined; the Engliſh heroick admits of acute or grave ſyllables variouſly diſpoſed. The Latin never deviates into ſeven feet, or exceeds the number of ſeventeen ſyllables; but the Engliſh Alexandrine breaks the lawful bounds, and ſurpriſes the reader with two ſyllables more than he expected.

"The effect of the Triplet is the ſame: the ear has been accuſtomed to expect a new rhyme in every couplet; but is on a ſudden ſurprized with three rhymes together, to which the reader could not accommodate his voice, did he not obtain notice of the change from the braces of the margins. Surely there is ſomething unſkilful in the neceſſity of ſuch mechanical direction.

"Conſidering the metrical art ſimply as a ſcience, and conſequently excluding all caſualty, we muſt allow that Triplets and Alexandrines, inſerted by caprice, are interruptions of that conſtancy to which ſcience aſpires. And though the variety which they produce may very juſtly be deſired, yet to make our poetry exact, there ought to be ſome ſtated mode of admitting them.

"But till ſome ſuch regulation can be formed, I wiſh them ſtill to be retained in their preſent ſtate. They are ſometimes grateful to the reader, and ſometimes convenient to the poet. Fenton was of opinion that Dryden was too liberal and Pope too ſparing in their uſe.

"The rhymes of Dryden are commonly juſt, and he valued himſelf for his readineſs in finding them; but he is ſometimes open to objection.

"It is the common practice of our poets to end the ſecond line with a weak or grave ſyllable:

Together o'er the Alps methinks we fly,
Fill'd with ideas of fair Italy.

"Dryden ſometimes puts the weak rhyme in the firſt:

Laugh all the powers that favour *tyranny*,
And all the ſtanding army of the ſky.

"Sometimes he concludes a period or paragraph with the firſt line of a couplet, which, though the French ſeem to do it without irregularity, always diſpleaſes in Engliſh poetry.

"The Alexandrine, though much his favourite, is not always very diligently fabricated by him. It invariably requires a break at the ſixth ſyllable; a rule which the modern French poets never violate, but which Dryden ſometimes neglected:

And with paternal thunder vindicates his throne.

"Of Dryden's works it was ſaid by Pope, that "he "could ſelect from them better ſpecimens of every "mode of poetry than any other Engliſh writer could "ſupply." Perhaps no nation ever produced a writer that enriched his language with ſuch variety of models. To him we owe the improvement, perhaps the completion, of our metre, the refinement of our language, and much of the correctneſs of our ſentiments. By him we were taught *ſapere & fari*, to think naturally and expreſs forcibly. Though Davies has reaſoned in rhyme before him, it may be perhaps maintained that he was the firſt who joined argument with poetry. He ſhewed us the true bounds of a tranſlator's liberty. What was ſaid of Rome, adorned by Auguſtus, may be applied by an eaſy metaphor to Engliſh poetry embelliſhed by Dryden, *lateritiam invenit, marmoream reliquit*, he found it brick, and he left it marble (148)."

(148) Ibid. p. 173. 189.

Dr. Beattie's opinion of Dryden, which he has given ſomewhat at large, muſt not be omitted. What he has ſaid concerning our Poet's ſtyle has already been quoted; after which the doctor goes on as follows: "In fact, Dryden's genius did not lead him to the ſublime or pathetic. Good ſtrokes of both may doubtleſs be found in him; but they are momentary, and ſeem to be accidental. He is too witty for the one, and too familiar for the other. That he had no adequate reliſh for the majeſty of Paradiſe Loſt is evident to thoſe who have compared his opera called "The State of Innocence" with that immortal poem; and that his taſte for the true pathetic was imperfect, too manifeſtly appears from the general tenor of his Tranſlations as well as Tragedies. His Virgil abounds in lines and couplets of the moſt perfect beauty; but theſe are mixed with others of a different ſtamp: nor can they, who judge of the original by this tranſlation, ever receive any tolerable idea of that uniform magnificence of ſound and language, that exquiſite choice of words and figures, and that ſweet pathos of expreſſion and of ſentiment, which characteriſe the Mantuan Poet.——In delineating the more familiar ſcenes of life, in clothing plain moral doctrines with eaſy and graceful verſification, in the various departments of Comic Satire, and in the ſpirit and melody of his Lyric poems, Dryden is inferior to none of thoſe who went before him. He exceeds his maſter Chaucer in the firſt: in the three laſt he rivals Horace; the ſtyle of whoſe epiſtles he has happily imitated in his "Religio Laici," and other didactic pieces; and the harmony and elegance of whoſe odes he has proved that he could have equalled, if he had thought proper to cultivate that branch of the poetic art. Indeed, whether we conſider his peculiar ſignificancy of expreſſion, or the purity of his ſtyle; the ſweetneſs of his lyric, or the eaſe and perſpicuity of his moral poems; the ſportive ſeverity of his ſatire, or his talents in wit and humour; Dryden, in point of *genius*, (I do not ſay *taſte*,) ſeems to be a cloſer affinity to Horace than to any other ancient or modern, author. For energy of words, vivacity of deſcription, and appoſite variety of numbers, his "Feaſt of Alex-"ander" is ſuperior to any ode of Horace or Pindar now extant.

"Dryden's verſe, though often faulty, has a grace, and a ſpirit, peculiar to itſelf. That of Pope is more correct, and perhaps upon the whole more harmonious; but it is in general more languid, and leſs diverſified. Pope's numbers are ſweet, but elaborate; and our ſenſe of their energy is in ſome degree interrupted by our attention to the art diſplayed in their contexture: Dryden's are natural and free; and, while they communicate their own ſprightly motion to the ſpirits of the reader, hurry him along with a gentle and pleaſing violence, without giving him time either to animadvert on their faults, or to analyſe their beauties. Pope excels in ſolemnity of ſound; Dryden, in an eaſy melody, and boundleſs variety of rhythm. In this laſt reſpect I think I could prove, that he is ſuperior

for to all other Engliſh poets, Milton himſelf not excepted. Till Dryden appeared, none of our writers in rhime of the laſt century approached in any meaſure to the harmony of Fairfax and Spenſer. Of Waller it can only be ſaid, that he is not harſh; of Denham and Cowley, if a few couplets were ſtruck out of their works, we could not ſay ſo much. But, in Dryden's hands, the Engliſh rhiming couplet aſſumed a new form; and ſeems hardly ſuſceptible of any farther improvement. One of the greateſt poets of this century, the late and much-lamented Mr. Gray of Cambridge, modeſtly declared to me, that, if there was in his own numbers any thing that deſerved approbation, he had learned it all from Dryden (148)."

(148) Beatie's Eſſays, p. 359. 360.

Since the appearance of Pope, a compariſon of him with Dryden has been a natural exertion of critical ſkill. The ſubject has not been forgotten by Dr. Johnſon. As, however, he hath not introduced it in the life of Dryden, but in that of Pope, we ſhall refer his obſervations to what he himſelf has conſidered as their proper place. In the mean while, not to diſappoint our readers upon a matter which is curious and intereſting, we ſhall gratify them with Dr. Beatie's ingenious remarks upon the point in queſtion.

"Critics have often ſtated a compariſon between Dryden and Pope, as poets of the ſame order, and who differed only in *degree* of merit. But, in my opinion, the merit of the one differs conſiderably in *kind* from that of the other. Both were happy in a ſound judgment and moſt comprehenſive mind. Wit, and humour, and learning too, they ſeem to have poſſeſſed in equal meaſure; or, if Dryden may be thought to have gone deeper in the ſciences, Pope muſt be allowed to have been the greater adept in the arts. The diverſities in point of correctneſs and delicacy, which aroſe from their different ways of life, I do not now inſiſt upon. But, ſetting thoſe aſide, if Dryden founds any claim of preference on the originality of his manner, we ſhall venture to affirm, that Pope may found a ſimilar claim, and with equal juſtice, on the perfection of his taſte; and that, if the critical writings of the firſt are more voluminous, thoſe of the ſecond are more judicious; if Dryden's inventions are more diverſified, thoſe of Pope are more regular, and more important. Pope's ſtyle may be thought to have leſs ſimplicity, and leſs of the purity of the mother-tongue; but it is at the ſame time more uniformly elevated, and leſs debaſed by vulgariſm, than that of his great maſter:—and the ſuperior variety, that animates the numbers of the latter, will perhaps be found to be compenſated by the ſteadier and more majeſtic modulation of the former. Thus far their merits would appear to be pretty equally balanced.—But if the opinions of thoſe critics be true, who hold that the higheſt regions of Parnaſſus are appropriated to pathos and ſublimity, Dryden muſt after all confeſs, that he has never aſcended ſo far as his illuſtrious imitator, there being nothing in the writings of the firſt ſo deeply pathetic as the "Epiſtle of Eloiſa," or the "Elegy of the Unfortunate Lady;" nor ſo uniformly ſublime as the "Eſſay on Man" or the "Paſtoral of "the Meſſiah." This laſt is indeed but a ſelection and imitation of choice paſſages; but it beſpeaks a power of imitation, and a taſte in ſelection, that Dryden does not ſeem to have poſſeſſed. To all which may I not be permitted to add, what I think I could prove, that the pathos of Homer is frequently improved by Pope, and that of Virgil very frequently debaſed by Dryden?

The writings of Dryden are ſtamped with originality, but are not always the better for that circumſtance. Pope is an imitator profeſſedly, and of choice; but to moſt of thoſe whom he copies he is at leaſt equal, and to many of them ſuperior: and it is pleaſing to obſerve how he riſes in proportion to his originals. Where he follows Denham, Buckingham, Roſcommon, and Rocheſter, in his Windſor Foreſt, Eſſay on Criticiſm, and Poem on Silence, he is ſuperior indeed, but does not ſoar very high above them. When he verſifies Chaucer, he catches, as by inſtinct, the eaſe, ſimplicity, and ſpirit, of Dryden, whom he there emulates. "In the Rape of the Lock" he outſhines Boileau, as much as the ſylphs that flutter round Belinda exceed, in ſprightlineſs and luminous beauty, thoſe mechanical attendants of the goddeſs of luxury, who knead up plumpneſs for the chin of the canon, and pound vermilion for the cheek of the monk (149). His Eloiſa is beyond all compariſon more ſublime and more intereſting than any of Ovid's letter-writing ladies. His imitations of Horace equal their archetypes in elegance, and often ſurpaſs them in energy and fire. In the lyric ſtyle, he was no match for Dryden: but when he copies the manner of Virgil, and borrows the thoughts of Iſaiah, Pope is ſuperior not only to himſelf, but to almoſt all other poets (150)."

(149) See Rape of the Lock, canto 2. v. 55. and Lutrin, chant. 2. v. 100.

(150) Beattie's Eſſays, p. 360. 362.

Our readers will not expect us to enter into the long controverſy which has been carried on between Miſs Seward and Mr. Weſton, relative to the comparative merits of Dryden and Pope. It will be found in the volumes of the Gentleman's Magazine for the years 1789 and 1790. Much ingenuity is diſplayed on both ſides; and Mr. Weſton fights with inextinguiſhable ardour in the cauſe of his favourite, Dryden.

We ſhall here take notice of two or three circumſtances that might have been mentioned before, but which eſcaped our attention. Dr. Warton, as we have ſeen, has related that the "Alexander's Feaſt" was ſtruck off in the heat of a ſingle night. But, if credit is to be given to a letter which was communicated to Dr. Birch, Dryden ſpent a fortnight in compoſing and correcting this famous Ode (151). Dr. Warton's narrative appears, however, to ſtand upon ſuperior evidence. Lord Monboddo, though ſo adverſe to the moderns, has paid a high compliment to this poem, particularly on account of its numbers (152). But who is there that can be inſenſible to its excellence?

(151) Johnſon, ubi ſupra, p. 74.

(152) Monboddo on the Origin and Progreſs of Language, vol. II. p. 400.

Dr. Johnſon, in ſpeaking of the "Rehearſal," obſerves, that it was played in 1671, "and yet is re-"preſented as ridiculing paſſages in the "Conqueſt "of Granada" and "Aſſignation," which were not "publiſhed till 1678; in "Marriage Alamode," pub-"liſhed in 1673; and in "Tyrannic Love" of 1677. "Theſe contradictions ſhew how raſhly Satire is ap-"plied." Though the Doctor is miſtaken in his dates, excepting in a ſingle inſtance, his general remark is well founded; for, all theſe productions were ſubſequent to the appearance of the "Rehearſal." Of this celebrated performance Dr. Johnſon did not entertain any very high opinion (153).

(153) Johnſon, ubi ſupra, p. 50. 51.

Mr. Garrick had in his poſſeſſion ſome obſervations which were made by Dryden on the blank leaves of Rymer's "Remarks on the Tragedies of the laſt Age." Theſe, that no particle of him might be loſt, Dr. Johnſon has communicated to the public; and they were worthy of communication (154).

(154) Ibid. p. 193. 210.

At the end of Dr. Johnſon's life of Dryden is inſerted, from a manuſcript in the Lambeth Library, the copy of an original letter which our great Poet wrote to his ſons in Italy. From this letter it appears that he was ſincere in his converſion to Popery, and that he retained to the laſt his abſurd attachment to Judicial Aſtrology (155).

(155) Ibid. p. 211. 214.

The poetical character of Dryden, as given by two modern poets, ſhall conclude the preſent article. The firſt is by Mr. Hayley, after having ſpoken of Milton:

"Of humbler mien, but not of mortal race,
"Ill-fated Dryden, with imperial grace,
"Gives to th' obedient lyre his rapid laws:
"Tones yet unheard, with touch divine, he draws;
"The melting fall, the riſing ſwell ſublime,
"And all the magic of melodious rhyme.
"See with proud joy imagination ſpread
"A wreath of honour round his aged head!
"But two baſe ſpectres, though of different hue,
"The bard unhappy in his march purſue;
"Two vile diſgraceful fiends, of race accurſt,
"Conceived by ſpleen, by meagre famine nurſt,
"Malignant ſatire, mercenary praiſe,
"Shed their dark ſpots on his immortal bays."

The ſame poet has characterized Milton's and Dryden's verſification in the following lines:

"'Tis thus that Milton's verſe, and Dryden's rhyme,
"Are proof alike againſt the rage of time.
"Each maſter modell'd, with a touch ſo bold,
"The rude materials which he choſe to mold,
"That each his portion to perfection brought,
"Accompliſhing the glorious end he ſought (156)."

(156) Hayley on Epic Poetry, p. 65, 66. 108.

The next is from Churchill.

" Here let me bend, great DRYDEN, at thy ſhrine,
" Thou deareſt name to all the tuneful Nine.
" What if ſome dull lines in cold order creep,
" And with his theme the poet ſeems to ſleep,
" Still, when his ſubject riſes proud to view,
" With equal ſtrength the poet riſes too.
" With ſtrong inv ention, nobleſt vigour fraught,
" Thought ſtill ſprings up and riſes out of thought;
" Numbers ennobling numbers in their courſe,
" In varied ſweetneſs flow, in varied force;
" The powers of genius and of judgment join,
" And the whole art of poetry is thine (157)."]

K.

(157) Churchill's Works, vol. I. p. 72, 73.

*** [DUCAREL (ANDREW COLTEE), an eminent Engliſh civilian and antiquary, was born in Normandy; whence his father, who was deſcended from an ancient family at Caen in that province, came to England, ſoon after the birth of his ſecond ſon James, and reſided at Greenwich.

The early rudiments of inſtruction he probably received in his own country. In 1729, being at that time a ſcholar at Eton, he was three months under the care of Sir Hans Sloane, on account of an accident which deprived him of the ſight of one eye. In 1731, he was admitted a gentleman-commoner of St. John's College, Oxford; proceeded LL. B. June 1, 1738; went out a grand compounder, Oct. 21, 1742 (*a*); became a member of the college of Doctors Commons in November, 1743; and married, in 1749, Suſanna ....., a worthy woman, who had been his ſervant; and who ſurvived him till Oct. 6, 1791, when ſhe died in an advanced age.

(*a*) Catalogue of Oxford Graduates, p. 106.

Though diſappointed in his wiſhes of entering into holy orders, he became intimately connected with the church. He was elected commiſſary or official of the peculiar and exempt juriſdiction of the collegiate church or free chapel of St. Katharine, near the Tower of London, 1755; was appointed commiſſary [*A*] and official of the city and dioceſe of Canterbury, by archbiſhop Herring, in December, 1758; and of the ſub-deanries of South Malling, Pagham, and Terring, in Suſſex, by archbiſhop Secker, on the death of Dr. Dennis Clarke, in 1776. He was elected F. A. S. Sept. 22, 1737, and was one of the firſt fellows of the Society nominated by the preſident and council on its incorporation 1755. He was alſo elected Aug. 29, 1760, member of the Society of Antiquaries at Cortona [*B*]; on which occaſion he ſent them a Latin letter drawn up by his friend the late Rev. Philip Morant [*C*]. He was admitted F. R. S. Feb. 18, 1762; became an honorary fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Caſſel, by diploma, dated in November, 1778; and of that of Edinburgh in 1781. In 1755, he ſolicited the place of ſub-librarian at the Muſeum, in the room of Mr. Empſon; but it was pre-engaged.

The Doctor's firſt publication, though without his name, was " A Tour through " Normandy, deſcribed in a Letter to a Friend, 1754," 4to. This tour through part of his native country was undertaken, in company with Dr. Bever, in the ſummer of 1752; and his account of it, conſiderably enlarged, was re-publiſhed under the title of " Anglo-Norman Antiquities, conſidered, in a Tour through part of Normandy, by Dr. " Ducarel, illuſtrated with 27 Copper Plates [*D*], 1767," fol. inſcribed to Dr. Lyttelton, biſhop of Carliſle, then preſident of the Society of Antiquaries. His Lordſhip had firſt remarked, 1742, the difference between the mode of architecture uſed by the Normans in their buildings and that practiſed by the contemporary Saxons in England; and the Doctor's obſervations, actually made on the ſpot ten years afterward, confirmed the rules then laid down. This ancient dependance of the Engliſh crown, with the many memorials in it by the Engliſh, was a favourite object of his contemplation. Its coinage was his next reſearch; and he publiſhed " A Series of above 200 Anglo-Gallic or " Norman and Aquitaine Coins of the Antient Kings of England, exhibited in Sixteen

[*A*] *Was appointed commiſſary*]. The firſt patent of a commiſſary of Canterbury was granted by archbiſhop Reynolds, 1317.

[*B*] *Member of the Society of Antiquaries of Cortona.*] His election was notified to him by the following printed form: 'Il deſiderio che abbiamo dell' 'avanzamento della noſtra Etruſca Academia, che ſi 'eſercita ſpecialmente nello ſtudio delle coſe antiche, 'ci ſtimola ad ammettere nel noſtro numero nomini 'eruditi e dotti: onde eſſendoci ben nota la ſcienza e 'rara erudizione di voi ſig. Andrea Coltee Ducarel, 'nella noſtra ultima adunanza vi abbiamo concordemente eletto noſtro Accademico, e ve ne diamo la 'preſente teſtimonianza. Dat. in Cortona dalle ſtanze 'della noſtra Reſidenza il di 29 Agoſto, 1760:

'Fra. Giovangirolamo Cav' Sernini Cucciatti,
'Principe e Lucumone,
'Filippo Pancrazi, A. F. C. Segretario.'

[*C*] 'Inſigniſſimo & reverendiſſimo domino Johanni Hieronimo Sernini Cucciatti Principi & Præſidi, necnon ornatiſſimis Sociis inclitæ Academiæ Etruſcæ Cortonenſis And. Coltee Ducarel, S. P. D.

'Illuſtriſſimi Domini: Diploma quo me in venerabilem ſocietatem veſtram Cortonenſem ecoptare dignati eſtis, magno cum gaudio necnon gratiſſimo animo a Domino Wilcox accepi, eoque gratior quo inſperatior erat honor ille quem in me contuliſtis, quod benigni conſilii veſtri omnino ignarus eram donec diploma veſtrum nuperrime ad manus meas venerit. Beneficii veſtri me haud indignum præſtare ſtudebo: & venerandæ ſocietatis veſtræ nec iners nec inutile membrum eſſe conabor. Quam cito ſeſe occaſio obtulerit per Dominum Venuti Livorniæ præpoſitum libros nonnullos vobis mittam in bibliotheca veſtra locandos: quod munuſculum acceptum fore ſocietati veſtræ ſpero: ſocietati inquam Cortonenſi, quæ ut in æternum vigeat floreatque ex animo vovet & exoptat humillimus & obſequentiſſimus ſervus & conſocius veſter. Dat. apud London. prid. kal. Sept. A. D. 1762.'

[*D*] *With 27 Copper Plates.*] Chiefly from drawings taken, at his expence, by the famous M. Noel, ingénieur du bureau de finances at Caen. The Doctor's own copy of this edition, with additional plates, drawings, and corrections, was purchaſed by the late Dr. Monro; and at the ſale of his library, 1792, by Mr. Gough.



" Copper

" Copper Plates, and illuſtrated in Twelve Letters, addreſſed to the Society of Anti-
" quaries of London, and ſeveral of its Members [*E*]; to which is added, a Map of
" the Antient Dominions of the Kings of England and France, with ſome adjacent
" Countries, 1757," 4to. His portrait, engraved by Perry, from a painting by A. Soldi [*F*], 1746, was firſt prefixed to this work; which was the reſult of his acquaintance with M. de Boze, keeper of the French King's medals, and ſecretary of the Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres; who publiſhed ſo many learned diſſertations on antient coins and medals in their Memoirs, and a ſeparate treatiſe on the coins of the prelates and barons of France, of which only two copies came to England, as preſents from their author; one to Dr. Mead, purchaſed at his ſale by Dr. Gifford; the other of Dr. Ducarel, at whoſe ſale it was purchaſed by Mr. Gough. A third, in the library of Chancellor Lamoignon, is now in that of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Of the 527 coins in the 45 plates of this work the Doctor copied ſeveral into his own. He had, beſides, a copy of that ſcarce book, " Figures des monnoyes de France, 1619," 4to, by John Baptiſt Haultin, containing upwards of 500 French and other coins, in 126 wooden cuts, of which, in the year 1786, only three copies had been known to have come to ſale (*b*). But the Doctor's copy had the addition of many MS notes, taken from a copy in the French King's library, containing the metals, weight, and dates, of moſt of them. This is now in the Britiſh Muſeum [*G*]. In this undertaking the Doctor found himſelf ſeconded by Sir Charles Frederick, who engraved all the Aquitaine coins in his poſſeſſion, in 36 quarto plates, but without any deſcription or letter-preſs, and intended only for private uſe, being little known before their circulation on his deceaſe, and that of his two numiſmatic friends before-mentioned [*H*]. " Sir Charles had deſired Mr. North [*I*] would take his papers concerning Aquitaine coins, and digeſt and fit them for the preſs. Mr. North waited on him, and they talked over the affair. He earneſtly preſſed it; but was deſirous Mr. North's own piece on Henry the Third's coins [*K*] ſhould firſt be publiſhed. Upon this Mr. North ſet about to finiſh it, till the unfortunate affair of Wormley happened [*L*] (in which Mr. Frederick ſhewed himſelf his warm friend), which gave near two years delay to his work; during which time, a brother of the Society, who ſhall be nameleſs, came and told Mr. North, that Mr. Frederick had determined Mr. Folkes ſhould have the management of them, and had put them into his hands for that purpoſe. This report quite damped his pleaſing expectations; but he was in hopes, that, through the Doctor's interpoſition, he might have that agreeable employ (*c*)." Here the matter ſeems to have reſted.

(*b*) Hiſtory of Lambeth, p. 133.

(*c*) MS Letter to Dr. Ducarel.

Dr. Ducarel had ſome view to forming a ſeries of Engliſh medals, which, by admitting ſuch as have been ſtruck abroad relative to the hiſtory of this kingdom, he thought could be carried beyond the Conqueſt, provided the medals proved genuine. But when he engaged Francis Perry to engrave a ſeries, of which the late Mr. Hollis gave the outline, he began no earlier than Henry VIII. and cloſed it with James I. in 10

[*E*] *And ſeveral of its Members.*] Lord Willoughby of Parham, preſident, Browne Willis, Dr. Stukeley, Mr. Wiſe, Dr. Chauncey, Dr. Gifford, Profeſſor Ward, Mr. Richard Frank, Mr. Brander, and Biſhop Pococke. Of this work Mr. Gough has the Doctor's own copy, with MS obſervations by Mr. Hocker, Mr. Ward, and Mr. Loveday. To it is prefixed a copy of the Doctor's letter of thanks to Mr. Loveday, in the following terms:

'DEAR SIR, *Doctors Commons, May* 5, 1761.

'I received a few days ago a parcel directed to me, 'on the back of which was written " Mr. Hocker's 'papers, with Mr. Loveday's, relating to Dr. Duca-'rel's Aquitaine coins," ſigned by the late learned 'Dr. Ward, with whoſe hand I am well acquainted. 'As I hear with great pleaſure that all Dr. Ward's 'papers are fallen into your hands, I know not whom 'to return my thanks to for that piece of politeneſs 'but yourſelf, and I am, Sir, greatly obliged to you 'for thoſe papers. They contain ſome miſtakes and 'ſeveral faults, which I ſhall be ready to correct 'whenever I am able to diſcover coins enough to add 'another letter to the one already publiſhed. Hitherto 'I have met with only one Anglo-Gallic coin ſince 'that book was publiſhed; but having lately heard 'that Mr. Snelling, a dealer in Engliſh Coins 'and medals, intends ſhortly to publiſh a plate of 'twenty-five coins of the black money, which the 'late Mr. Joſeph Ames, ſecretary to the Society of 'Antiquaries, has, at different times, cauſed to be 'engraved, I called upon his ſon, and told him that 'I would endeavour to explain them; and that, if 'there was room in the plate, I might add my un-'publiſhed coins thereto. This will be done very 'ſoon.' From this we may probably date his correſpondence with Mr. Loveday.

[*F*] *From a painting by A. Soldi.*] In this ſtate of the plate he is called " ANDREW COLTEE DU-" CAREL, LL. D. COMMISSARY OF ST. KA-" THARINE'S, ADVOCATE IN DOCTORS " COMMONS, AND F. S. A. 1756;" and there is no date after the painter's name.

[*G*] *This is now in the Britiſh Muſeum.*] The late Mr. Tutet had another, purchaſed at his ſale by Samuel Tyſſen, Eſq; F. A. S.; and the late Sir Charles Frederick, bart. had a third, now in the hands of Mr. Gough.

[*H*] *And that of his two numiſmatic friends before-mentioned.*] A copy with a few MS. notes bought at the ſale of Sir Charles's library, 1786, is in that of the Society of Antiquaries

[*I*] *Sir Charles had deſired Mr. North.*] The Rev. George North, M. A. F. S. A. was vicar of Codicote, Herts, where he died June 27, 1772. See more of him in Nichols's Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 113.

[*K*] *Mr. North's own piece on Henry the Third's coins.*] What became of this piece is not now known. Two plates of coins for it were bought by Mr. Gough at the ſale of Dr. Lort's curioſities, 1791.

[*L*] *Till the unfortunate affair of Wormley happened.*] What this alludes to we have not yet found; but ſhall probably be able to explain under the article of Mr. North. Q. Whether any promiſe of that rectory had been made to Mr. North, or to Mr. Frederick for him, by any of the Hume family, who are patrons of the living as well as lords of the manor, and were related to Mr. Frederick?

plates.

plates. Three ſupplemental ones were afterwards publiſhed of the ſame period. Mr. Hollis intended it ſhould be more extenſive, by taking in the Roman medals: he, however, aſſiſted Perry in his own way. It was taken up by Mr. Snelling, who did not publiſh it in Mr. Hollis's life-time (*d*).—Mr. Snelling's being a poſthumous publication, there is no letter-preſs to accompany his 33 plates, which reach from the Conqueſt to 1742. It will be eaſily ſeen that the medals of the firſt five kings are by Daſſier [*M*].

(*d*) Memoirs of Hollis, p. 105.

Another work which the Doctor patronized was the "Series of antient Windows," engraved by Francis Perry [*N*], from the rude ſketches of Aubrey in his MS. collections, from a tranſcript made by Mr. Ames of an abſtract of Aubrey's four volumes of Collections, taken by Mr. Hutchins for his private uſe, from the larger work in the hands of Mr. Awnſham Churchill, of Henbury.

In 1760 he printed, for private uſe, in 4to, an account of his friend Browne Willis, read at the Society of Antiquaries that year. Of this Mr. Loveday, in a letter to him, remarks, "It is really to be wiſhed that every eminent member of the Antiquarian "Society were on his deceaſe as well accounted for." This and ſome few more may ſerve in lieu of the flattering elogies drawn up for the deceaſed members of the Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres, printed at the expence of the reſpective bodies. A thick quarto volume of Dr. Willis's letters to Dr. Ducarel is in the hands of Mr. Gough.

A queſtion being ſtarted by the hon. Daines Barrington, concerning trees indigenous to Great Britain, in the "Philoſophical Tranſactions (*e*)," and the cheſnut, elm, lime and ſycamore, box, abele, and yew, accounted non-indigenous; the Doctor undertook he defence of the firſt of theſe trees, and to prove it a native here; in which he was ſupported by his antiquarian friends, Thorpe [*O*] and Haſted, who, as Kentiſhmen, ſeem to have thought themſelves more particularly intereſted in the diſpute. His and their letters on the ſubject were printed in the "Philoſophical Tranſactions (*f*)"; and Mr. Barrington, in the next article, gave up the controverſy. If this defence was ſoftened in the printing below what it was in its original ſtate, we muſt extenuate the champion's ſeverity by the goodneſs of his cauſe [*P*]. He received great congratulations on his victory. The Doctor's account of the early cultivation of botany in England [*Q*], and more particularly of John Tradeſcant, a great promoter of that ſcience, and of his monument and garden at Lambeth, appeared originally in the "Philoſophical Tranſactions (*g*);" whence it is copied, in the "Hiſtory of Lambeth," with ſeveral improvements, communicated by the Doctor to Mr. Nichols. Dr. Ducarel's letter to Gerard Meerman, grand penſioner at the Hague, on the diſpute con-

(*e*) Vol. LIX. p. 5.

(*f*) Vol. LXI. art. 17—19.

(*g*) Vol. LXIII. p. 79.

[*M*] *The firſt five kings by Daſſier.*] Of the ſame kind is probably that of judge Gaſcoigne mentioned by Oldys, in the Britiſh Librarian, p. 267, who referred the Doctor to an impreſſion of it in a folio pedigree of the Wentworth family, in the poſſeſſion of the late Marquis of Rockingham.

The Medallic Hiſtory of England to the Revolution in plates, collected by Mr. Pinkerton, and printed for Edwards 1790, is the firſt complete ſeries. It improves on Mr. Snelling's plan, by ſupplying his deficiency, and giving a deſcription with the plates; more than one third of which now appear for the firſt time, containing ſome of the moſt rare and curious medals. "If we except the medals of the Popes, this collection may boaſt of being the firſt genuine and complete one of its kind. Notwithſtanding the eminence of France in books of ſcience muſt be acknowledged, that country has as yet only the fabulous and imaginary works of Du Bie and Typotius, and a few detached plates by Le Clerc. Germany, Spain, and the other countries of Europe have no collection of this kind, though all muſt allow that its importance to the hiſtory and arts of a country ought to render it a natioual object every where. The medallic Hiſtory of the United Provinces begins at ſo late a period, that it hardly deſerves to form an exception. The publiſhers beg leave to acknowledge, with gratitude, the liberality of that eminent medalleſt, Dr. Combe, in favour of this work. To his capital collection of prints and drawings of Engliſh medals they are entirely indebted for many of the curious articles here publiſhed; to him they alſo owe ſeveral explanations in the deſcription." Preface. Daſſier's medals, from the Conqueror to Henry VIII. incluſive, are admitted, we think, improperly, notwithſtanding the obſervation that there "are no contemporary medals of Engliſh ſovereigns till the reign of Henry VIII. Even in the Papal ſeries, the earlieſt and beſt in Europe, there are no contemporary medals till Paul II. 1464. Thoſe from Martin V. 1417, were only executed in 1655."

[*N*] *Engraved by Francis Perry.*] The Doctor was a great patron to F. Perry, whoſe abilities were not ſo highly deſerving of his patronage. He employed him on the Aquitaine coins (though, by a letter of George Vertue, 1755, that abler artiſt ſeems to have been applied to for them), encouraged him in ſome Kentiſh views, and recommended him to Dr. Burton, of York, for whom he engraved the plan of Fountaine's abbey; and another drawing was coming for him, though, ſays Dr. Burton, "his performance "was not much approved of by connoiſſeurs in this "part of the world." The windows were a poſthumous work, publiſhed by Perry's adminiſtrator, one Stevens, a hatter, at Iſlington; the ſame perhaps who is diſtinguiſhed in the will of the celebrated author of the "Night Thoughts," under the title of "my "friend Henry Stevens, a hatter, at the Temple Gate."

[*O*] *Supported by his antiquarian friends, Thorpe and Haſted.*] Of John Thorpe, Eſq. of Bexley, M. A. F. S. A. (who died in Auguſt 1792, whilſt this article was preparing for the preſs), and of his father Dr. Thorpe, ſome account will be given in their proper order of alphabet (1).

(1) Gent. Mag. vol. LXII. p. 769.

[*P*] *By the goodneſs of his cauſe.*] Mr. Barrington's obſervation on the *regular* plantation of cheſnut-trees at Newington, in Kent, was ſhewn by Mr. Thorpe, in a letter to Dr. Maty for the Royal Society, but never printed, to be a miſtake for ſome modern plantations within memory for hop-poles.

[*Q*] *Account of the early cultivation of botany*] Dr. Fothergill, in a letter to the Doctor, expreſſes his "hope that his learned friend will do that for the "lovers of plants, which they are unable to do for "themſelves—make them acquainted with the hiſtory "of their predeceſſors in this country." This has been ably done for the environs of Leiceſter by Dr. Pulteney, in the "Philoſophical Tranſactions (2);" and ſince, by the ſame gentleman, with great improvements, in Mr. Nichols's (as yet unpubliſhed) Hiſtory of that County.

(2) Vol. XLIX. p. 803.

cerning Corſellis; as the firſt printer in England [*R*], read at the Society of Antiquaries, 1760, and tranſlated into Latin by Dr. Muſgrave, with Mr. Meerman's anſwer, were publiſhed in the ſecond volume of Meerman's "Origines Typographicæ, 1765," and, with a ſecond letter from Mr. Meerman, were given to the publick by Mr. Nichols in a Supplement to his learned partner's "Two Eſſays on the Origin of Printing, 1776." Upon printing the new edition of biſhop Gibſon's "Codex," at the Clarendon preſs, 1761, the Doctor collated the MS collections of precedents annexed to it with the originals at Lambeth, and elſewhere; in return for which, at his own deſire, the delegates of the preſs preſented him with two copies of the new edition handſomely bound. From the time of Dr. Ducarel's appointment to be keeper of the library at Lambeth, his purſuits took a different turn—to the eccleſiaſtical antiquities of this kingdom, and more particularly to thoſe of the province of Canterbury, for which he was ſo well ſupplied with materials from that library. In 1761 he circulated printed propoſals for publiſhing a general repertory of the endowments of vicarages, for the ſervice both of vicars and their pariſhioners, as nothing conduces ſo much to aſcertain their mutual rights as antient original endowments. Theſe are to be found in the regiſtries of the biſhop or dean and chapter of the dioceſe, or in the chartularies and regiſter books of religious houſes. Many of the former are loſt, and the latter diſperſed into various hands. He had proceeded ſo far as to ſet down, in alphabetical order, the name and date of every endowment in the regiſters of the ſee of Canterbury; and all ſuch as he could diſcover in the public libraries, or in printed books. He therefore next ſolicited the like communications from the other dioceſans, or from poſſeſſors of antient records; and ſubjoined a ſpecimen of his method, and a liſt of the endowments already diſcovered. In this enquiry he was aſſiſted by all the regiſters, &c. at Lambeth, and in the archives of the dean and chapter of Canterbury; ſome from the regiſtry of Wells by means of biſhop Willes, from notes taken by archbiſhop Secker when biſhop of Briſtol; from the late dean Ball, Mr. Clarke the reſidentiary, and Dr. (now Sir William) Burrell, for Chicheſter. All the regiſters of Coventry and Lichfield to the time of Henry VIII. which alſo help much as to Cheſter dioceſe, were ſent to Lambeth by biſhop Cornwallis, at the deſire of archbiſhop Secker, and examined by the Doctor. The few regiſters of St. David's were brought to London by biſhop Squire, and examined by the Doctor There are no old regiſters extant of the other three Welſh dioceſes. For Ely, the principal aſſiſtance, came from Mr. Cole. Dr. Milles dean of Exeter, and biſhop Lyttelton, procured him almoſt every thing for that dioceſe. Glouceſter he had principally from Atkins and the Worceſter regiſter. For Hereford, great aſſiſtance from Mr. Clark, regiſtrar there. The regiſter-book of Remigius, which had been lent to archbiſhop Wake when biſhop of Lincoln, and by his executors ſent to Chriſt-church, Oxford, having been reſtored to biſhop Green, partly by the Doctor's means, was lent to him, with that of Hugh Wells, and they were of great ſervice to him. He had London from Newcourt, and ſome papers communicated by Dr. Burrell. Biſhop Young ſent for, and lent him, the two volumes of biſhop Tanner's Collections for the Norwich regiſtry. Oxford was furniſhed from biſhop Secker's notes left to his ſucceſſors in that ſee. He had good aſſiſtance for Rocheſter from the late archdeacon Denne, and Mr. Thorpe's Regiſtrum Roffenſe. For Saliſbury he had ſome notes from the late regiſtrar Froome. Biſhop Thomas ſent for all the old regiſters of Wincheſter to Chelſea, and lent them one by one. Mr. regiſtrar Clarke gave great aſſiſtance for Worceſter. York was collected moſtly from the MS notes of the late Dr. Burton. Carliſle from biſhop Lyttelton. Cheſter, from the Lichfield, regiſters. For Durham he had not the leaſt aſſiſtance from any perſon, except from his own accidental collections (*b*). It is in contemplation to print an account of all theſe ſeveral regiſters, in a volume of his Epiſtolary Correſpondence with ſome of the firſt characters in literature, which is purpoſed to be accompanied with ſeveral valuable antiquarian tracts collected by Dr. Ducarel (*i*). The propoſal for publiſhing the General Repertory of Endowments of Vicarages,

(*b*) From a MS paper ſigned by him June 22, 1780.

(*i*) Hiſtory of Lambeth, p. 137.

[*R*] *As the firſt printer in England.*] 'I have very 'lately conſidered this affair about early printing. 'There is not the leaſt hint of it in Bourgchier's re- 'giſters. It is a piece of roguery in Atkins to ſay ſo. 'His book was printed in 1664; and all the regiſter- 'books of the ſee of Canterbury, and other books 'and MSS. in the Lambeth library, were removed 'from thence, and carried to Cambridge, ſoon after 'archbiſhop Laud's death, and were not brought 'back to Lambeth-houſe till after the Revolution.'

Dr. Ducarel, MS.

Mr. Wiſe was of a contrary opinion. In his letters to the Doctor, Jan. 22, and March 5, 1757, he ſays, 'I am convinced, almoſt to demonſtration, that the 'ſtory is true, only I want a copy of the regiſter. 'Whether it is to be found in the regiſter, or elſe- 'where, I know not; but I have good grounds to 'think that Atkins told truth. I am confident that 'ſuch a thing was once in being.'

'The arguments on both ſides may be ſeen in "Two 'Eſſays on the Origin of Printing, with the Appendix 'and Supplement, by Bowyer and Nichols, 1774," '8vo. Mr. Bowyer, whoſe learning and particular 'knowledge in his profeſſion ſeem to qualify him for 'being at leaſt as good a judge of this diſpute as any 'man that ever lived, was of opinion that the Oxford 'preſs was prior to Caxton, and thought that thoſe who 'have called Mr. Caxton the firſt printer in England 'meant that he was the firſt who practiſed the art 'with *fuſile* types, and conſequently brought it to 'perfection, which is not inconſiſtent with Corſellis 'having printed earlier at Oxford with *ſeparate types* '*cut in wood*, which was the only method he had 'learnt at Haerlem.' Herbert's Ames, p. 1391.

originally circulated, with a ſpecimen annexed, in a ſingle ſheet, 4to, dated Dec. 3, 1761, was prefixed (with a new date, Dec. 23, 1762) to "A Repertory of the "Endowments of Vicarages in the Dioceſe of Canterbury, 1763," 4to, printed for the benefit of the charity-ſchool at Canterbury; of which Mr. Gough has the Doctor's copy, with conſiderable additions in MS. by him, which were all incorporated into a ſecond edition [*S*] in 8vo, 1782; to which were added, Endowments of Vicarages in the dioceſe of Rocheſter. In a letter to the Rev. Mr. Cole, of Milton, 1757 (*k*), he ſays, "I hope, "within this year, to have about twelve dioceſes ready for the preſs;" and in another, to the Rev. Dr. Cox Macro, 1763, he tells him he had eleven other dioceſes then ready. In 1768 he appears to have entertained thoughts of going to preſs with theſe collections. He had a copy of the "Notitia Parochialis," formerly belonging to the Earl of Oxford [*T*], which he bought at T. Oſborne's, and preſented to Lambeth library; a particular and very intereſting account of the value of a great number of ſmall livings and others in England, moſtly ſigned by the Rectors and Vicars 1705; as an anſwer to ſome printed queries tacked by order of Mr. Harley, afterwards Lord Treaſurer Oxford, at the bottom of a brief ſent that year for the repairs of the Church of All Saints in Oxford; ſix oblong volumes, and a ſeventh volume of index to the reſt. They contain a collection of private papers, and can only be conſidered as deſigned for uſeful and certain information (and not as legal evidence) of the ſtate of ſmall pariſhes at that time, and many of them ſigned by the then incumbents. He drew up, 1763, an account of the MSS. in the Norfolk library belonging to the Royal Society, amounting to 563, including 45 then firſt catalogued. On this occaſion he was of a committee with Lord Charles Cavendiſh and the late Dr. Birch. In the ſame year he was appointed by the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, at the head of whom Mr. Grenville then was [*U*], in conjunction with Sir Joſeph Ayloffe, Bart. and Mr. Aſtle, to digeſt and methodize the records of the State Paper Office at Whitehall; and afterwards thoſe in the Augmentation-office [*W*]. A calendar of the records of the latter, in two volumes, folio, was purchaſed at his ſale by Mr. Cook, for the Bodleian library. In 1766, he communicated to the Society of Antiquaries a paper on Bezants; which Biſhop Lyttelton, in a letter to him, ſtyled "curious and elaborate." He was one of the committee for extracting papers from the minutes of the Society for preſs, 1762 [*X*].

(*k*) Gent. Mag. Vol. LV. p. 781.

The ſhare he took in the Rowleian diſcovery and controverſy, 1771 and 1772, may be ſeen in the Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LVI. pp. 361, 362. 461—464. 544—547. 580. 859; where are printed, his correſpondence with Mr. Chapman, Rector of Weſton near Bath, Biſhop Percy, Mr. Barrett, the Hiſtorian of Briſtol, whoſe credulity and ſimplicity in theſe matters was notorious, and Mr. Whitaker. The Doctor entertained great doubts on the originality of the Poems, &c. aſcribed to Rowley. In 1776 was printed, for private uſe, "A Liſt of various Editions of the Bible and "parts thereof, in Engliſh, from the year 1526 to 1776," in a ſingle ſheet, 8vo; and an improved edition, 1778, at the expence of Archbiſhop Cornwallis. This little tract owed its riſe to a liſt of Engliſh Bibles copied from one compiled by Mr. Ames, from 1526 to 1757, preſented by Dr. Gifford to the Lambeth library. It was completed by Dr. Ducarel from his own obſervations, and the later diſcoveries of his learned friends, Dr. Percy Biſhop of Dromore, and Mr. Tutet. Mr. Nichols alſo, and Mr. Herbert, editor of the new edition of Ames's "Typographical Antiquities," contributed not a few articles from their own collections. The account of Dr. Stukeley and his writings prefixed to the ſecond volume of his Itinerary publiſhed 1776, was drawn up by Dr. Ducarel, who alſo prepared an epitaph for him, which will be given in the future publication above mentioned.

The Doctor gave a MS abſtract of the large hiſtory of the Benedictine Abbey of Bec in Normandy, drawn up by Dom John Bourget, monk of that houſe, and F.A.S. of London, to Mr. Nichols, who printed it in 1779, 8vo, with an Appendix of original deeds [*Y*]; and who likewiſe printed, in the ſame year, in two volumes, 8vo.

"Some

[*S*] *Incorporated into a ſecond edition.*] Of the ſecond edition, of which no more than 250 copies were printed, 100 were given by Dr. Ducarel to a charitable inſtitution at Canterbury, for the relief of the widows of clergy.

[*T*] *Formerly belonging to the Earl of Oxford.*] Account of a MS. in the Lambeth library, intituled, "Notitia Parochialis," from a collection of papers, in ſix volumes, preſerved in the MS. library of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Vol. VI. marked 965. N° 1459.—'Dr. Ducarel, the Archbiſhop's librarian 'at Lambeth, thinks it neceſſary to acquaint Mr. 'Coterel, that the collection, from which this extract 'is taken, was made by Mr. Harley, afterwards 'Lord Oxford, in the year 1705, who cauſed the 'above *adverti ſement* to be printed at the bottom of 'a brief iſſued for the rebuilding of the Church of 'All Saints in Oxford, dated 28th of February, '3 Anne; and anſwers to the queries therein con-'tained were returned by 1606 of the clergy. Lam-'beth, June 23, 1778.'

[*U*] *At the head of whom Mr. Grenville then was.*] On this occaſion the late Mr. Weſt wrote thus to him: 'I am glad to ſee Mr. Grenville in this reſpect fol-'lowing the example of one of his able predeceſſors, 'the Earl of Oxford.

'Eſt aliquod prodire tenus ſi non datur ultra.'

[*W*] *Thoſe in the Augmentation-office.*] Their report on this occaſion will accompany Dr. Ducarel's account of the Regiſters mentioned above as intended for publication.

[*X*] 1762] The firſt volume of Archæologia appeared in 1770, and a regular ſeries of nine more to the preſent year 1792.

[*Y*] *Appendix of original deeds.*] Dom Bourget's letter

"Some Account of the Alien Priories, and of such Lands as they are known to have "poſſeſſed in England and Wales," collected by John Warburton, Eſq. Somerſet Herald, and Dr. Ducarel (who did not, however, at the time, permit his name to be mentioned); and conſiderably augmented by Mr. Gough and ſome other learned friends of the publiſher; to which was prefixed, a general deſcription of the ſeven Norman cathedrals, with very neat prints of them. Of this work a good analyſis, with a deſcription of the plates, and ſome valuable notes, was given by a learned correſpondent of Mr. Urban (*l*). The

(*l*) Gent. Mag. vol. LVI. p. 749.

letter to him, when he ſent him that hiſtory, is here ſubjoined:

'*From the Abbey of Bec, 20 Auguſt*, 1764.

'SIR,

'The greateſt glory of a nation is certainly that of 'producing men of ſuch generous principles as to 'ſacrifice their labours to the cultivation of the 'ſciences and arts. The Engliſh nation, Sir, ſurpaſſes 'all others in this particular; and we may aſſert, 'with great truth, that it is, like Rome and Athens, 'as celebrated for its learning as it is for its power and 'riches. Who can juſtly number the great geniuſes 'who excite the attention of aſtoniſhed Europe by the 'luſtre of their merit and the ſolidity of their erudi-'tion; by their penetration into the moſt abſtruſe 'ſecrets of nature; and by their wonderful art of diſ-'covering and tranſmitting to future ages the ſuperb 'monuments of venerable antiquity?

'This, Sir, is the teſtimony which all Europe 'renders to your nation; and the unanimity of voices 'on this particular was the ſubject of my moſt ſerious 'reflection when a happy occaſion procured me the 'honour of your brother's acquaintance. To ſee him 'a ſecond time after having ſeen him once, was the 'firſt ſentiment which immediately ſtruck me, and 'which ſince has continually increaſed; and I will 'take the liberty to aſſure you, that this ſentiment 'muſt equally ſtrike all who are ſenſible of true 'merit. Be not then ſurpriſed, Sir, that I exerted 'my utmoſt application to cultivate with advantage a 'friendſhip with a man of ſo much merit, and to 'avail myſelf of the ſhort time he ſtayed in this city.

'In the courſe of his learned converſations, I diſ-'covered, with ſecret ſatisfaction, that the great re-'putation your nation enjoys in the republic of letters 'increaſes in proportion as we approach it, and can 'judge from its true originals. And ſuch was my 'prepoſſeſſion in this reſpect, that, abſent from him, I 'hardly knew mankind, and I reckoned every moment 'loſt. Undoubtedly, Sir, the correſpondence of 'taſte and humour, and our congenial way of thinking 'and judging of many things, did not a little con-'tribute to eſtabliſh that harmony of ſentiment which 'united us ſo ſtrictly together; but his perſonal merit, 'the amiableneſs of his character, and the excellent 'qualities of his mind and heart, were the ſtrongeſt 'inducements with me to gain his friendſhip. I 'delighted to hear him ſpeak of the laws, the man-'ners, and the cuſtoms, of the different nations where 'he had travelled; his remarks on the characters 'which diſtinguiſh them from their neighbours; 'more eſpecially of the ſciences which they cultivate; 'of their foundations; and of their antient and 'ſuperb monuments.

'He dwelt longer on thoſe of Great-Britain, as 'the kingdom which exhibits the greateſt number of 'objects intereſting to a lover of letters and of noble 'antiquity. He enumerated thoſe magnificent monu-'ments and foundations which immortalize a nation, 'as univerſities, academies, ſocieties, &c. He did 'not forget the Society of Antiquaries of London; 'and it was on this occaſion I learnt, Sir, that it has 'the happineſs to eſteem you as one of its moſt 'valuable members; that you are intimately verſed 'in the ſtudy of antiquities, and that your reſearches 'have more particularly for their object all that the 'province of Normandy can furniſh on that point 'worthy the attention of the learned, and deſerving to 'be tranſmitted to poſterity.

'He impoſed on me the taſk of giving him a ſhort 'account of all I could diſcover curious or remarkable 'in the Abbey of Bec; no doubt, Sir, with a view 'to ſecond the happy diſpoſition you poſſeſs to en-'rich the republic of letters with your learned and 'uſeful reſearches. I yielded to his requeſt with 'great pleaſure, as it enabled me to ſatisfy my deſire 'to oblige him or his friends, and to apply myſelf to 'a ſtudy for which I have for a long time had a 'ſtrong inclination.

'I ſhould long ſince have purſued this ſtudy, if the 'ſuperior generals of the order of St. Benedict, of 'which I am a member, had not taken from me my 'liberty, by giving me different offices, both ſpiritual 'and temporal, which they obliged me to hold.

'I was firſt appointed prior to the Abbey of St. 'Martin de Seez, and continued ſix years in that 'office; from thence tranſlated to the Abbey of St. 'Stephen at Caen, founded by Duke William, where, 'as ſub-prior, I managed the temporalities during 'the two firſt years, and the ſpiritualities the third 'year. The three years ended, I reſigned, according 'to cuſtom, the place to another, to paſs in order to 'the Royal Abbey of Bec, where I now actually reſide.'

Dr. Ducarel enables us to take up this worthy Benedictine's hiſtory a little earlier. He was born at the village of Beaumais near Falaiſe, in the dioceſe of Seez, in 1724; and educated at the grammar-ſchool at Caen, whence he was removed to that univerſity, 'and purſued his ſtudies with great diligence and ſuc-ceſs till 1745, when he became Benedictine monk of the Abbey of St. Martin de Seez, then *en regle*, that is, under the direction of a conventual Abbot (3). We proceed with the letter.

(3) Memoirs prefixed to the "Hiſtory of the Abbey of Bec."

'This Abbey, ſituated in Tournois, in the dioceſe 'of Roan, and nine leagues from that city, was 'founded by Hellouin, ſon of Anſgot, a Dane. It 'may be conſidered as one of the moſt celebrated of 'the kingdom, as much for its ſpiritual as temporal 'privileges, immunities, &c. and which it obtained, 'ſoon after its foundation, from the Kings of France 'and England, from Princes, Dukes, Earls, Biſhops, 'Chapters, particular Barons, &c. as by the famous 'ſchool, which Lanfranc, afterwards Archbiſhop of 'Canterbury, eſtabliſhed there, which produced men, 'ſome of whom ſerved the Church, and others the 'ſtate, with honour and diſtinction.

'It is no leſs remarkable for its fortifications than 'for the ſieges it ſuſtained againſt the forces of the 'Kings of England.

'A little before the death of its founder, the num-'ber of monks who had ſubmitted to its juriſdiction 'was already ſo great, that ſome modern writers have 'not heſitated to apply to this devout perſon this 'paſſage of the royal prophet, 'Ab ubertate domûs 'tuæ inebriâſti faciem terræ, et a torrente ſapientiæ 'eorum replêſti orbem terrarum.' All theſe recluſes 'were employed either in the ſtudy of the Sacred 'Writings, the ſinging of Pſalms, or in manual exer-'ciſes. To them, but more eſpecially to the Monks 'of the Abbey of Jumieges, is owing the draining 'of the fens of Upper Normandy, and the cultivation 'of the lands, till then neglected. But ſuch is the 'nature of all human eſtabliſhments, that thoſe, which 'appear the moſt ſolid and the moſt reſpectable to 'the eyes of mankind, are liable to the injuries of 'time: if unexpected revolutions do not totally over-'turn them, at leaſt they ſhake their very foundations, 'and occaſion them to undergo ſuch conſiderable 'changes, that they are hardly to be known again. 'The Abbey of Bec experienced this in a remarkable 'manner.

'Some few centuries were ſcarcely elapſed, before 'the monks, countenanced by the evil examples of 'the idleneſs, luxury, and licentiouſneſs, of their 'Abbots, loſt ſight of all the ſanctity of their ſtation, 'degenerated from the virtues of their predeceſſors, 'and inſenſibly fell into a total oblivion of their 'obligation. Without doubt it was to ſtop the pro-'greſs of theſe enormities, and to hinder the bad 'uſes which perhaps the Abbots made of their great 'revenues, that the King took away two-thirds,

'which

The very uſeful and excellent Collection of Royal and Noble Wills, from the Conqueror to Henry VII. printed by Mr. Nichols in 1780, was given to the world in conſequence of the ſuggeſtions of Dr. Ducarel; from whoſe ſtores the far greater part of the materials was purchaſed by the printer at a very conſiderable price. Of

'which he diſpoſed of in favour of ſome ſecular 'eccleſiaſtics of high birth and ſmall fortune.

'Nevertheleſs, as the relaxation of monaſtic diſ-'cipline increaſed, it became neceſſary to put a ſtop 'to the torrent of licentiouſneſs. To this effect, 'they ſubſtituted monks of the ſame order reformed, 'known by the name of Benedictines of the congre-'gation of St. Maur. This congregation, compoſed 'of near two hundred Abbeys of different revenues, 'is governed by a general ſuperior, aſſiſted by two 'aſſiſtant ſuperiors, all appointed by a general chap-'ter, which prolongs or diſmiſſes them every three 'years. They reckon in the ſingle province of Nor-'mandy thirty-two of theſe Abbeys richly endowed. 'The income of this of Bec, one of the richeſt of 'the order, is about two hundred thouſand livres, 'two thirds whereof belong to the Abbots, and the 'remaining part maintains between forty and fifty 'Monks, which is our number at preſent.

'I am actually at work on the Hiſtory of this 'Abbey. There is not, Sir, any manuſcript, titles, 'charters, &c. which have not paſſed under my hands, 'that I may not advance any fact which I cannot 'prove. I expect this work will be badly received 'by the falſe devotees and the ignorant ſuperſtitious, 'who will not find therein one word mentioned of 'the pious extravagances of certain melancholy brains, 'who preached to the people the fruit of a diſtempered 'imagination, and made them go down by favour of 'the barbarity of the times and of ſuperſtition, which 'it was their intereſt to ſupport as men inſpired and 'gifted with ſupernatural powers; but I declare it is 'not for ſuch I write. You will receive by the next 'opportunity a ſhort abridgement of it, my time not 'having permitted me to prove numbers of facts that 'I intended to add. I ſhall likewiſe ſend you the 'plan of the antient building of this monaſtery, and 'of that of Jumieges; the firſt was entirely rebuilt 'within theſe twenty years, and is eſteemed one of 'the fineſt monaſteries in France.

'I ſhall, in the courſe of my work, mention the 'antiquities of other moſt remarkable Abbeys in 'Normandy, as that of St. Peter of Jumieges, 'founded in the year 655; St. Stephen and Trinity 'of Caen, both founded about the middle of the 'eleventh century; the firſt by Duke William the 'Conqueror, the latter by Queen Mathilda his wife. 'But I ſhould exceed the bounds of a letter; perhaps 'I have already too much intruded on your patience: 'I beg the favour however to be ſtill heard in the 'following article; it intereſts me greatly.

'The high character your Society of Antiquaries 'of London bears in the learned world flattered me, 'Sir, with an earneſt deſire to participate with ſuch 'reſpectable members the glory they have already 'gained, and ſtill daily acquire. But, for that, it 'was neceſſary to have a known perſonal merit, of 'which I can preſume but to a ſmall ſhare; Patrons 'of dignity, and I know not any one in England 'capable of protecting me. Theſe difficulties have, 'as it were, ſtifled my deſire, and even prevented my 'mentioning it to you. There certainly is no obſtacle 'too great, nor, which is more, unſurmountable by 'any one who aſpires to the glorious title of Fellow 'of ſo illuſtrious a Society as yours is. As for my 'rank, my monaſtic vow, and the different manner of 'our honouring the Deity, and rendering him our 'due worſhip; I do not imagine, Sir, they could be 'any hindrance to my reception, if I had the happi-'neſs to poſſeſs the neceſſary talents required to fill 'my place with ſome degree of honour and dignity. 'It only belongs to the ignorant vulgar, and to the 'ſuperſtitious fanatick, to live and die under the yoke 'of opinion and prejudice. The country of men of 'letters knows no other bounds than the limits of the 'literary and enlightened world. Wherever they 'meet, they are countrymen, becauſe they every 'where concur in common to the diſcovery of truth. 'My uneaſineſs therefore, on this head, perhaps, has 'as little foundation as it is injurious to men who are 'the living ornaments of their age, and who will be 'the admiration of future ages. A little genius, few 'talents, and a narrow capacity, are the true motives 'of my fears; and they are, Sir, but too juſtly 'founded, unleſs your learned and reſpectable Society 'judges of me with great indulgence. Your brother 'encourages my hope, by promiſing to honour me 'with his recommendation to you, and to his other 'friends; without which I never ſhould have pre-'ſumed to offer myſelf as Fellow of the Royal Society 'of Antiquaries of London, and yet leſs to trouble 'you on that ſubject. But, whether the Society judges 'me worthy of ſo diſtinguiſhed an honour, or whe-'ther they ſhall think fit to refuſe my application 'and moſt reſpectful deſire, you ſhall not find me leſs 'ready to uſe my utmoſt endeavours to ſerve you; 'having not any thing more deſirable at heart than 'to demonſtrate to you, by my actions, my perfect 'attachment, and the great reſpect with which I 'have the honour to be, Sir, your very humble and 'very obedient ſervant,

'Dom JOHN BOURGET.

'P. S. I will ſend to your brother, ſome time next 'week, the Abridgement above mentioned; and will 'add to it the *Proſpectus* of the Hiſtory of Normandy, 'on which we are now at work, that he may ſend 'them to you by a leſs expenſive way than that of 'the poſt.'

To this letter the Doctor returned an anſwer in French, of which the following is a tranſlation:

'SIR, *Doctors Commons, Nov.* 30, 1764.

'I duly received the honour of your obliging letter 'of Auguſt 20, which gave me great pleaſure. I 'thought it neceſſary to execute the commiſſion con-'tained in it before I anſwered it. As ſoon, there-'fore, as I had got it tranſlated into Engliſh, I com-'municated it to the members of the Society of An-'tiquaries (who are not maſters of the French lan-'guage) previous to the meeting of the Society, 'November 7. Buſineſs of conſequence having pre-'vented me from attending on the Society before the '22d inſtant, I on that day read publicly the tranſ-'lation of your letter, which was unanimouſly ap-'proved by a very numerous meeting: after a ſhort 'introductory ſpeech by myſelf, I propoſed you as a 'member. Having preſented a recommendation in 'your favour, it was immediately read, and ſigned 'by the Preſident, Lord Willoughby of Parham, and 'the oldeſt and moſt reſpectable members, till the 'paper was quite filled with names. Thus, Sir, in 'five or ſix weeks I hope to congratulate you on your 'being choſen an honorary member of this learned 'body.

'I am deſired, Sir, to inform you, that the labour 'which you have undertaken of the Hiſtory of the 'Abbies of Normandy is a work of the greateſt con-'ſequence, as it will tell us a thouſand particulars 'equally intereſting to the Hiſtory of England and 'France, which could be only known by your 'means; and that you, Sir, are conſidered as a real 'acquiſition to our Society, of whom there are very 'few French members, and not one Norman.

'The compliments you are pleaſed to pay to my 'brother and myſelf are too great; and you have 'carried too far your panegyric on the Engliſh nation. 'There are learned men in all parts of the world. 'Normandy has furniſhed a prodigious number. If 'ſo many continually iſſue from the two univerſities 'of this kingdom, it muſt be owned it ariſes from 'the different plans of education adopted in them 'from that in the other univerſities of Europe. I may 'add, that here men dare to think; and to think 'without conſtraint is one of the greateſt bleſſings of 'this happy kingdom. The Engliſh have naturally 'a high eſteem for the Normans; and, if we examine

'the

Of all the honours Dr. Ducarel enjoyed, none gave him greater ſatisfaction than the Commiſſariate of St. Katharine's [Z], a place to which he has done due honour in "The Hiſtory of the Royal Hoſpital and Collegiate Church of St. Katharine, near the "Tower of London, from its Foundation, in the year 1273, to the Preſent Time, 1782," 4to, adorned with ſeventeen plates. "Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, No. V." This hiſtory was originally compiled by the Doctor for the uſe of our preſent very amiable Queen, to whom a copy of it was preſented in MS. a ſhort time after her acceſſion to the patronage of this Collegiate Church, the only Eccleſiaſtical preferment in the gift of the Queen Conſort of England. On a thorough repair of this curious old church in 1778, an empty vault was diſcovered in the chancel, of a ſize that would hold two coffins, and no more. This ſpot the Doctor claimed in virtue of his office; and has often pointed out to the writer of this article, and to many others of his friends, as a reſting-place for his aſhes and thoſe of his lady; and the remains of both have been actually there depoſited. Two additional plates to the Hiſtory of St. Katharine's, repreſenting the curious groteſque carvings under the old ſtalls there, were engraved a little before his death, at his particular requeſt, and were given to the publick in 1790, with a ſhort Appendix to that Hiſtory in the "Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, No. LII."

"Some Account of the Town, Church, and Archiepiſcopal Palace of Croydon, in "the County of Surrey, from its foundation to the Year 1783," 4to, originally drawn up by him in 1754, at the requeſt of Archbiſhop Herring, was publiſhed in 1783, 4to.

'the character of the two people cloſely, we may ſay, 'without breach of truth, that the Engliſh are half 'Normans, and the Normans half Engliſh. From 'this time, Sir, I ſhall conſider a literary correſpon-'dence as eſtabliſhed between us, if you think proper; 'and if, in the continuance of your work, I can ſend 'you any aſſiſtance, I ſhall do it with pleaſure. 'M. de Brequigny (4) has been here five or ſix 'months, ſent by the Court of France, to diſcover, 'in the Exchequer at Weſtminſter, all the antient 'deeds and charters relating to Normandy, to com-'pile a hiſtory of that province. He has obtained 'admittance, and made his ſearch, but hitherto with-'out finding any thing of great conſequence. He 'ſtill continues his ſearches. I have ſeen him once. 'He tells me, that a Benedictine monk, named Dom 'le Noire, is now writing the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory 'of Normandy (5). If you are acquainted with this 'work, let me know his plan, and if his deſign be 'different from yours. Favour me with an anſwer 'as ſoon as you can after the receipt of this. I have 'the honour to be with perfect eſteem," &c.

(4) Of this gentleman and his labours, ſee Gent. Mag. Vol. LIV. p. 747.

(5) It was a General Hiſtory of Normandy.

To this Dom Bourget returned an anſwer of thanks, Dec. 17, 1764.

In a ſecond letter, dated Jan. 25, 1765, the Doctor announced to his friend his election as an honorary member of the Society unanimouſly, at a very numerous meeting the 10th inſtant, and deſiring him to acknowledge it in a letter of civility, which the good father did in an anſwer, dated March 8, 1765, containing remarks on Rouſſeau's Emile, and Voltaire on Toleration, and withal expreſſing his ſurprize at not receiving an official letter *(lettres d'Aggregation)*; as, if it was neceſſary to pay any money for theſe kind of diſpatches, he was ready to make the purchaſe: but his friend aſſured him neither the forms were cuſtomary, nor any money expected; but, if he required a certificate of his election, he ſhould have it.

This letter, and another of May 15, the ſame year, deſcribing his promotion to the Abbey of Evreux, never came to the Doctor's hand, but were ſuſpected of being intercepted; as appears by the laſt letter from Dom Bourget, June, 1765: the Doctor's anſwer to which, July 5, 1765, was incloſed under cover to his brother Monſieur Bourget, merchant, at Rouen: and here, as far as we have learnt, ended the correſpondence. In 1765, he returned to the Abbey of St. Stephen and Caen, where he continued to the time of his death. The honourable offices to which he was promoted, on account of his great abilities, enabled him not only to purſue his favourite ſtudy of the Hiſtory and Antiquities of ſome of the principal Benedictine Abbeys in Normandy, but likewiſe gave him acceſs to all their charters, deeds, regiſter-books, &c. &c. Theſe he examined with great care, and left behind him in MS. large and accurate accounts of the Abbeys of St. Peter de Jumieges, St. Stephen, and the Holy Trinity at Caen (founded by William the Conqueror and his Queen Matilda), and a very particular Hiſtory of the Abbey of Bec. Dom Bourget's death, which happened on New Year's day, 1764, at the age of 52, was occaſioned by his unfortunate neglect of a hurt he got in his leg by falling down two or three ſteps in going from the hall to the cloiſter of the Abbey of St. Stephen at Caen, being deceived by the ambiguous feeble light of a glimmering and dying lamp that was placed in that paſſage. He was buried, in the church of the ſaid Abbey, Jan. 3, 1776.

[Z] *Commiſſariate of St. Katharine's.*] 'On this 'promotion he received the following humorous letter 'from his friend Dr. Walker:

'Worthye Mayſtere Doctor, Commiſſarye, and my 'ſingular goode Friende,

'After myne haſtye commendations to your wor-'ſhippe, I deſyre to adjoyne myne aſſurances to you, 'that it givythe me moche pleaſure to have this 'opportunitye of teſtifying my ſincear goode wyſhe 'towards you; foraſmoche as fortune puttyth it in 'my power to ſend you my congratulacions as a 'ſmall marke of hur favours, by whiche I truſt ſhe 'meanythe this onlye as an earneſt penny; and in-'deede ryghte glad ſholde I be yf the profyte thereof 'excedyd the dygnitye of this your advancement; 'for I doubte the dygnitye muſt in ſome ſort com-'penſate for the profyte; howbeit it ſemythe not 'unlikelye to my poor conceit that it may not per-'chance be unacceptable to your diſpoſition, on the 'ſcore, that peradventure it maye ſo happen to fall 'out, that it maye adminyſter newe occaſyons of 'future obſervacyons in the antiquarie ſcyence; a 'ſcyence verilye to be had in admyracion of al beſyde 'wyghtes; and certes in that loſe Fames trumpet 'loudlye and (in thys inſtaunce) trewlye reportythe 'thee to be, wyche myne owne particular acquaint-'aunce wythe thee veryfyeth to my certayne know-'leche, in verye dede an adept.

'Long tyme mayſt thou therefore enjoye this ſame 'benifyte; and maye God Almyghte take you into 'his gude-kepynge. Wythe wyſhes of al healthe and 'happyneſſe, I remayne yours in al frendlye ſervice,

DEDYMUS DEDIMUS.

'What is moſtly compoſed of mortar and brick.
'Makes half of my name: if that you can nick,
'Crack a nut, and half of what therein you finde
'Makes the reſt. Cherchez donc, I opine you're
'not blinde.

'St. John's daye ad portas Latinas,
'Maye the 6th.
'yere of incarnacyon MDCCLV.

'For the Worſhippfull Doctor Ducarel.'

'This is about as good an imitation of the ſtyle of 'Elizabeth's time, as Chatterton's Rowley's of that 'of Edward IV.'

He alſo drew up in the "Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, No. XXVII." "The "Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Archiepiſcopal Palace of Lambeth [*AA*], from its "foundation to the preſent time, 1785, 4to," which was dedicated, by permiſſion, to Archbiſhop Moore; and, in 1786, he contributed largely to "The Hiſtory and An- "tiquities of the Pariſh of Lambeth, in the County of Surrey; including Biographical "Anecdotes of ſeveral eminent perſons; compiled from original Records, and other au- "thentic ſources of information [*BB*]." Some Additions to this Hiſtory were alſo, in 1790, printed in the ſame collection.

His memoirs of Archbiſhop Hutton and his family, fairly written, were purchaſed at his ſale, by the Rev. Dr. Lort, for the Hutton family. His appointment to the place of Librarian at Lambeth (to which a ſalary of £30. per annum is annexed) took place under Archbiſhop Hutton, May 3, 1757 [*CC*]; and the catalogues of that valuable collection (*m*) are not a little benefited by his diligence and abilities. The catalogue begun by Biſhop Gibſon, while librarian [*DD*] here, and continued by Dr. Wilkins with the greateſt minuteneſs, has been by him perfected to the preſent time; a diſtinct catalogue made of the books of Archbiſhop Secker, who expended above 300l. in arranging and improving the MS. library and printed books here; and another, in three volumes folio, of the pamphlets and tracts bound up by the direction of Archbiſhop Cornwallis [*EE*]. And in the library of MSS. the catalogue begun by Dr. Wilkins, 720, and continued by ſucceeding librarians to No. 888, he extended to No. 1147, in two volumes [*FF*]. Dr. Birch, who was an excellent judge of ſuch merit, expreſſes his obligations to 'the learned librarian, A. C. Ducarel; to whoſe knowledge, induſtry, 'and love of hiſtory and antiquity, the valuable library of MSS. of the Archiepiſcopal 'ſee of Canterbury is highly indebted for the order in which it is now arranged, and by 'whoſe obliging and communicating temper it is rendered generally uſeful (*n*).' In this library are 13 large volumes of 1506 Antient Charters, all originals, with many fine ſeals. In 1757, he addreſſed to Archbiſhop Secker a letter concerning the firſt edition of Archbiſhop Parker's valuable book, "De Antiquitate Britannicæ Eccleſiæ," now in the MS. library at Lambeth, N°. 959, giving an account of a great many antient deeds, MS. notes, &c. &c. contained therein. This letter is printed at large in the Appendix to his "Hiſtory of Lambeth Palace."

He was engaged alſo in arranging and indexing above 30 folio volumes of leaſes, papers, &c. and he could have greatly eaſed the Archbiſhop in diſpatching and anſwering an infinite number of letters, and have been truly uſeful. Such was the Doctor's aſſiduity in whatever he undertook, that, beſides the fair copy of the index by him taken of all the Lambeth regiſters, and the general index which he made to them, he

(*m*) See the hiſtory of this valuable library in the Hiſtory of Lambeth Palace, p. 47—56. 58—76.

(*n*) Preface to Lord Bacon's Letters.

[*AA*] *The Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Archiepiſcopal Palace of Lambeth.*] To this hiſtory is prefixed the head of the Doctor, with the addition of the painter's name; and the legend altered to "ANDREW COLTEE DUCAREL, LL. D. COMMISSARY OF ST. KATHARINE'S, and of the DIOCESE OF CANTERBURY, &c. &c. F.R. and A.SS. 1784."

[*BB*] *Sources of information.*] In the Preface to this volume, Mr. Nichols ſays, 'It was begun, and 'a conſiderable portion of it printed, under the im- 'mediate inſpection of Dr. Ducarel, who earneſtly 'wiſhed that the preſent publication ſhould be the 'companion of his "Hiſtory of Lambeth Palace." 'From the Doctor's ſituation as Librarian to five 'ſucceſſive Archbiſhops, he had every opportunity 'of conſulting ſuch records and early tranſactions as 'related to this pariſh; and his ample ſources of 'intelligence were at all times readily opened to the 'compiler of this work, of which the original ſug- 'geſtion was entirely owing to his ardent zeal for the 'ſtudy of local antiquities.'

[*CC*] *Took place under Archbiſhop Hutton, May, 3, 1757.*] Previous to this, he ſeems to have been recommended by Dr. Topham, of York, to Archbiſhop Herring, from whom we find the following letter to Dr. Topham: 'I can have no objection to any favour- 'able countenance you think fit to ſhew to Dr. Du- 'carel; I have the higheſt opinion of his integrity 'and uſefulneſs. I will moſt undoubtedly pay atten- 'tion to him in the capacity you mention him to me 'at his own deſire. You knew my reaſons for keep- 'ing myſelf in very general expreſſions on that head. 'I approve of his deſign moſt extremely of regulating 'and making an index to the papers and regiſters at 'Lambeth. They are now a treaſure; a good index 'will convert them into ready caſh. I will take care 'the Doctor and his friend Mr. Rowe Mores ſhall be 'accommodated at Lambeth when they ſet about the 'work. Tho. Cant. Croydon-houſe, Dec. 23, 1754.'

[*DD*] *The catalogue begun by Biſhop Gibſon, while librarian.*] In which place he was ſucceeded by 'Dr. Benjamin Ibbot, who died 1725. The regular 'ſucceſſion, with memoirs of the librarians, is given 'in the Hiſtory of Lambeth Palace, p. 63—76.

[*EE*] *Bound up by the direction of Archbiſhop Cornwallis.*] Biſhop Gibſon's papers were ſorted and bound up in 14 volumes. Many of them belonged to Archbiſhop Teniſon, who gave them to Dr. Gibſon, while his Chaplain; who, in his life time, directed his executors, the late Dr. Betteſworth, and his ſon, George Gibſon, Eſq; to depoſit them in the MS. library at Lambeth, with many more of his own collecting. They were actually delivered by the executors to Archbiſhop Herring, Oct. 21, 1748; and depoſited in this library the 23d of February following, where they lay undigeſted till June 1758; when Archbiſhop Secker ordered them to be methodized and bound up as they now appear. Upon peruſal of the firſt volume, the Archbiſhop recommended to his librarian to put as many as could be into chronological order, or a proper aſſortment, with an account of their ſubjects, with leiſure and more aſſiſtance. 'And thus,' ſays his Grace, 'by means 'of a little delay, the collection will do more honour 'to the giver and the compiler.' But the hint came too late; the whole collection was bound; and the only amends the librarian could make, was by adding an alphabetical index to every volume; and a complete alphabetical repertory, in chronological order, of every paper and inſtrument in the whole ſet.

[*FF*] *He extended to* N°. 1147, *in 2 vols.*] The original catalogue of MSS. of Henry Warton in Lambeth library, in his own hand-writing, is now in the poſſeſſion of Dr. Loveday, ſon of the late John Loveday, Eſq. of Caverſham, Berks.

reſerved for himſelf another, which at his ſale became the property of Mr. Gough. It contains, in 47 volumes, folio, neatly bound, an account of every inſtrument relative to the ſee, province, and dioceſe of Canterbury, from Pecham to Herring; and, together with a great variety of other materials amaſſed by the Doctor, may be juſtly ſtyled, a fund of eccleſiaſtical antiquities for that province in particular, and for the kingdom at large. In this laborious undertaking he was materially aſſiſted by the induſtry of his friend Mr. Rowe-Mores [*GG*]; by Mr. Hall [*HH*], his predeceſſor in the office of Librarian; and by Mr. Pouncey, who for many years was his aſſiſtant as clerk and deputy-librarian, the latter of which poſts he held alſo under Dr. Ducarel's ſucceſſor, Dr. Lort.

On the death of Archbiſhop Secker, the Doctor would gladly have held the office of Secretary to his ſucceſſor, "the income of which, after paying one-third to a deputy, would have made him ample amends for all the pains, trouble, and expence, he had been at many years in digeſting the regiſters, in 68 volumes, folio [*II*]." The

[*GG*] *In this laborious undertaking he was materially aſſiſted by the induſtry of his friend Mr. Rowe Mores.*] This is tacitly acknowledged in the Doctor's Preface to his "Hiſtory of Croydon;" and was often mentioned by himſelf in converſation.

[*HH*] *By Mr. Hall.*] Of whom Dr. Ducarel communicated ſome memoirs, printed in the "Hiſtory "of the Archiepiſcopal Hoſpitals in and near Can-"terbury (6)," which will furniſh a future article for this work. To Mr. Hall he was indebted for much aſſiſtance from the archives and records of the church at Canterbury, as well as in the regiſters at Lambeth. A quarto volume of Mr. Hall's letters, whence ſome extracts have been given in the above mentioned Hiſtory of the Hoſpitals, p. 188, 189, was lent by the Doctor for that purpoſe to the writer of this article and was ſince purchaſed at his ſale by Dr. Lort.

(6) Bibliotheca Topographica, No. XXX.

[*II*] 'The regiſter-books of the archbiſhops of 'Canterbury were antiently kept near their palace in 'the priory of St. Gregory at Canterbury; but having for many years been removed from thence to 'Lambeth, they are now commonly called the Lambeth regiſters. The oldeſt of theſe is the regiſter of 'archbiſhop Peckham; and thoſe of all his ſucceſſors 'to the preſent time are in being, except thoſe of 'the archbiſhops Mepeham and Stratford (of which 'ſome few tranſcripts only are preſerved at Lambeth, 'in a book called *Album Regiſtrum*, taken, I believe, 'about the time of King Henry VI.) and thoſe of the 'archbiſhops Ufford, and Bradwardin, which, by 'ſome unknown accident, have been unfortunately 'loſt. Ufford was archbiſhop for ſo ſhort a time, only 'ſix months, that nothing can be expected: nay, by 'ſome he is omitted; for he never received either pall 'or conſecration. Archbiſhop Bradwardyn was never 'inthronized (7).

(7) Letter to Mr. Wiſe, 1756.

'Archbiſhop John Pecham from 1278 to 1249.
'Robert Winchelſea from 1294 to 1313 (8).
'Walter Reynolds from 1313 to 1327.

(8) In the Lambeth library is an imperfect regiſter book of cauſes in the time of this Archbiſhop, in 120 folios, intituled, "Acta de tempore dni R. archiepiſcopi."

'There are no regiſters extant of the three next archbiſhops,

'Archbiſhop Simon Mepeham from 1327 to 1333.
'John Stratford from 1333 to 1348.
'Thomas Bradwardyn from 1348 to 1349.

'But I have endeavoured to ſupply that defect by 'copying her extenſum, from the *Regiſtrum Album* at 'Lambeth, and from the *Chartæ Antiquæ* in the 'MS library there, ſome ancient acts and inſtruments, 'which make a ſort of regiſter of thoſe times.

'As to archbiſhop Stratford's regiſter, it was ſtolen 'from Lambeth, and carried to Ryegate in 1402, as 'appears in archbiſhop Arundel's regiſter, by perſons 'unknown, who were excommunicated for that of-'fence.

'Then follow the regiſters of

'Archbiſhop Simon Iſlip from 1349 to 1366.
'Simon Langham from 1366 to 1367.
'William Wittleſey from 1367 to 1375.
'Simon Sudbury from 1375 to 1381.
'William Courtney from 1381 to 1396.
'Thomas Arundel, 2 vols. from 1396 to 1414.
'Henry Chichele, 2 vols. from 1414 to 1443.
'Archbiſhop John Stafford, } 1 vol. from 1443 to 1452.
'John Kemp, } from 1452 to 1454.
'Thomas Bourchier from 1454 to 1486.
'John Moreton from 1486 to 1501.
'Henry Deane from 1500 to 1502.

'Theſe three laſt make one volume.

'Archbiſhop William Wareham from 1504 to 1533.
'Thomas Cranmer from 1533 to 1555.
'Reginald Pole from 1555 to 1559.

'A regiſter during the vacancy of the See of Canter-'bury after the death of Cardinal Pole.

'From the Reformation to the Reſtoration the 'regiſters of,

'Archbiſhop Matthew Parker, 2 vols. from 1559 to 1575.
'Edmund Grindal, from 1575 to 1583.
'John Whitgift, 3 vols. from 1583 to 1604.
'Richard Bancroft, from 1604 to 1601.
'George Abbot, 3 vols. from 1601 to 1633.
'William Laud, 2 vols. from 1633 to 1644.
'William Juxon, from 1644 to 1663.

'From the Reſtoration to the death of Archbiſhop Wake.

'William Sheldon, from 1663 to 1677.
'William Sancroft, from 1677 to 1689.
'John Tillotſon, 2 vols. from 1691 to 1694.
'Thomas Teniſon, 2 vols. from 1694 to 1710.
'William Wake, 3 vols. from 1715 to 1736.

'In all 43 volumes.

'The regiſters of Archbiſhop Potter, in 2 vols. and 'thoſe of Archbiſhop Hutton are in the Vicar General's 'Office, at Doctors Commons.

'The regiſters of the ſee of Canterbury do not reach 'ſo high as thoſe of ſome other Sees.

'Archbiſhop Pecham's regiſter begins on the 4th of 'the ides of June, in the year 1279, and ends on the '15th of the kalends of September, 1292.

'Thoſe of Lincoln begin in the year 1218
'York 1224
'Bath and Wells 1244
'Worceſter 1268
'Hereford 1275

'And this ſeems to be occaſioned by Archbiſhop 'Kilwardby, who was the immediate predeceſſor of 'Archbiſhop Pecham; and upon his reſignation of 'the ſee of Canterbury (when he became a Cardinal 'and Biſhop of Portua) carrying the regiſters of his 'ſee to Rome 1278.

'Pecham, in the fourth year of his conſecration, 'endeavoured, but without ſucceſs, to recover them; 'and it is not improbable that they are ſtill in being in 'the Datary at Rome, where, to this day, every thing 'that relates to the affairs of this kingdom are, as 'I am informed, preſerved with great care.' [The Doctor wrote to Abbé Barthelemy, keeper of the King of France's medals, Feb. 12, 1756, to aſk, whether theſe regiſters were at Rome? how many there were of them? and in what place depoſited? whether it were poſſible, by the indexes at the end of each, to diſcover any letters or directions from theſe Archbiſhops to their mint-maſters at Canterbury, whoſe names are always put at the beginning of theſe letters.]

'The Pecham regiſter contains 249 leaves, making '498 ſides; the beginning is divided into 11 qua-'terni; but that method is not continued through-'out. A quaternus, properly ſpeaking, is a ſkin of 'parchment, divided into 8 leaves, making 16 ſides; 'but ſome of theſe are longer than others.

'And

The Doctor had an intention of publiſhing his Abſtract of archbiſhop Peckham's regiſter; and the rough draught of a Latin Title, with a Preface or Dedication to archbiſhop Herring [*KK*], together with a copy of the Abſtract, and various notes by Mr. Mores, is now in Mr. Gough's hands by purchaſe at Mr. Mores's ſale. Extracts from Pechams's regiſter by Dr. Ducarel were bought at the ſale by Dr. Lort.

The Doctor's great reſearches into antiquities occaſioned his aſſiſtance to be courted on many publications, particularly that of Dr. Burton's "Monaſticon Eboracenſe," which one cannot help regretting ſhould be left incomplete, after the unwearied pains and application beſtowed on it, ſo that he has been juſtly ſtyled "one of our firſt men in "monaſtic antiquities, and his firſt volume infinitely ſurpaſſing Sir William Dug-"dale's (*o*)." He alſo entered the liſts for arranging Mr. Bridges's Northamptonſhire papers with the late Rev. Peter Whalley [*LL*], of Courten-hall, an excellent ſcholar, of St. John's college, Oxford, who was deſired to produce ſome ſpecimen of his talents in the way of Antiquity, at the county-meeting, 1755; and with the late Rev. Mr. Buckler (*p*), of All Souls college, a gentleman of abilities, and general erudition. A catalogue of the MSS. was ſent him; but the general ſenſe of the committee was in favour of Mr. Buckler: but at the meeting, on the ballot, Mr. Whalley had five votes, Mr. Buckler four, and Dr. Ducarel three, out of the thirteen who attended. He had drawn up alſo an account of Doctors Commons, and, as an Appendix to it, complete liſts of the different Chancellors of the ſeveral dioceſes of this kingdom, as high as the regiſters go, in folio, which were ſo nearly ready for publication, that he repeatedly promiſed them with that expreſs intention to Mr. Nichols, who, at the Doctor's requeſt, cauſed complete indexes to be made to both [*MM*]; and it is to be hoped ſome

(*o*) Letter from Mr. Haſted to Dr. Ducarel, Feb. 18, 1771.

(*p*) Of whom, ſee Gent. Mag. Vol. LX. p. 591; vol. LXII. p. 224.

'And here it may not be improper to obſerve, that 'the books where wills are regiſtered in the Prero-'gative Office at Doctors Commons are to this day 'divided into quaterni.

'Beſides the acts and inſtruments of Archbiſhop 'Pecham, there are alſo ſome few homages made to 'his ſucceſſor, Archbiſhop Winchelſey.

'The Pecham regiſter is written in a ſtrong hand, 'full of abbreviations, which are grown quite obſo-'lete, ſince the fourth year of King George II. from 'the 25th of March, 1733, (except in the Court of 'Exchequer, where they are preſerved by Act of 'Parliament the ſixth of that reign), and both the 'hand and the abbreviations are now almoſt unknown 'to any but the officers of the Exchequer, and ſome 'few antiquarians; nevertheleſs this very hand will 'endure much longer than the preſent common hand 'and character; ſeveral modern records, produced in 'Courts of juſtice, having already been found to be 'almoſt illegible through the weakneſs of the cha-'racter.

'It is therefore humbly hoped, that an attempt to 'bring to light the treaſure contained in this regiſter 'may prove not unacceptable to his preſent Grace of 'Canterbury, and alſo be of ſome uſe to poſterity.

'It appears from this regiſter, that Archbiſhop 'Pecham was conſtantly attended by a notary pub-'lic, who took down all the acts, and tranſmitted 'them to the Regiſtrarius, whoſe buſineſs it was to 'enter them properly; though they now are a little 'diſordered in this regiſter book, and ſome ſeem to 'be wanting, which may be owing to the book's not 'being bound till after Pecham's death.

'This regiſter contains an infinite variety of in-'ſtruments relating to abſolutions, accounts of exe-'cutors, popes' bulls, grants of adminiſtration, many 'appeals, ſome appropriations of churches, a great 'variety of cauſes relating to benefices, divorces, 'incontinency, marriages, *ex officio* buſineſs, ſepul-'ture, laſt wills and teſtaments, and many com-'miſſions and commendams, ſeveral compoſitions 'with Deans and Chapters, convocation buſineſs, 'diſpenſations, inſtitutions and collations, a very great 'number of letters to the King, Queen, Pope, and 'Cardinals, beſides many about common buſineſs, 'many proxies, ſome penancies impoſed, privileges 'of the See of Canterbury, regulations in religious 'houſes, the ſtatutes of Wengeham College in Kent 'founded and endowed by this prelate, many ſentences, 'and ſeveral original wills, which, in antient times, 'were always proved before the Archbiſhop of Can-'terbury.

'This is ſufficient to give a general idea of this 'antient regiſter; whatever elſe there is in it will be 'found in the Index; and as Archbiſhop Pecham 'viſited his whole province, many of the *litteræ* 'communes will be found to relate to that viſitation, 'and, together with other inſtruments, ſhew the ſtate 'of the Church in his days. It alſo gives us ſeveral 'particulars relating to many pariſhes which are at 'preſent unknown; ſeveral appropriations are here 'preſerved, and ſeveral ſentences of the Pope's dele-'gates (uſually pronounced in churches) are here re-'corded. As the rights of Rectors to their proportion 'of tythes of their pariſhes were always ſettled upon 'theſe appropriations, and the Lambeth regiſters are 'perhaps the only records of them now in being, it 'is preſumed this index may hereafter be of great 'ſervice to the preſent incumbents of ſuch Churches 'in caſe any diſpute ſhould ariſe, becauſe they are 'undoubted records, which muſt always be received 'as evidence in every Court of juſtice.

'It may be further obſerved, that the Canterbury 'regiſters muſt neceſſarily be much more uſeful to the 'publick than thoſe of any other See, ſince they 'comprehend the tranſactions of the whole province 'of Canterbury, and neceſſarily contain many acts 'done in different Dioceſes during vacancies.

'A complete index to the regiſters of every Arch-'biſhop and Biſhop in this kingdom is nevertheleſs 'greatly to be deſired; and, till ſuch a one is made, 'no very complete hiſtory of the Church of England 'can be expected; and it is not improbable, but that 'too many of the Clergy have already been great 'ſufferers for want of knowing where to find the 'original titles of their juſt demands; which, had 'there been ſuch indexes, might eaſily have been 'diſcovered.'

[*KK*] *Preface or dedication to archbiſhop Herring*, 1755.] This laſt was actually printed in 8vo, 1756; but, on account of its many inaccuracies, ſuppreſſed. It is the ſubſtance of what is given in note [*E*]. See Britiſh Topography, vol. II. p. 269.

[*LL*] *Rev. Peter Whalley.*] Of whom a particular account will be given in a future article. He died June 12, 1791. See Gent. Mag. LXI. pp. 588. 773. 1129.

[*MM*] *Cauſed complete indexes to be made to both.*] It appears that in 1762 he had laid aſide the former for the latter; and that Mr. Cole then furniſhed him with a liſt of chancellors by Dr. Browne Willis.



learned

learned Civilian will yet perfect and give them to the world. The materials [*NN*] for both these are among his collections in Mr. Gough's hands. Another work which he intended for Mr. Nichols's press, and for which an index was in like manner made, was "Testamenta Lambethana; being a complete List of all the Wills and Testa-"ments recorded in the Archiepiscopal Register at Lambeth, from A. D. 1312 to "A. D. 1636, extracted by Dr. Ducarel, F. R. and A. SS. Lambeth librarian, &c. "with a complete Index, A. D. 1779."

For many years it was his custom to travel *incognito* in August with his friend Samuel Gale, Esq; attended only by his own coachman and Mr. Gale's footman George Monk. Twenty miles was their usual stage on the first day, and every other day about fifteen. It was a rule, not to go out of their road to see any of their acquaintance. The coachman was directed to say, "it was *a job*; and that he did not know their names, "but that they were civil gentlemen;" and the footman, "that he was a friend of the "coachman's, who *gave him a cast*." They usually took up their quarters at an inn; and penetrated into the country for three or four miles round. After dinner, Mr. Gale smoked his pipe, whilst Dr. Ducarel took notes, which he regularly transcribed, and which since his death were purchased by Mr. Gough. They constantly took with them Camden's Britannia, and a set of maps. In Vertue's plate of London-bridge chapel, the figure measuring is Dr. Ducarel; that standing is Mr. Samuel Gale [*OO*].

Among the other MSS. purchased by Mr. Gough, are Dr. Ducarel's "Notes taken "during his Tour in Holland, 1775."

Dr. Ducarel closed a life of unremitted industry and application in antiquarian pursuits at his house at South Lambeth, May 29, 1785, after he had been returned only three days from a fortnight's journey into Kent, where he had held a visitation for himself, and three different ones for his friend archdeacon Backhouse. He was a stout, athletic man, and had a strong prepossession that he should live to a great age. He frequently said, that he had the stamina of long life; and that, if he escaped any violent accident, or a stroke of the palsy, "he should take a peep into the next century." The immediate cause of the disorder which carried him off was a sudden surprize on receiving, whilst at Canterbury, a letter informing him that Mrs. Ducarel was at the point of death. He hastened home; took to his bed, and died in three days. He was buried in his favourite church of St. Catharine, on the North side of the altar, in a vault which (as has been already mentioned) he had many years ago selected for that purpose; and over his grave is this inscription:

"To the memory of ANDREW COLTEE DUCAREL, LL.D.
Commissary of St. Catharine's, and of the Diocese of Canterbury;
who died May the 29th, 1785, aged 72 (*q*)."

(*q*) Bibl. Top. Brit. No. LII.

He had appointed his old and intimate friends, Mr. Fountaine and Mr. Tutet [*PP*], executors to his will; but, from some informality in the wording of it, both these gentlemen thought it prudent to decline the trust, which of course devolved upon his nephew, Gerard Gustavus Ducarel, Esq; whom he had made his heir.

The Doctor had the happiness of enjoying the esteem of five successive primates, and lived to be the oldest officer in the palace of Lambeth. His official attendance to the duties of Doctors Commons was uncommonly remarkable; and his attachment to the study of English antiquities formed his principal amusement. His collection of books and MSS. in that particular line was valuable; and his indexes

[*NN*] *The materials for both these.*] In a letter to Mr. Wise, Sept. 3, 1756, he says, the former was so far finished as to let the archbishop of Canterbury and Sir George Lee have a copy of it; which he had ever since greatly improved as to his own copy. It made one large volume, folio, closely written, containing an account of all the advocates, also deans, prebendaries, priors, abbots, &c. formerly members of this society.

[*OO*] *That standing is Mr. Samuel Gale.*] This whole paragraph was literally dictated from his own mouth. "The house over the chapel," he added, "belonged to Mr. Baldwin, haberdasher, who was "born there; and when, at 71, he was ordered to "go to Chiselhurst for a change of air, he could not "sleep in the country for want of the noise he had "been always used to hear." This chapel was demolished in the alterations of London-bridge, 1757, when two arches were laid into one.

[*PP*] *Mr. Fountaine and Mr. Tutet.*] Mark Cephas Tutet, Esq; F. S. A. the partner of Mr. Vidall, an eminent merchant in Pudding-lane, united to the integrity and skill of a man of business the accomplishments of a polite scholar and an intelligent antiquary. He was elected a member of the Society of Antiquaries, June 26, 1755. In 1771, he married a cousin, but had not any issue. On the 5th of July, 1785, presently after supper, he received a sudden and unexpected paralytic stroke, which, in a few hours, deprived him of speech and senses; in which state he lay till the 9th of July, being the day on which he had accomplished 52 years and 11 months. By his will, he ordered his coins, medals, books and prints, to be sold by auction (which was done from the 11th of January to the 18th of February, 1786, inclusive); the produce thereof to be added to the principal part of his estate, which his industry and extreme frugality had increased to a pretty fortune, the interest of which he bequeathed to his widow for her life; and after her to a female cousin of the same condition; the ultimate reversion equally amongst the children of his brother. Few of his survivors understood better the rare secret of collecting only what was truly valuable; a circumstance which invincible modesty alone prevented from being more generally known. To those who were favoured with his intimacy his treasures and his judicious communications were regularly open. His select and valuable library was remarkable for the neatness of the copies; and many of the books were improved by notes written in his own small but elegant hand-writing.

and catalogues ſo exact as to render them highly convenient to himſelf and the friends he was deſirous to oblige. All theſe, with a good collection of coins and medals, he gave, by his laſt will, to his nephew Gerard Guſtavus, in the fond hopes of their being preſerved as heir-looms in his family. But they have all been ſince conſigned to the hammer of the auctioneer [22], and the greater part of the MSS. paſſed into the hands of Mr. Gough. In the latter part of life he was too much immerſed in profeſſional engagements to enter into new attachments of friendſhip; but with thoſe who were admitted to an intimacy he aſſociated on the moſt liberal terms. Though he never ate meat till he was 14, nor drank wine till he was 18, as he was frequently heard to declare, yet it was a maxim which he religiouſly obſerved, that "he was an old Oxonian, and therefore never knew a man till he had "drunk a bottle of wine with him." His entertainments were in the true ſtyle of the old Engliſh hoſpitality; and he was remarkably happy in aſſorting the company he not unfrequently invited to his table. Mr. Hollis, 1762, preſenting him with a *renewed* medal of the *Ugonotorum ſtrages*, calls him, "ANTIQUARY, *Aſſertor of liberty* "*civil and religious* [*RR*]." Adrian Coltée Ducarel, a conſiderable merchant, and a South-Sea Director, who was the Doctor's younger brother, died July 1, 1745, leaving a widow, ſtill living, and two ſons, James Ducarel, who died at Culcutta, a major in the Eaſt-India Company's ſervice; and Gerard Guſtavus Ducarel, Eſq; who was on-board the Chicheſter at the ſiege of Louiſburg, 1758, with his uncle Hamilton, on board the Warſpite in Gibraltar Bay, 1762, at the age of 17 midſhipman on-board the Windſor man of war, Capt. Cleveland, which carried home the Algerine embaſſador to Tunis, where Mr. Ducarel ſtayed five weeks, and ſaw the ruins of Carthage, and collected coins for his uncle [*SS*], and is not long ſince returned from the Eaſt Indies with a good fortune; and two daughters, one married to ——— Sutton, Eſq; of Scofton, in the county of Nottingham; and the other to the Rev. Mr. Morris, who has ſome eccleſiaſtical preferment in Ireland. Another brother of the Doctor, James Coltée Ducarel, (who reſided 16 years at Laurence St. Ayott, Herts, and was a member of the famous Royſton Club) (*r*), is or was lately living at St. Germain's in or near Paris; as is, at Bath, an half ſiſter (the Doctor's mother having married a ſecond huſband, whoſe name was Girardot) Mrs. Jane Blennerhaſſett, relict of Mr. Blennerhaſſet, ſon of Mr. Blennerhaſſet, of Oak Park, near Tralee, in the barony of Trudagnarchmy, near Slymiſh and Lochardreenogh.] N.]

(r) Of which ſee Gent. Mag. vol. LIII. p. 814.

[22] *To the hammer of the auctioneer.*] His collection of coins, pictures, and antiquities, was ſold by Mr. Gerard, Nov. 30, 1785, his books, MSS. and prints, April, 1786. A particular account of his Engliſh coins, with many hiſtorical notes by Mr. North and the Doctor himſelf, was purchaſed by Mr. Gough. A collection of antient deeds and ſeals, in two volumes, were purchaſed by Mr. Auſtin; others relating to Herefordſhire, from Mr. Hill the antiquary of that county, were purchaſed with a view to a new Hiſtory of it, which we earneſtly wiſh and hope may ſtill proceed.

[*RR*] *Liberty civil and religious.*] Thoſe who know Mr. Hollis's warm attachments to what he conſidered as *liberty civil and religious* will be at a loſs to underſtand in what ſenſe he applied theſe words to Dr. Ducarel, whoſe profeſſional engagements muſt have inclined him to think very differently from Mr. Hollis. That gentleman muſt have uſed the terms, "Aſſertor of liberty civil and religious," in a much more qualified ſenſe than that in which they are now frequently applied by the violence of party.

[*SS*] *Collected coins for his uncle.*] Among the reſt one of Alexander Africæ Tyrannus, who uſurped the ſovereignty in Africa, A. D. 308, againſt Maxentius, and held it three years, but was at length defeated by Maxentius's generals.

*** [DUCHAL (JAMES), a divine of conſiderable reputation among the Proteſtant Diſſenters in Ireland, ſeems entitled to ſome notice, on account of his having been the author of ſeveral volumes of ſermons, which are held in great eſtimation. Our article of him muſt, however, be very imperfect, ſo far as dates are concerned; for, though an eſſay on his character is prefixed to one of the volumes of his diſcourſes, we never met with a piece of biographical writing more idly declamatory, or leſs ſpecific in the narration. It is not even related in what kingdom Dr. Duchal was born. There was an idea in this country, at the time when he began to be talked of as an author, that he was a native of Scotland; but it is probable that Ireland was the place of his birth. It is, at leaſt, certain that his early life muſt have been ſpent in the northern part of that kingdom. From his age at the period of his deceaſe, it is evident that he was born in the year 1697. The firſt part of his education was under the direction of an uncle, who is ſaid to have been a venerable and learned man. But, beſides the inſtructions of his uncle, young Duchal had the advantage of having his preparatory ſtudies greatly aſſiſted by the wiſe counſels of Abernethy; and he derived no ſmall benefit from the precepts and example of ſuch an adviſer (*a*). From this circumſtance it may be collected that the place of his reſidence was Antrim. Having finiſhed his grammatical education, he was removed to the Univerſity of Glaſgow, where he completed his theological courſe, and took the degree of Maſter of Arts. Soon after his entering upon the miniſtry, he was ſettled with a ſmall congregation at Cambridge, which was a very ad-

(*a*) Eſſay on the character of Dr. Duchal, prefixed to the ſecond volume of his poſthumous Sermons, p. xix.

vantageous ſituation for a young man of Mr. Duchal's literary turn. Here he enjoyed the benefit of books, and of learned converſation; and here it was that he laid up a great part of that ſtock of knowledge in Ethics and Divinity for which he became eminently diſtinguiſhed. It was during ten or eleven years that he had the happineſs of poſſeſſing opportunities ſo precious to a genuine ſcholar (*b*). Whilſt Mr. Duchal was at Cambridge, he publiſhed, in octavo, three Sermons, entitled, "The Practice of Religion recommended." This was in 1728; and the texts are taken from Pſalm lxxxiv. 10. Proverbs xii. 28. and Proverbs viii. 6. (*c*). Theſe diſcourſes we remember to have been very rational, and very excellent in point of matter, but not to have had the advantage of elegant compoſition. Indeed, in reſpect of ſtyle, they are much inferior to the author's later productions. From Cambridge Mr. Duchal was called to his own country. The place to which he removed was Antrim, where he was invited, in 1730, to ſucceed Mr. Abernethy, who had accepted of a congregation in Dublin. After continuing at Antrim ſomewhat more than ten years, Mr. Duchal again became the ſucceſſor of Mr. Abernethy; for, on the deceaſe of that gentleman in December 1740, he was choſen in his ſtead paſtor of the Proteſtant Diſſenting Society in Wood-ſtreet (*d*). When Mr. Duchal ſettled in Dublin, he had exceeded the meridian of life, and was of a valetudinary habit of body; circumſtances which, united with change of place, might have encouraged the love of eaſe, and tempted him to abate of the ardour of application. But ſo far was this from being the caſe, that, on the contrary, he began, as it were, his career anew. Inſtead of availing himſelf of the rich treaſure he had before laid up, he applied with ſuch diligence to his preparations for the pulpit, that, during a courſe of twenty years, which he ſurvived from his firſt ſettlement in Dublin, he compoſed and wrote more than ſeven hundred ſermons. This was undoubtedly a rare inſtance of unremitting induſtry and labour, and as ſuch deſerves to be recorded (*e*). We remember, however, our having once been in company with a diſſenting miniſter, who, upon the mention of this fact, boaſted that he had made two thouſand ſermons; and he was not then at a time of life which precluded him from farther exertions of the ſame kind. But his diſcourſes were not the diſcourſes of a Duchal.

(*b*) Ibid. p. xx.

(*c*) Cooke's Hiſtorical Regiſter, vol. ii. p. 110.

(*d*) Eſſay ubi ſupra, p. xiii. Biographia Britannica, vol. i. p. 30, 31. New Edition.

(*e*) Eſſay ubi ſupra, p. xiv.

In the latter end of 1752, Mr. Duchal publiſhed what may be conſidered as his prime work; which was entitled, "Preſumptive Arguments for the Truth and divine Authority of the Chriſtian Religion. In ten Sermons. To which is added, a Sermon upon God's moral Government." octavo. As theſe ſermons are peculiarly excellent, and are now become very ſcarce, we ſhall inſert an account of them below [*A*]. Soon after

[*A*] *We ſhall inſert an account of them below.*] There is prefixed to the Sermons an introduction of very conſiderable length, in which the author gives a judicious view of the general evidences in favour of Chriſtianity. This is preparatory to his main deſign, which is to lay before his readers the ſtrong preſumptions of its truth and divine authority, that ariſe from the genius of our holy religion, and the characters of our Saviour and his Apoſtles, as diſplayed in the New Teſtament. Our Lord's general character is conſidered in the firſt Sermon; and Dr. Duchal obſerves, that we find every thing excellent in it; exalted piety, perfect ſimplicity of ſpirit, a greatneſs of mind which became the Son of God, the utmoſt meekneſs and lowlineſs of heart, and, what crowns all, tranſcendent benevolence. It is particularly ſhewn, that, to frame ſuch a character as that of our Saviour; to invent ſuch a grand deſign to be ſerved by him, together with the means of ſerving it; and to ſupport the character through innumerable incidents and ſpeeches, as they are recorded in the Goſpels; was abſolutely beyond the abilities of the Apoſtles; and, indeed, beyond the powers of the brighteſt genius that ever lived.

The inventive talents of a Homer and a Milton would not have been equal to the taſk. All that was done by the ſacred writers, and all which it was in their power to do, was to give true and ſimple repreſentations of facts. This part of Dr. Duchal's diſcourſe is peculiarly curious and valuable; and we well remember its having made a deep impreſſion upon us when we firſt read it; and the impreſſion has never been effaced. In the ſecond and third Sermons the Doctor proceeds to conſider more particularly our Lord's character as a teacher of morality. Under this head, he takes occaſion to enquire what is to be expected from a teacher who is ſent by God to be the moral inſtructor of mankind, and obſerves, that ſuch a teacher muſt proceed upon the foundation which the author of nature has laid; that original powers or principles, new ſimple ideas or ſenſations, are not to be expected from him; and that his proper office is to eſtabliſh conſcience upon the throne, as the ſupreme governing power in man; to deliver men from thoſe prejudices which ſpring from evil affections, cuſtom, and human authority; to teach them to avoid vice; to point out to them their duty, and thus bring them back to a juſt ſenſe of the obligations of virtue. Theſe rules are applied by Dr. Duchal to our Saviour's inſtructions in morality; ſome general obſervations are made concerning our duty, as Chriſt and his Apoſtles have ſet it before us; the principal things are pointed out that are moſt eſſential to a good and happy life; and from the whole it is ſhewn that there is the ſtrongeſt preſumptive evidence of our Lord's having been, what he profeſſed himſelf to be, the Son of God, and ſent of him, as for other purpoſes, ſo particularly to inſtruct men in their moral obligations, and to lead them in the way of ſalvation.

Our author's fourth Sermon contains ſeveral obſervations upon the laſt diſcourſes of Jeſus with his Diſciples. It is here pointed out, that manifold abſurdities muſt follow from the ſuppoſition of theſe diſcourſes not being genuine; and it is evinced, that they are ſo much in character, ſo worthy of our divine Maſter, and breathe ſuch a ſpirit as to furniſh a ſtrong argument for the truth and divine authority of the Chriſtian Religion.

The fifth and ſixth Sermons are devoted to a view of the life and character of St. Paul; and Dr. Duchal has endeavoured to ſhew, in the former, that this Apoſtle was no impoſtor, and, in the latter, that he was no enthuſiaſt. Our readers will recollect how admirably Lord Lyttelton had, a few years before, treated on the ſame ſubject. Dr. Duchal's remarks, however, which are very judicious, appear to be the reſult of his own enquiry and obſervation.

In the ſeventh Sermon is conſidered St. Paul's deſcription of the "Man of Sin." The point contended

after this publication, the Univerſity of Glaſgow, in conſideration of Mr. Duchal's merit, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Toward the cloſe of his life, Dr. Duchal applied himſelf more aſſiduouſly than he had formerly done to the ſtudy of the Hebrew language, to which he appears to have been led from the great attention paid to that language by Hutchinſon and his followers. He did not, however, coincide with them in their peculiar notions. On the contrary, he thought that their extraction of myſterious doctrines and ſyſtems from Hebrew and Greek roots was hurtful to the cauſe of genuine truth and religion (*f*).

(*f*) Ibid. p. xxiv.

Dr. Duchal's conſtitution was not naturally ſtrong, and it was much worn down by inceſſant labour. In the decline of age, he was urged by his friends to leſſen his application to his ſtudies; but nothing could prevail upon him to abate the fervour of his ſpirit. He rather choſe "to wear out with honourable toil than with the ruſt of inactivity." His death took place on the fourth of May, 1761, when he had completed his ſixty-fourth year; and he died deeply regretted by his numerous friends (*g*). Dr. Duchal's character appears to have been truly excellent. It was compoſed of piety, purity, modeſty, humility, candour, and benevolence. A more particular delineation of his virtues, though mixed with too much digreſſive matter, may be ſeen in the eſſay to which we have frequently referred. In his ſentiments of religion the doctor was very liberal; he was an ardent friend to freedom of enquiry; and he ſuſtained no mean rank among the rational divines of the kingdom of Ireland.

(*g*) Ibid. p. xxix, xxx.

Dr. Duchal was often ſolicited to ſelect and prepare from his ſtock of ſermons what he thought fitteſt for the preſs: but, from his own good taſte, and his deference to that of the public, he probably felt that this would engage him in a taſk too heavy for his many avocations, and his growing years and infirmities. However, he gave ſome hopes of gratifying the requeſt of his friends, when death intervened. After his deceaſe, three volumes of his ſermons were publiſhed. Theſe, the firſt thirteen excepted, were taken nearly at a venture from the mighty maſs of diſcourſes which he left behind him; becauſe ſuch a vein of ſtrong manly ſenſe, and of rational piety, was found to run through the whole, as made it difficult to find any principle of ſelection. They were all the firſt flow of thought; ſometimes committed to paper at one ſitting; and without any view to the public at large. The firſt volume appeared in 1762; the ſecond and third in 1764. Another edition was called for in 1765. Though the ſermons do not ſeem, in a ſingle inſtance, to have been written anew, or to have been reviſed by the author, they are, nevertheleſs, entitled to much commendation. There will be found in them a rich variety of intereſting matter, ſtrong reaſoning, and juſt views of religion, which are often enforced in a pathetic animated manner, happily conſpiring to enlighten the underſtanding, and to perſuade the heart (*b*). What particularly diſtinguiſhes them is an union of ſound philoſophy with genuine devotion, to which is added no ſmall fund of original ſentiment. The ſubjects are univerſally important and well choſen [*B*].

(*b*) Ibid. p. xxvi—xxviii.

With

tended for by our author is, that the papal Hierarchy anſwers exactly to this deſcription; and that there is no poſſible way of accounting for the Apoſtles knowledge of it, without having recourſe to the inſpiration of the Almighty. Dr. Benſon has an elaborate diſſertation on the ſame ſubject. The interpretation of the two proteſtant Divines will not be acceded to by our Roman Catholic brethren; but rationally and fully to deſtroy the force of it would require, in our eſtimation, a ſtrong exertion of critical ability.

The character and writings of the Apoſtle St. John are examined in the eighth Sermon. In treating upon this ſubject, our author makes it his buſineſs to ſhew, in the firſt place, that the religion of Chriſt, as St. John hath repreſented it, is very worthy of ſuch a teacher ſent of God: after which he proceeds to make ſome remarks upon the ſimplicity and artleſs manner with which the Apoſtle writes; and concludes with laying before his readers what may be collected from theſe things in favour of Chriſtianity.

In the ninth diſcourſe, Dr. Duchal conſiders the debates among Chriſtians in the apoſtolic age; and the concluſion he hence draws is, that there is nothing which favours of falſhood or diſſimulation in the manner in which the Apoſtles conducted themſelves, and carried on their deſign; but, on the contrary, the ſtrongeſt appearances of truth and ſincerity.

It is the object of the tenth Sermon to prove, that the liberty of enquiring into and judging concerning the truth in matters of religion, which is eſtabliſhed in the New Teſtament, and our being accountable in theſe matters only to God, may juſtly be regarded as affording a ſtrong preſumptive evidence of the divine original of the Goſpel (1). The diſcourſe upon God's moral government, which is annexed to the volume, is a very rational and judicious compoſition.

(1) Preſumptive Arguments, &c. *paſſim*. Monthly Review, vol. viii. p. 24, 25, 31, 32.

We are perſuaded that the republication of Dr. Duchal's work would be a valuable preſent to the religious world. Few books have been read by us that appear better calculated to impreſs a thinking mind with a deep ſenſe of the excellence of Chriſtianity, and the ſolid foundation upon which its truth is ſupported. The accumulation of internal and direct arguments forms, in our opinion, an irreſiſtible chain of evidence, were it but properly conſidered. In the preſumptive line, Mr. Paley's late publication, intitled "Horæ Paulinæ," is of ineſtimable value. If ſceptical perſons could be prevailed upon to read with attention ſuch works as thoſe now deſcribed, they would be led to form different views of things from what they at preſent entertain.

[*B*] *The ſubjects are univerſally important and well choſen.*] We ſhall here inſert a liſt of them; partly as it may ſerve to point out the nature of Doctor Duchal's diſcourſes, and partly as it may ſuggeſt to clerical men ſome excellent hints for directing their choice in their topics of pulpit compoſition.

Volume the firſt.

"Eternal Life the Reward of patient Continuance in Well-doing." Rom. ii. 7. "Moral Perfection the ultimate Intention of all the Works and Ways of God." 1 Cor. iii. 9. "The Nature of Enthuſiaſm, and the Marks whereby the irrational Heats of it are to be diſtinguiſhed from a natural and becoming Warmth of Affection, and a ſuitable Fervour of ſpirit in religion." 2 Cor.

With regard to elegance of compoſition, Dr. Duchal's ſermons are not entitled to equal applauſe. The ſtyle of them, however, if ſomewhat diffuſe, and not always ſtrictly correct, is, in general, eaſy, unaffected, and ſufficiently perſpicuous. There is one reſpect in which excellent uſe might be made of them by divines. What we mean is, that it might be of no ſmall ſervice to a preacher to digeſt well, in his mind, the ſentiments contained in any of the Diſcourſes in queſtion, and then to expreſs the ſame ſentiments in his own manner; aiming to improve upon them in point of arrangement, language, and ſpirit. Thus might the admirable and inſtructive matter of Dr. Duchal's ſermons be conveyed to an audience with additional recommendations. The experiment has been tried by the writer of the preſent article in four caſes; and it might have been advantageous to have made the attempt in a greater number of inſtances. There is ſome reſemblance between three ſermons of Dr. Duchal, on the Spirit of Chriſtianity, as the ſpirit of power, of love, and of a ſound mind, and a long diſcourſe on the ſame ſubject, and the ſame text publiſhed in 1768, by Dr. Leechman, and inſerted in the late edition of his works. Perhaps Dr. Leechman, from the con-

2 Cor. v. 31. "The Tendency of the Chriſtian Religion to inſpire the Mind with Strength and Vigour in all Seaſons of Difficulty and Diſtreſs; to preſerve it from what enfeebles its Power; and to render it fit for all the Services of Life." 2 Tim. i. 7. "The Tendency of Chriſtianity to ſuppreſs, and root out all thoſe Diſpoſitions which contract the Spirit, and cramp the good Affections; to excite and ſtrengthen Love to one another, and to engage to all Offices of Benevolence." 2 Tim. i. 7. "The Tendency of Chriſtianity to deliver Men from what diſtracts the Mind and perverts the Judgment, and to yield that compoſure and ſerenity, which give them the free Uſe of their rational Powers." 2 Tim. i. 7. "The Nature of the human Soul; that it is a Subſtance different from Matter: of the Faculties of it, and particularly of the Operations of the Underſtanding." Matthew xvi. 26. "Of the Affections, their Nature, Arrangement in the Heart, and Operations as Springs of Actions." Matthew xvi. 26. "Of Reaſon and Conſcience; their Power over the Affections, and particularly of the Authority of Conſcience in directing the Conduct." Matthew xvi. 26. "Of the Loſs of the Soul, and the dreadful Torments which it may ſuffer in a future State." Matthew xvi. 26. "The Inſignificance of all temporal Acquiſitions, when oppoſed to future Happineſs, and purchaſed by the Loſs of the Soul." Matthew xvi. 26. "The Happineſs which Human Nature, by its various Powers and Capacities, is made capable of Enjoying in a State of Perfection, which will be the Portion of the Righteous hereafter." Pſalm xxxvi. 8. "The Greatneſs of God and his Works, his univerſal Providence, and the Happineſs he muſt enjoy from the Execution of the glorious Deſign." Iſaiah xl. 15. "Of the Diſſolution of the material Syſtem, and the final Conſummation of all Things." Pſalm. cii. 25. "Communion with God explained in a Senſe not liable to the Charge of Enthuſiaſm." 1 John i. 6. "Of the Reverence a Man owes to himſelf, and the great Importance of a juſt Senſe of the Dignity of Human Nature, as a preſervative from Vice, and an Incentive to Virtue." 1 Cor. iii. 17. "The Relation of Friendſhip conſidered; the Foundation upon which it reſts; the particular Virtues which qualify for it, and the high Happineſs reſulting from it." Proverbs xciii. 24.

Volume the Second.

"All the Works of God, in their Natural State, beautiful and lovely, the Happineſs of moral Agents neceſſarily connected with the ſound and healthful State of the Mind, or with Virtue." Gen. i. 31. "To be filled with the Fulneſs of God, explained and illuſtrated." Epheſ. iii. 19. "The Neceſſity of giving the Heart to Wiſdom; the Power of the Mind over its Affections; and the Means by which it may raiſe and regulate them." Proverbs xxiii. 26. "The great Similarity of the Individuals in the conſtituent and moſt valuable parts of Human Nature; their wonderful Diverſity in other Circumſtances: with uſeful Reflections ſuggeſted by this Conſtitution." Pſalm xxxiii. 15. "Moral Perfection, the higheſt End and Chief Good of man, attainable by all." Pſalm xxxiii. 15. "The Means by which the higheſt End and ſupreme Good of Human Nature may be attained." Pſalm xxxiii. 15. "What is imported in glorifying God, and in what Senſe the Glory of God is to be the End of our Actions." 1 Cor. x. 31. "The Scripture Doctrine of the Mediation of Chriſt explained." 1 Timothy ii. 5. "What the Sentiments of Angels concerning our preſent State may be ſuppoſed to be; and the Motives which ariſe hence to conduct Life wiſely and virtuouſly." Hebrews i. 14. "The Cares of Human Life, how far they ſhall ceaſe in a future State; and how this Conſideration ought to regulate and moderate them at preſent." Eccleſ. ii. 3. "That the preſent State has a plain Reference to a future inviſible one, unſpeakably greater and more auguſt; and, that in both, the ſame glorious Deſign is uniformly carried on." 2 Cor. iv. 18. "The infinite Importance of the Love of God, &c." 2 Theſſ. iii. 5. "The great Importance of not being enſlaved by any Deſire." 1 Cor. vi. 12. "Our abſolute Dependance on God." Acts xvii. 28. "Practical Reflections ariſing from a Senſe of our abſolute Dependance on God." Acts xvii. 28. "What is imported in keeping the Heart, and the beſt Means of doing it." Proverbs iv. 23.

Volume the Third.

"What a good Taſte in the Conduct of Life is; and, how to acquire it." Philip. i. 10. "Of virtuous Reſolution or Firmneſs of Mind; and, the Means of attaining to it." 1 Cor. xvi. 13. "Integrity of Character recommended; and, the Means of attaining to it pointed out." Eccleſ. x. 1. "Our Relation to univerſal Nature; and the Sentiments and Duties ariſing from it." Job. xxxviii. 7. "The Happineſs of the Righteous, like the Light of the Sun, to be engroſſed by none; but the Gift of God, offered to all who will prepare themſelves to receive it." Iſaiah lx. 20. "That there is an appointed End of the Sorrows and Sufferings of good Men; with uſeful Reflections ſuggeſted by this Aſſurance." Iſaiah ix. 20. "Youth and advanced Age compared, and their ſeveral Advantages and Diſadvantages." Job. xxxii. 6. "How we ought to be affected on the Review of paſt Life, and the Proſpect of what is to come." Pſalm xxxix. 5. "The Boundaries of Divine Operation, and Human Agency, pointed out: with uſeful Reflections." Eccleſ. ix. 10. "Reaſons why ſo much is left to Human Agency; and an Exhortation to Diligence in our proper Buſineſs." Eccleſ. ix. 10. "The Sentiments we ought to entertain of the Divine Adminiſtration, and how the Sovereignty of God is to be underſtood." Pſalm c. 3. "The Sovereignty of God in the Government of the World; with uſeful Reflections." John xiv. 2. "The univerſal abſolute Dominion of God." Matt. vi. 13. "The Glory of God." Matt. vi. 13. "The Importance of laying down a certain Plan for the Conduct of Life, and of fixed Rules for the Performance of its Duties." Epheſ. v. 15. "The Omnipreſence of God; with a practical Application." 1 Kings viii. 27. "The Senſe of Right the Standard by which we muſt judge of the Character and Conduct of all moral Agents; even of the Supreme." Job xiii. 7. "The doing the Will of God the Food of the Soul: our Lord's peculiar and exquiſite Taſte for this ſpiritual Nouriſhment, &c." John iv. 34.

geniality of Dr. Duchal's ſentiments with his own, might have combined theſe ſentiments ſo thoroughly in his mind, as not to be ſenſible of any prior obligation. But that he muſt originally have read Duchal is plain from the ſimilarity of method as well as in the general train of thinking.

Dr. Duchal is ſaid to have been the Author of various occaſional publications, both in Ireland and in England (*i*). In England we apprehend that nothing was printed by him, excepting three Sermons, before mentioned. What the tracts were which were written by him in Ireland we are not able to aſcertain. They probably related to the controverſies of the times, which were principally concerning the Trinity, Subſcription to Articles of Religion, and the Teſt-Act.

(*i*) Eſſay, ubi ſupra, p. 17.

In one of the Volumes of the Theological Repoſitory, is publiſhed an Eſſay of our Author's on the Influence of the Death of Chriſt.]

K.

*** [DUCK (STEPHEN), a Poet, who, by the force of unaſſiſted abilities, raiſed himſelf from a low ſtation to a conſiderable degree of temporary celebrity, was born in the beginning of the preſent century. Who and what his parents were is, from their humble condition, not recorded; and his Biographers have been ſo inattentive, as not to mention either the place of his birth, or the County in which he drew his firſt breath. It is, however, well known that he was a native of Wiltſhire. Originally he had no other inſtruction than what enabled him to read and write in his mother-tongue; and as Arithmetic is generally joined with this degree of learning, ſome little knowledge of it was acquired by him. When he was nearly fourteen years of age he was taken from ſchool, and was afterwards ſucceſſively engaged in the ſeveral loweſt employments of a country life. He was a labouring huſbandman, and when he came into notice was univerſally diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the Threſher. In the courſe of his laborious occupations he almoſt forgot all the arithmetic he had formerly learnt. Nevertheleſs, he ſometimes read, and thought oftener. He retained a ſtrong inclination for knowledge, and began to be particularly uneaſy when he reflected on his want of education, and eſpecially that he ſhould have loſt any thing of what had been taught him at ſchool. Theſe ſentiments ſo much occupied his mind, that at laſt he determined to try his own ſtrength, and, if poſſible, to recover his Arithmetic again. When he formed this deſign he was married and at ſervice; he had little time to ſpare; he had no books, and no money to procure any; notwithſtanding which he reſolved to proceed. Accordingly, he uſed to work more than other labourers, and by that means got ſome little matter added to his pay. With this overplus, which was at his own diſpoſal, he bought firſt a book of vulgar Arithmetic, then one of decimal, and a third of meaſuring of land, of all which he made himſelf a tolerable maſter, in the hours he could ſteal from his ſleep, after the labours of the day (*a*).

(*a*) Account of the author, by Mr. Spence, prefixed to Duck's Poems. p. xviii. xix. Third Edition.

In a ſituation ſo unfavourable to improvement, and particularly to the opportunities of converſation, Stephen Duck had the good fortune to meet with one friend who was animated with the ſame deſire of knowledge. This friend, had been for two or three years in a ſervice at London, had acquired an inclination for reading, and had purchaſed ſome books, which he had brought down with him into the country. Of his ſmall library Stephen had always the uſe. The two friends, when they could get a little time for it, uſed to talk and read together, by which they mutually improved each other. As they were both of them endued with natural good ſenſe, it would have been an agreeable circumſtance to have been concealed within hearing, when they were in the midſt of ſome of their moſt knotty debates.

It will probably be acceptable to our readers to know of what books their library conſiſted. They had Milton, the Spectator, and Seneca, which were Stephen Duck's firſt favourites. His next favourites were Telemachus, another piece of Fenelon's, and Addiſon's Defence of Chriſtianity. They had an Engliſh Dictionary, a kind of Engliſh Grammar, an Ovid, and a Byſhe's Art of Poetry. Seneca's Morals had made the name of L'Eſtrange dear to them; and this was probably the occaſion of their getting his Joſephus in folio, which was the largeſt purchaſe in their collection. They had one volume of Shakſpeare, containing ſeven of his plays. Stephen had read, beſides theſe, three or four other plays; and ſome parts of Epictetus, Waller, Dryden's Virgil, Prior, Hudibras, Tom Brown, and the London Spy.

With theſe aſſiſtances Stephen Duck became ſomething of a Poet, and ſomething of a Philoſopher. From his infancy he had a caſt in his mind towards poetry. He delighted in verſes and in ſinging, and felt ſtrange emotions on the top performances of the little choir of ſongſters in a country Chancel. The firſt time of his hearing an organ was mentioned by him as a remarkable epocha of his life. He ſoon became a pretty good judge of a muſical line, ſo as to feel the harmony of it in his own mind; but his pronunciation of it was by no means correſpondent to his inward ſenſations.

The circumſtance, that firſt gave him a higher taſte of poetry than he had hitherto acquired, was his accidentally meeting with Milton's "Paradiſe Loſt." Stephen read it over twice or thrice with a Dictionary, before he could thoroughly underſtand its language. Indeed, he appears to have gotten his Engliſh as others get Latin. The "Paradiſe Loſt" was ſtudied by him as thoſe who have a liberal education ſtudy the claſſics; and the new beauties in that poem, which were continually opening upon his mind, rendered his labour eaſy and pleaſant. All the day he worked for his maſter, and ſet to his books at night. The pains he took to improve himſelf were almoſt incredible, and he was ſucceſsful beyond what could have been expected. At length he underſtood ſome of the great and deeper beauties of the "Paradiſe Loſt" tolerably well; and could even point out ſeveral of thoſe particular excellences of it which it required a good nice eye to diſcover. By his friend he was helped to the volumes of the Spectator, which they read often together and often by themſelves.

Stephen uſed frequently to carry them with him to his work; and, when he did ſo, his method was to labour harder than any body elſe, that he might get half an hour to read a Spectator, without injuring his maſter. By this practice he was accuſtomed to ſit down all over ſweat and heat, without regard to his own health, and often to its prejudice. His conduct in this reſpect exhibits a beautiful inſtance of honeſty and induſtry united. Nothing improved him ſo much as the reading of the Spectator. The copies of verſes ſcattered in that performance helped on his natural bent that way, and made him try whether he could not do ſomething of the ſame kind. Sometimes he turned his own thoughts into verſe, whilſt he was at work; and at laſt he ventured to commit his thoughts to paper. What he did of this ſort was very inconſiderable; and as there was no one near him that cared for verſes, nor any perſon who could tell him whether they were good or bad, he generally flung them into the fire, when he had ſufficiently pleaſed himſelf with peruſing them (*b*).

(*b*) Account of the Author, &c. p. xix—xxiv.

Whatever care Stephen Duck took to burn theſe little pieces, his writing of them could not be concealed. The thing took air; and Stephen, who had before the reputation among the country-people of being a ſcholar, was now ſaid to be able to make verſes likewiſe. This circumſtance being accidentally mentioned before a young gentleman from Oxford, he ſent for Stephen, and, after ſome converſation with him, deſired him to write him a letter in verſe. That letter is the Epiſtle which ſtood laſt in the firſt edition of Duck's poems, but which now more properly ſtands at the beginning of the later impreſſions. It was the firſt whole copy of verſes that he ever wrote; and, happening to fall into the hands of ſome clergy in the neighbourhood, they were ſo well pleaſed with it that they were led to enquire particularly concerning the author, whom, upon examination, they found to be a man who had a good deal of merit. Accordingly, they made him ſome preſents, which, as things then ſtood, were of great ſervice to him; and they zealouſly encouraged him to go on in his mental exertions. One clergyman in particular, the Reverend Mr. Stanley, made his life more comfortable as ſoon as he knew him (*c*).

(*c*) Ibid. p. xxv. Preface, p. xiv. Poems, p. 7.

Stephen Duck, being thus patronized, proceeded with greater courage in his poetical career. As he had before written ſome ſcattered verſes on poverty, he now carried on his thoughts on the ſubject, and completed it as we have it in the printed collection. Little, however, can be ſaid in praiſe of the Poem. The compoſition next in order was that upon his own labours. The ſubject was propoſed to him by Mr. Stanley, to whom the piece is inſcribed. It is entitled "The Threſher's Labour," and is ſuperior in merit to any thing which Stephen had before written. There is ſomething not amiſs in the lines which deſcribe the dulneſs of the employment of threſhing.

"Nor yet, the tedious labour to beguile,
"And make the paſſing minutes ſweetly ſmile,
"Can we, like ſhepherds, tell a merry tale;
"The voice is loſt, drown'd by the louder flail.
"But we may think—alas! what pleaſing thing,
"Here, to the mind, can the dull fancy bring?
"Our eye beholds no pleaſing object here,
"No cheerful ſound diverts our liſtening ear.
"The ſhepherd well may tune his voice to ſing,
"Inſpir'd with all the beauties of the Spring.
"No fountains murmur here, no lambkins play,
"No linnets warble, and no fields look gay;
"'Tis all a gloomy, melancholy ſcene,
"Fit only to provoke the Muſe's ſpleen.
"When ſooty peas we threſh, you ſcarce can know
"Our native colour, as from work we go:
"The ſweat, the duſt, and ſuffocating ſmoke,
"Make us ſo much like Ethiopians look,

"We

" We ſcare our wives, when ev'ning brings us home;
" And frighted infants think the bugbear come (*d*)."

(*d*) Duck's Poems, ubi ſupra, p. 9, 10.

A performance ſtill more conſiderable was undertaken by Stephen Duck at the requeſt of Mrs. Stanley. This was "The Shunamite," which exceeded his former productions, and from the appearance of which may be dated the æra of his riſing in character and circumſtances. Now it was that perſons of diſtinction began to ſend for him different ways. In ſhort, it got him fame enough to be pretty troubleſome to him at firſt; though the matter ended in a more proſperous ſettlement of him and his affairs than could ever have originally been expected. At the period we are ſpeaking of, he was particularly indebted to a clergyman of Wincheſter. This gentleman, after giving Stephen ſeveral teſtimonies of his bounty and goodneſs, preſented his firſt poetical Eſſays to a lady of quality attending on the Queen, who acquainted her Majeſty with the ingenuity and low condition of the author (*e*). So well pleaſed was Queen Catharine with the intellectual endeavours of the threſher, that ſhe took him under her protection, and ſettled upon him, ſome ſay, thirty pounds a year, but we have always underſtood it to be fifty. Nor was her Majeſty's benevolence confined to this circumſtance; for it was, no doubt, in conſequence of her diſpoſition in favour of Stephen Duck, that, in April 1733, he was made one of the Yeomen of the Guards (*f*). Another advantage which he derived from the patronage of the Queen, was his obtaining a large ſubſcription to a quarto edition of his poems, publiſhed in 1736. In his dedication of them he thus expreſſes his gratitude to his patroneſs: "The great honour your Majeſty has done me, " in giving me leave to prefix your royal name to the following poems, does not en- " courage me to preſume they are worthy to be laid at your feet on any other account, " but only as they are an humble tribute of duty, offered from a thankful heart to a " gracious benefactreſs. Your Majeſty has indeed the ſame right to them, as you have " to the fruits of a tree, which you have tranſplanted out of a barren ſoil into a fertile " and beautiful garden. It was your generoſity which brought me out of obſcurity, " and ſtill condeſcends to protect me; like the Supreme Being, who continually ſup- " ports the meaneſt creatures which his goodneſs has produced."

(*e*) Spence's Account, p. xxvi. Preface to the Poems, p. xiv.

(*f*) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. iii. p. 216.

The notice taken by the Queen of Stephen Duck could not eſcape the ridicule of thoſe wits who were adverſe to the court. Several alluſions to the ſubject occur in the writings of the times; and Swift, in particular, was very ſevere upon the occaſion. Perhaps he might be piqued at this generoſity in the Queen, while his own friends were neglected. Whatever was his motive, he wrote the following quibbling epigram, as he calls it, " On Stephen Duck, the Threſher and favourite Poet:".

" The Threſher Duck could o'er the Queen prevail;
" The proverb ſays, 'No fence againſt a flail.'
" From threſhing corn, he turns to threſh his brains,
" For which her Majeſty allows him grains.
" Though 'tis confeſs'd, that thoſe, who ever ſaw
" His poems, think them all not worth a ſtraw.
" Thrice happy Duck, employed in threſhing ſtubble!
" Thy toil is leſſen'd, and thy profit's double (g)."

(g) New Univerſal Dictionary, vol. iv. P. 533.

Another copy of verſes, which we remember to have been written about the ſame period, was leſs ſatirical:

" Old Homer, though a bard divine,
" If not by fame belied,
" Stroll'd about Greeee, old ballads ſung,
" A beggar liv'd and died.

" Fam'd Milton too, our Britiſh bard,
" Who as divinely wrote,
" Sung like an angel, but in vain;
" He died not worth a groat.

" Thrice happy Duck! a milder fate
" Thy genius does attend;
" Well haſt thou threſh'd thy barn and brains,
" To make a queen thy friend."

From ſome imitations of Horace, and one of Claudian, which are inſerted in Mr. Duck's collection of poems, it appears that, ſo early as in 1736, he had applied himſelf to the cultivation of the Latin language; and ſuch was the progreſs which he at length made in literature, that he was deemed qualified to be admitted to holy orders. This

This event took place in June, 1746, when, if our information be accurate, he was ordained prieſt (*b*). We believe it was a number of years before this, and indeed in the Queen's life-time, that he was appointed keeper of her Majeſty's ſelect library at Richmond, called Merlin's Cave, probably with an additional ſalary, certainly with the advantage of ſuitable apartments, which were continued to his daughter after his deceaſe. What immediate preferment Mr. Duck obtained after his ordination, we are not able to aſcertain; but we find that in Auguſt, 1751, he was promoted to be preacher at Kew Chapel (*i*). It is ſaid that he employed himſelf as diligently in making Sermons as Poems, and that in the pulpit he was much followed by the people (*k*). In January, 1752, he was preferred to the rectory of Byfleet, in Surrey; a living of conſiderable value (*l*). The laſt production of Mr. Duck's, with which we are acquainted, was a poem of conſiderable length, entituled, "Cæſar's Camp, or, St. George's Hill." It appeared in the latter end of 1754, and is in the manner of Denham's "Cooper's Hill, being, "in ſome meaſure, an imitation of that celebrated work." There are in it ſeveral deſcriptions and paſſages not unworthy of approbation. Mr. Duck, after continuing rector of Byfleet ſomewhat more than four years, fell into a dejection of ſpirits, and, in a fit of inſanity ariſing from the diſorder, drowned himſelf at Reading, in Berkſhire. The accounts before me ſay, that he flung himſelf into the Thames, from a bridge near that town (*m*): but this was not the caſe. I know, from particular enquiry, made near the time, that he was drowned in a trout-ſtream which runs at the back of the Black-Lion Inn, at Reading; and I have ſeen the very ſpot where he met with his unhappy fate. This event took place between the thirtieth of March and the ſecond of April, 1756 (*n*).

(*b*) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xvi. p. 329.

(*i*) Ibid. vol. xxi. p. 381.

(*k*) New Univerſal Dictionary, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxii. p. 45.

(*m*) New Univerſal Dictionary, ubi ſupra, p. 534. Supplement to Biographia Britannica, p. 43.

(*n*) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxvi. p. 206.

The writers of the New Univerſal Dictionary conclude their account of Mr. Duck with the following reflection. "In the preface to his "Poems," he makes his acknow-"ledgments to ſome gentlemen, "who firſt took notice of him in the midſt of poverty "and labour." What thoſe gentlemen did was highly generous and praiſe-worthy, and "it was but gratitude in Stephen to acknowledge it: yet it is more than probable, "that if he had been ſuffered to paſs the remainder of his life, after he had paſſed ſo "much of it, in poverty and labour, he had not only miſſed the unhappy end he "came to, but alſo been a ſtranger to many years of melancholy and miſery which pre-"ceded it; ſince it may all be reaſonably imputed to the want of that exerciſe and "labour, to which he had been accuſtomed from his earlieſt youth (*o*)." It is by no means certain that theſe remarks are well founded. We have not a ſufficient account of Mr. Duck's dejection of ſpirits, to be able to aſſign the cauſe from which it proceeded. To ſay that he endured many years of melancholy and miſery before his death, ſeems to be aſſerted without a ſhadow of proof. Neither is there any reaſon to believe, conſidering the activity of his mind, that it would have been poſſible for him to have remained contented in that low ſphere of life in which he was originally placed. An idea prevailed, at the time of his deceaſe, that he fancied himſelf not to be ſufficiently provided for; and, if that was the caſe, he had formed a falſe eſtimate of his own merit. But perhaps there was no real ground for the ſuggeſtion.

(*o*) New Univerſal Dictionary, ubi ſupra.

As a poet, Stephen Duck is far from ſuſtaining a high rank; and yet it might be queſtioned whether he is not nearly upon a level with ſome who have obtained a place in Dr. Johnſon's collection. In ſimilies he is frequent, and not unhappy in the application of them. Though never great, he is often not unpleaſing. In ſhort, he may be regarded as having become a poet more from the bent of a ſtrong inclination, and an imitative talent, than from the power of real genius.

The perſonal character of Mr. Duck appears to have been very reſpectable. There are evident traces in his writings of an upright and pious mind; and he always ſpeaks of his poetical productions with great humility. His gratitude to his benefactors breaks out on many occaſions; and with one ſpecimen of it, addreſſed to Mr. Stanley, we ſhall conclude the article.

"O STANLEY! if, forgetful of thy love,
"I e'er to gratitude rebellious prove,
"Still may I want a friend, but never find!
"May FORTUNE, PHOEBUS, STANLEY, prove unkind (*p*)."]

K.

(*p*) Duck's Poems, ubi ſupra, p. 155.

DUDLEY, the ſurname of a noble family in England, formerly Viſcounts L'Iſle, Earls of Warwick and Leiceſter, and Dukes of Northumberland (*a*). In order to give the reader a clear and diſtinct account of this great Houſe, concerning which many of our beſt writers have fallen into palpable errors, it is requiſite to obſerve, that this ſurname was taken from the caſtle of Dudley, and aſſumed, as the antient cuſtom of England was, by the younger children of the Barons of that place (*b*). This caſtle ſtands upon the very edge of Staffordſhire, on the ſummit of a lofty rock, affording a free and pleaſant

(*a*) See Milles, Brook, Vincent, Dugdale.

(*b*) Of which there are many inſtances, as particularly in Touchet Lord Audley, the younger ſon's taking the name of Audley.

pleaſant proſpect over a vaſt extent of country (*c*). So much as remains of it (for, in ſpite of the injuries of time, and of men far leſs merciful, there are ſtill ſome remains) may claim the honour of being part of one of the oldeſt fortreſſes in this iſland (*d*). Dudo, an Engliſh Saxon, beſtowed his name upon it about the year 700 (*e*). At the time of the Norman Conqueſt it was granted to a Norman Baron, whoſe name was Fitz-Auſculph (*f*), but did not remain long in his family; for, the daughter of William Fitz-Auſculph being married to Fulk Paganel, brought with her the inheritance of Dudley-Caſtle, which deſcended to her ſon Ralph Paganel, who took up arms for the Empreſs Maud againſt King Stephen (*g*). His ſon Gervaſe Paganel married Iſabel, daughter to Robert Earl of Leiceſter, by whom he had a daughter Hawiſe, who was firſt married to John de Somery, and afterwards to Roger de Berkeley, of Berkeley-Caſtle (*b*). Her ſon by the firſt marriage, Ralph de Somery, was Baron of Dudley in right of his mother, and flouriſhed in the reign of Richard I. The male heirs of this family ended in John de Somery, who died in the fifteenth of Edward II. leaving his ſiſters, Margaretta and Joan, coheireſſes. The eldeſt of theſe ſiſters, Margaret, married Sir John Sutton, of the antient Saxon family of Sutton in Nottinghamſhire, who became, in her right, Baron of Dudley (*i*). This noble perſon, taking part with Thomas Earl of Lancaſter againſt the evil Miniſters of Edward II. was compelled, in order to ſave his life, to convey all his right and title in the caſtle and manor of Dudley, and many other large eſtates, to Hugh le Deſpencer, ſon to Hugh Earl of Wincheſter; but, in the firſt of Edward III. he obtained reſtitution of them all (*k*). His ſon John married Iſabel, daughter to John de Charlton, Lord of Powis, by whom he had a ſon named John, concerning whom there occurs little either in Records or Hiſtory, except that he inherited a great eſtate from his grandmother (*l*). He died in the eighth of Henry IV. leaving a ſon of the ſame name, who was then five years of age, and who carried the ſtandard at the ſolemn funeral of Henry V. (*m*). He was in great favour with King Henry VI. or rather with his uncle the good Duke of Glouceſter, by whom he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and ſworn into that high office in the month of January, 1428 (*n*). According to Sir William Dugdale's account, this noble perſon was honoured with many other high employments in that reign, and lived much beyond it; of which there is ſome reaſon to doubt, ſince we have the poſitive authority of Sir Philip Sydney to the contrary (*o*), who ſeems to have been well acquainted with, and to have taken great pains about, the genealogy of his family. It is therefore highly probable, that his ſon John Sutton, Baron of Dudley (*p*), ſucceeded him in that title pretty early in that reign, and was employed in many great affairs during the continuance of it, and particularly in an embaſſy to France, where he was attended by Leon d'Or, a Purſuivant of his own (*q*). After his return he obtained ſeveral large grants from the Crown, was advanced to be Treaſurer of the King's houſehold, and, in the 39th year of his reign, was elected one of the Knights Companions of the moſt noble Order of the Garter (*r*). After the acceſſion of King Edward IV. he grew likewiſe into great favour with that Prince, and, in the very firſt year of his reign, obtained a ſpecial diſcharge, under the Broad Seal, for all ſuch ſums of money as might be due and owing from him on account of the poſt he held in the former reign (*s*). In the fourth year of the ſame King he obtained a grant of one hundred marks *per annum*, out of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, for his great integrity, and in conſideration of his large expences in the King's ſervice; and the year following had another grant of one hundred pounds a year for life, out of the cuſtoms of the port of Southampton (*t*). He was alſo employed, together with the Earl of Arundel, and other noble perſons, to treat with the French King for a continuance of peace, and intruſted in many other affairs of great conſequence by his royal maſter (*u*). Sir William Dugdale was of opinion, that he died towards the cloſe of that reign, and mentions his being ſucceeded in his barony by his grandſon John, who, he aſſures us, was ſummoned to Parliament the firſt of Richard III (*w*). It is however evident, from the Regiſter of the Order of the Garter, that the old Lord lived not only through that reign, but even ſo low as that of Henry VII (*x*), and that there was never ſuch grandſon as Sir William Dugdale, miſled by more antient writers, ſuppoſes [*A*]. On the contrary, this John Sutton,

(*c*) Plot's Natural Hiſtory of Staffordſhire, ch. x. §. 27.

(*d*) Camden's Britan. in Staffordſhire.

(*e*) Dugdal. Monaſt. Anglican. Vol. II. p. 122.

(*f*) Camden's Britan. in Staffordſhire.

(*g*) Liber niger Scaccarii, p. 62.

(*b*) Dugdal. Monaſt. Anglican. Vol. II. p. 912. *a*. n. 30.

(*i*) Clauſ. 19 E. II. in Dorſo, m. 27.

(*k*) Clauſ. 1 E. III. p. 1. m. 7.

(*l*) Lib. cedul. 2 H. IV. p. 17.

(*m*) Hollingſhed, p. 584, *a*. n. 20.

(*n*) This appears from the table of chief Governors of Ireland, collected from Records publiſhed in Sir James Ware's Works.

(*o*) In his Remarks on a libel againſt Robert Earl of Leiceſter, his uncle.

(*p*) This may be collected from what appears on record as to his ſon Edmund Sutton Lord Dudley.

(*q*) Exit. Pell. m. 25 H. 6.

(*r*) Anſtis's Regiſter of the Garter, Vol. II. p. 163.

(*s*) Pat. 1 E. IV. p. 1. m. 10.

(*t*) Pat. 4 E. IV. p. 1. m. 10. P. 4 E. IV. p. 2. m. 29.

(*u*) Rot. Franc. 17 E. IV. m. 2.

(*w*) Baronage, Vol. II. p. 216.

(*x*) Anſtis's Regiſter of the Garter, Vol. II. p. 230, 231.

[*A*] *As Sir William Dugdale, miſled by more antient writers, ſuppoſes.*] It is a point that enters ſtrictly within the plan of this work, and muſt at the ſame time be of much public utility, to correct, where it can be done, the genealogies of great families, more eſpecially when the miſtakes about them receive countenance from authors of great character. This happens to be the caſe of the Suttons, Barons of Dudley, whoſe ſucceſſion the learned Sir William Dugdale found recorded in the Heralds books, particularly in the collections of Glover, who was a man of great reputation; and to theſe he laboured, as well as he could, to reconcile the circumſtances he met with in the patent rolls, and thoſe of Parliament. Now, there being great miſtakes in thoſe collections, it was impoſſible that Sir William Dugdale, reducing the facts he met with to theſe erroneous pedigrees, ſhould fail of adding to the miſtakes, as we ſhall plainly prove he did: but firſt let us ſee what that great man has ſaid.

After obſerving that John Sutton Baron of Dudley, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Sir John Berkeley, and widow of the Lord Powis, had iſſue three ſons, Edmund,

Sutton, Lord Dudley, was appointed, by King Edward V. which is very remarkable, to hold the feaſt of St. George at Windſor; which he accordingly did on the 24th of May 1483 (*y*). He was alſo preſent in a Chapter of the Order held in King Richard the Third's palace in Weſtminſter, in the firſt year of his reign. In the third year of King Henry VII. the feaſt of St. George being held with extraordinary ſolemnity, and offerings then made for the Knights Companions deceaſed, according to the cuſtom of the Order, we find the ſword of John Lord Dudley, or, as they ſpelt it in thoſe days, Dudely, offered by the Earl of Shrewſbury and the Lord Denham (*z*). This noble perſon eſpouſed Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Berkeley, of Beverſton in the county of Glouceſter, Knight, by whom he had iſſue three ſons and one daughter; his eldeſt ſon Edmund Sutton (*a*), from whom the Barons Dudley deſcended; which title remains to our times, as will be ſhewn in the notes [*B*]; William, who became, in proceſs

(*y*) Liber niger Ordin. Priſcil. p. 155.

(*z*) Anſtis's Regiſter of the Garter, Vol. II. p. 231.

(*a*) Baronagium Angliæ, fol. 21.

(1) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 216.

(2) Rot. Franc. 7 Ed. IV. m. 12.

(3) Pat. 13 E. IV. p. 1. m. 1.

Edmund, John, and William, and a daughter Margaret (1), in which he is certainly right, he proceeds thus: "Which Edmund, in 7 Edward IV. being then 'a Knight, accompanied (2) John Earl of Worceſter, 'Deputy to George Duke of Clarence, Lieutenant of 'Ireland, into that realm, for the ſafeguard thereof: 'and the thirteenth of the ſame reign, in conſideration of his expences (3) in the King's ſervice, as 'well in this realm as in Ireland, obtained the ſtewardſhip of the manor of Aberbury in the county of 'Salop, then in the King's diſpoſal, by reaſon of the 'minority of George, ſon and heir to John Earl of 'Shrewſbury, but died in his father's life-time, leaving iſſue by Joyce, his firſt wife, ſiſter and co-heir to 'John Tiptoft Earl of Worceſter, John his ſon and 'heir, as alſo four other ſons, viz. Arthur, Geoffry, 'Thomas, and George, and a daughter called Alianore, married to Charles Somerſet Earl of Worceſter: 'and by Maud his ſecond wife, daughter of Thomas, 'who married ———, daughter and co-heir to 'Lancelot Threlkeld of Gerworth, and Richard a 'Clerk: as alſo four daughters, viz. Joyce, married 'to William Middleton, of Stokkelde in the county 'of York, Eſq; Margaret to Edward Lord Powis; 'Alice to Sir John Ratcliffe, of Ordſale in the county 'of Lancaſter, Knight; and Dorothy, to Sir John 'Ratcliffe, of Ordſale in the county of Lancaſter, 'Knight; and Dorothy, to Sir John Muſgrave, 'Knight (4). Which John, in the firſt of Richard III. 'obtained a grant to himſelf, and the heirs male of 'his body of the manors of Derlaſton, Bentley, Titteſovre, Hetwel Pakynton, and Newton in the 'Moors, *in com.* Stafford, Bruggenorth in the county 'of Salop, and Rokeby, in the county of Warwick. 'And by his teſtament, bearing date the 17th of Auguſt *anno* 1487 (2 Hen. VII. (5)) he bequeathed his 'body to be buried (6) within the priory of St. James 'at Dudley, appointing that a tomb ſhould be ſet over 'his grave. Alſo that twenty-four new torches ſhould 'be lighted during the performance of divine ſervice 'at his funeral; likewiſe that every Prieſt or religious 'perſon coming thereto ſhould have four-pence, and 'every Clerk ſinging three-pence. Moreover, that 'twenty marks in money ſhould be diſpoſed in alms 'the ſame day, and on the morrow, to poor people to 'pray for his ſoul, and for the ſoul of his wife and all 'their friends. Furthermore, that a thouſand maſſes 'ſhould be ſaid for him ſo ſoon as poſſible after his 'burial, which maſſes to coſt ſixteen pounds thirteen 'ſhillings, and four-pence. And having been ſummoned to Parliament (7) from the firſt of Richard III. 'till the third of Henry VII. died ſoon after, leaving 'iſſue by (8) Cecily his wife, daughter of Sir William 'Willughby, Knt. Edward his ſon and heir, Knight 'of the moſt noble Order of the Garter (9), elected 'ſhortly after the beginning of King Henry VIIIth's 'reign: and ſummoned to Parliament from the (10) 'ſeventh of Henry VII. to the twenty-firſt of Henry 'VIII. inclusive.'

(4) Ex Col. R. Gl. 8.

(5) Pat. 1 R. III. p. 3.

(6) Miles, qu. 8.

(7) Clauſ. de iiſd. ann. in dorſo.

(8) Ex coll. R. Gl. 8.

(9) Inſtit. &c. of the Garter, per. E. A.

(10) Clauſ. de iiſd. ann. in dorſo.

The firſt error that occurs in this account is, that Edmund did not die in the life-time of his father John, Baron of Dudley, but ſucceeded him in that honour. The next, that by his wife Joyce he was not father of any of the children mentioned by Dugdale, but had by her an only ſon whom he does not mention, viz. Edward, who ſucceeded him in the barony, and was Knight of the Garter, whom Dugdale makes his grandſon. As to the children by the ſecond marriage they are right, except the firſt, whoſe name was Jane and not Joyce. With reſpect to the grants made to, and the will made by, John Lord Sutton, ſon to Edmund, they really relate to his father; and whereas he ſays, that this John married Cecily, daughter to Sir William Willughby, the truth is, that Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley, ſon of Edmund Lord Dudley, married that Lady, and had by her John Sutton Lord Dudley, and alſo a daughter Eleanor, who married Charles Somerſet Earl of Worceſter, which Lady, Dugdale makes to have been the daughter of Edmund Sutton Lord Dudley, by his firſt wife. Theſe facts are ſet right from a manuſcript Peerage of England written in the year 1596 (11); and that they are really ſet right will appear hence; that, whereas Dugdale makes John, Baron of Dudley, ſon to Edmund, deceaſe in the beginning of the reign of Henry VII. it is evident beyond all contradiction from the regiſter of that moſt noble Order, this was John Sutton Lord Dudley (12), Knight of the Garter, not the ſon, but the father, of Edmund. The reaſon of theſe miſtakes was this: Sir William Dugdale was perſuaded, that John Sutton, Baron of Dudley, who was born in the third year of Henry IV. was Knight of the Garter in the reign of Henry VI. and father to Edmund Sutton; whereas, in truth, he was his grandfather by another John whom he does not mention at all. Farther ſtill, whereas Dugdale ſays that John Sutton married Cecily, daughter of Sir William Willughby, Knt. and had by her Edward his ſon and heir; whereas the manuſcript before cited ſays, that Edward Lord Dudley married that Lady, and had by her a ſon John and a daughter Alianore, we can prove from Sir William Dugdale himſelf, that the account in the manuſcript is right, and his own is wrong; for, ſpeaking of Charles Somerſet Earl of Worceſter, he tells us, that his third wife was Eleanor, daughter of Edward Lord Dudley (13), and not John Lord Dudley, as ſet forth in the article of that noble family. But, notwithſtanding theſe miſtakes, and thoſe that have been diſcovered by others, his work is truly valuable, ſince, before it appeared, we had nothing upon the ſubject in any degree worthy of it, and we ſhould have had, in all probability, nothing worthy of it yet, if Sir William Dugdale's labours had never appeared; but the moſt diligent and careful man living may be miſled if he truſts to bad guides, or if he travels at a time when none but bad guides are to be had.

(11) Baronagium Angliæ, magnatum ſcilicet illius Regni ſtemmata recentiora, ad conſanguinitates, affinitatesque, per intermixta connubia diſcernendas delineata. Fol.

(12) Anſtis's Regiſter of the Order of the Garter, Vol. II. p. 231.

(13) Boronage, Vol. II. p. 294.

[*B*] *As will be ſhewn in the notes.*] In the former note we have ſhewn that Edward Lord Dudley, by Cecily his wife, had iſſue John, his ſon and heir, who married Cecily daughter of Thomas Gray, Marquis of Dorſet, by whom he had his ſon and ſucceſſor, Edward Lord Dudley (14), who was in great favour with Queen Mary (15), and who deceaſed July 4, 1586: He married, firſt, Catharine, daughter to the Lord Chandos, by whom he had an only daughter (16); ſecondly, Jane, daughter to the Earl of Derby, by whom he had two ſons, Edward and John; and, thirdly, he married Mary, daughter to William Lord Howard of Effingham (17). His ſon Edward, Lord Dudley, eſpouſed Theodoſia, daughter of Sir James Harrington, Knight, by whom he had a ſon, Ferdinando, and three daughters; Mary, married to James Earl of Hume, in Scotland; Anne, who was the wife of Baron Schomberg, and the mother of the great Marſhal Schomberg; and Margaret, who married Sir Miles Hobart, Knight of the Bath (18). As for his ſon

(14) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 720.

(15) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 34.

(16) Baronagium Angliæ, fol. 21.

(17) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 216.

(18) Idem, ibid.

ceſs of time, Biſhop of Durham, and died in 1483 (*b*), was the youngeſt ſon; Margaret his daughter married Sir George Lougueville, of Little Billing in the county of Northampton, Knight. The ſecond ſon of this noble Peer was Sir John Dudley, Knight, who married Elizabeth, one of the two daughters of Sir John Bramſhot, of Bramſhot in the county of Suſſex, Knight (*c*), and by her he had only one ſon Edmund, of whom in the next article.

(*b*) Godwin, de præſulib. P. ii. p. 135.

(*c*) Baronagium Angliæ, fol. 21.

ſon Ferdinando, he was made Knight of the Bath at the creation of Henry Prince of Wales, and eſpouſing Honora daughter to the Lord Beauchamp, and granddaughter to the earl of Hertford, had iſſue by her an only daughter, Frances (19). He died November 22, 1621, in his father's life-time. The old Baron of Dudley, being a man of very diſſolute life, ruined the large eſtate which deſcended to him from his anceſtors, and to repair it married his grand-daughter Frances to Humble Ward, Eſq; (20), the ſon of a rich Goldſmith of London, deſcended from the ancient family of the Wards, in Norfolk. This gentleman adhering ſteadily to his Sovereign, King Charles the Firſt, in all his troubles, was by him knighted at Oxford, June 24, 1643, and on the 23d of March, the ſame year, was created Baron Ward of Birmingham, in the County of Warwick, and in that year, likewiſe, deceaſed the old Lord Dudley, by which the honour deſcended to Lady Ward (21). Humble, Lord Ward, died October 4, 1670, having had iſſue three ſons and four daughters; Edward, the eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded in the honour and eſtate, John died an infant, and William, the third ſon, ſettled at Willingſworth in the County of Stafford (22). Edward, Lord Ward, became, a very little before his death, Lord Dudley, by the deceaſe of his mother in 1701; by his Lady Frances, daughter of Sir William Brereton of Cheſhire, Baronet, and ſole heireſs to her brother, he had three ſons, John, William, and Ferdinand, and three daughters; the eldeſt and youngeſt of his ſons died unmarried, William, the ſecond ſon, married Frances, daughter of Thomas Dilkes, Eſq; by whom he had three ſons and a daughter, Frances, who married William Lea, Eſq; of Hales Owen, in the County of Salop, and died in the life-time of his father; upon the demiſe therefore of Edward, Lord Dudley and Ward, the titles deſcended to the eldeſt ſon of William, beforementioned: which Edward Lord Dudley and Ward married Dianna, daughter of Thomas Howard of Aſhſted, in the County of Surrey, Eſq; and dying March 28, 1704, under age, left his Lady big with child of a ſon, who was Edward Lord Dudley and Ward. He dying September 6, 1731, unmarried, his honours and eſtate devolved upon his uncle William, ſon to William Ward, Eſq; ſecond ſon to Edward, firſt Lord Dudley and Ward, and he dying unmarried, the title of Dudley deſcended to Ferdinando Dudley Lea, ſon of Frances, daughter of William Ward, Eſq; beforementioned (23). As for the barony of Ward, it deſcended to John Ward of Sedgley Park in the county of Stafford, Eſq; grandſon of William Ward of Willinſworth, third ſon of Humble, firſt Lord Ward of Birmingham. C,

(19) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 32.

(20) Dugdale's Baronage. Vol. II. p. 217.

(21) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 32.

(22) Dugdale's Baronage Vol. II. p. 472.

(23) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 34.

*** [The remark of our ingenious predeceſſor, that it is a point which enters ſtrictly within the plan of this work to correct the genealogies of great families, muſt be taken with ſome degree of limitation. There are, indeed, inſtances in which ſuch a conduct may be proper; and, when they occur, a due attention ſhould be paid to them. If it was neceſſary to give at all the account of the Dudley family which is here given, it was expedient to ſpecify Sir William Dugdale's Miſtakes: but, in general, it is not deſirable to turn the Biographia into a peerage. Nice diſquiſitions of this kind rather belong to the works peculiarly appropriated to the ſubject. The detail in note B might have been omitted without any apparent diſadvantage, as it only collaterally relates to the Dudleys whoſe lives are ſucceſſively recorded.] K.

DUDLEY (EDMUND), a celebrated Lawyer, and able Stateſman, in the reign of Henry VII. He was, as we have before informed the reader, the grandſon of John Sutton, Baron of Dudley, and Knight of the Garter, by his ſecond ſon Sir John Dudley (*a*); and, therefore, the malicious reports of his being the ſon of a Mechanick, and that the whole ſtory of his deſcent was a fable, framed by his ſon's flatterers in the time of his greatneſs, though adopted by ſome authors of reputation, is equally groundleſs and ridiculous (*b*) [*A*]. He was born ſome time in the year 1462, in the ſecond year of the reign

(*a*) Baronagium Angliæ, fol. 21.

(*b*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, 2d edit. Vol. I. p. 420.

[*A*] *Is equally groundleſs and ridiculous.*] We cannot ſet this matter in a clearer light than by giving the reader what the famous Dr. Fuller has ſaid upon this ſubject (1). 'Edmund Dudley, Eſq. ſays he 'was ſon to John Dudley, Eſq. ſecond ſon to John 'Sutton firſt Baron of Dudley, as a learned Antiquary 'hath beheld his pedigree derived. But his deſcent is 'controverted by many, condemned by ſome, who 'have raiſed a report that John, father to this Edmund, was but a Carpenter, born in Dudley town, '(and therefore called John Dudley), who, travelling 'ſouthward to find work for his trade, lived at Lewes 'in Suſſex, where they will have this Edmund born, 'and, for the pregnancy of his parts, brought up by 'the Abbot of Lewes in learning. But probably ſome, 'who afterwards were pinched in their purſes by this 'Edmund, did in revenge give him this bite in his reputation, inventing this tale to his diſparagement. 'I muſt believe him of noble extraction, becauſe qualified to marry the daughter and heir of the Viſcount L'Iſle, and that before this Edmund grew ſo great 'with King Henry VII. as by the age of John his 'ſon, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, may probably be collected.' This writer is frequently unhappy in his accounts, in which he is too often followed by ſuch as have written ſince his time. He ſays that Edmund Dudley was the grandſon of John Sutton, firſt Baron of Dudley. In the very page before this he informs us, that William Dudley Biſhop of Durham, who died in 1483, was the ſon of John Dudley, the eighth Baron of Dudley, of Dudley caſtle in the county of Stafford (2). Now there is nothing more certain than that this William Dudley was the uncle of our Edmund Dudley, and that his father John Dudley, the eighth Baron of Dudley, was the very ſame perſon with John Sutton the firſt Baron of Dudley, which Dr. Fuller might eaſily have diſcerned, if he had conſidered the time when theſe Dudleys lived. The ſtory of the Carpenter he had out of a manuſcript intituled "A View "of Staffordſhire, by Samſon Erdeſwick, Eſq." which he highly commends (3). This tale, which Fuller treats as it deſerves, paſſed for true Hiſtory with all the enemies of the Leiceſter family. In a famous Popiſh libel, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, I find it obſerved of Robert Earl of Leiceſter (4), 'That he was the ſon 'of a Duke, the brother of a King, grandſon of an 'Eſquire, and great grandchild of a Carpenter. *The 'Carpenter*, ſays my author, *was in all likelihood the 'happieſt of his race, for he perhaps was an honeſt man 'and died in his bed.*' But, though Dr. Fuller is right in his criticiſm, yet he is right upon wrong grounds; for, he did not marry the daughter and heir of the Viſcount L'Iſle before he was high in King Henry's favour, ſince that match was the pure effect of it, the Lady being the King's ward (5). His other argument is ſtill worſe; for, John, afterwards Duke of Northumberland,

(1) Worthies in Staffordſhire, p. 43.

(2) Ibid. p. 45.

(3) Ibid. p. 45.

(4) Taken from the extracts of a libel written in Latin, amongſt the papers of Lord Burleigh.

(5) See the Record cited in the text.

reign of Edward IV. and his father having, in his own and in his wife's right, a very plentiful fortune, he received a ſuitable education (*c*); and, diſcovering very early the great pregnancy of his parts, he was ſent, in the year 1478 (*d*), to the Univerſity of Oxford, being then about the age of ſixteen. When he had ſpent there ſome time in the ſtudy of antient learning, he was removed to London, and, being intended for the profeſſion of the Law, he was placed in Gray's-Inn (*e*), where, when he afterwards became ſo eminent, his arms, finely depicted, amongſt thoſe of many other noble and illuſtrious perſons, were placed in one of the windows of the Hall (*f*). It is very certain, that he ſtudied the Law with great diligence, and came to be very ſoon conſidered as one of the moſt conſiderable perſons of the profeſſion; which induced Henry VII. a Prince who was an excellent judge of the talents of men, to take him very early into his ſervice (*g*). It is alſo ſaid, that, for his ſingular prudence and fidelity, he was ſworn of the King's Privy-Council, in the 23d year of his age (*h*); and, as Polydore Virgil affirms this, who was then here, there can be no cauſe to doubt. In 1492, we find he was one of thoſe great men in the King's army near Boulogne, who offered propoſitions to the King for the concluſion of a treaty with France, and adviſed them to comply with them (*i*); which he at their interceſſion did, and a peace was accordingly ſigned November 6th, 1492. This was the fineſt ſtroke in politicks of that reign; and, though the peace was very far from being well received in England, yet it anſwered the King's purpoſes completely, and was highly honourable for this nation, ſince an annual tribute was, in plain terms, ſtipulated, and actually paid during the remainder of this reign and part of the next (*k*) [*B*]. It is highly probable, that

(*c*) Bale's Scrip. Britan. cent. xi.

(*d*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 11.

(*e*) Fuller's Worthies in Staffordſhire, p. 43.

(*f*) Origines Juridiciales, p. 309.

(*g*) Fuller's Worthies in Staffordſhire, p. 43.

(*h*) Polydor. Vergil. Hiſtoria Angliæ, p. 567. n. 10.

(*i*) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XII. p. 490.

(*k*) See that point explained in the note.

berland, was not born till eight years after the marriage, and not quite ſix years before the King's death (6); ſo that, if it proves any thing, it muſt prove directly the reverſe of what he cites it to prove. In our ſubſequent articles the reader will ſee the true reaſon, why the fooliſh ſtory of the Carpenter came to gain any credit; and that was, the endeavours of this Gentleman's ſon to deprive the chief of his family of his honour and dignity, and to attribute to himſelf, in a direct deſcent from his anceſtors, the Barony of Dudley, to which indeed they never had any title at all; and thus, from a malignant ambition in him to be deſcended wholly from Lords, his enemies took the advantage of ſuggeſting, that his grandfather was not ſo much as a gentleman, and ſo turned his own art upon himſelf, or rather upon his deſcendants.

(6) So it appears from his petition to Parliament to be reſtored in blood.

But we cannot part with this matter thus. There was another writer of much greater figure than Dr. Fuller, whom the ſtory of the Carpenter alarmed, and who, though he profeſſes that he was ſatisfied this was falſe, yet he ſaw no reaſon to believe that our Edmund Dudley was deſcended from the Barons of Dudley, though he knew that with his own hand that Gentleman, in a pedigree of his family, aſſerted himſelf ſo to be (7). But, notwithſtanding this, Sir William Dugdale thinks he might be the ſon of ſome Gentleman of the name of Dudley, but not of the Baron's family, of which he ſays there are many in ſeveral parts of England. Upon the whole, he ſuggeſts, that, though the father of Edmund Dudley was without doubt a Gentleman, ſince he married a woman of conſiderable family and fortune, yet it was not impoſſible that his grandfather might be a Carpenter, or, if not his grandfather, his great-grandfather. In anſwer to this we ſhall obſerve, firſt, that it is a very ſtrange thing Sir William Dugdale ſhould doubt, that ſo wiſe and learned a man, as Mr. Dudley is on all hands confeſſed to be, ſhould not know who his grandfather was as well as Mr. Erdeſwick, the father of this tale of the Carpenter. In the next place, Why, ſince this tale is abſolutely falſe as to his father, which is the matter of fact affirmed, muſt it be ſuppoſed true of his grandfather, or his great-grandfather, of which there is not a word ſaid any where? But, thirdly, though Sir William Dugdale aſſerted this in his Hiſtory of Warwickſhire, yet afterwards, when he came to examine things better, in order to compoſe a Hiſtory of our Nobility in general, he thought fit to abandon this notion; and, though his account of the Suttons, Barons of Dudley, is not very exact, yet he is very clear that Edmund Dudley was really the grandſon of John Sutton, Baron of Dudley, and conſequently allows that neither his grandfather nor his great-grandfather could be a Carpenter.

(7) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 420.

But, ſince we have ſaid ſo much upon this head, we will go a little farther, and put it entirely out of doubt, both by reaſon and authority. In the firſt place let it be obſerved, that Edmund Dudley, Eſq. was admitted into the ſervice and Council of King Henry VII. in the firſt year of his reign, when that gentleman was in the twenty-third or fourth year of his age, and in the life-time of his grandfather, John, Lord Dudley, Knight of the Garter. Now, though it is ſaid that he owed this preferment to his prudence and reputation, yet is it not reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that theſe might have been overlooked, if he had not been alſo a man of quality? In the next place, when Perkin Warbeck publiſhed a proclamation, in which he reproached King Henry VII. with admitting many mean and low men into his Councils, of whom he gives a long catalogue (8), can one imagine, that, if Edmund Dudley's birth had not been truly noble, he would not have ſtood there, as well as Sir Richard Empſon, Biſhop Fox, and Sir Reginald Bray? Thirdly, How came Bale, Pitts, and all the old writers in general, to inſiſt ſo expreſſly on the nobility of his birth, without the leaſt note of doubt or ſuſpicion of the matter? Fourthly, when ſo much weight is every where laid upon the mean birth of Sir Richard Empſon, who was the ſon of a ſievemaker at Towceſter, how can it be conceived that Edmund Dudley, in the ſame condemnation, ſhould be mentioned by the ſame writers with ſo much reſpect for his birth, if it had not been, in thoſe times, as clear as any thing could be? or, what but reſpect to his family could move King Henry VIII. to reſtore his ſon, a child of eight years old, in blood, and give him his eſtate? Laſtly, in point of authority, I ſhall mention but one writer, becauſe his name is ſufficient to ſilence all diſputes: it is the famous John Leland, who, in his Itinerary, has theſe words (9). 'The Viſcount 'Duddeley, now being, is of the Suttons, that married 'the heirs general of the Duddelys. He cometh, by his 'mother ſide, of the Talbot, Lord or Viſcount Liſle.' This is ſpoken of Sir John Dudley, Viſcount Liſle, and, being ſet down in a note-book merely for his proper uſe, cannot be ſuſpected, ſince no Antiquary deſires to deceive himſelf.

(8) See the ſubſtance of this proclamation in Lord Bacon's Hiſtory.

(9) Vol. VIII. p. 29.

[*B*] *During the remainder of this reign, and part of the next.*] It was a maxim with Henry VII. to have as little to do with the Continent as poſſible; but, when he was obliged to have to do with it, he carried things as high as he could. In the beginning of his reign, he had temporized with the French King, to prevent having a foreign war and domeſtic broils to deal with at the ſame time. But, finding the French grew upon him, he reſolved to make war in ſuch a manner as ſhould procure him peace for the future (10). He laid before the Parliament, therefore, the ground of his quarrel, in which he was certainly right. For this induced them to eſpouſe the propoſal of a war very warmly; but, to avoid oppreſſing the meaner ſort of people in raiſing money for the ſupport of it, they granted the King a benevolence by law, which was collected by way of requeſt, but of the better ſort only, and brought in a vaſt ſum of money (11). The King

(10) Polydor. Vergil. Hiſt. Angliæ, lib. xxvi.

(11) Holinſhed, Stowe.

that Mr. Dudley was one of the King's principal inſtruments in this intrigue, ſince, two years afterwards, we find he obtained the wardſhip and marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Grey, Viſcount L'Iſle, ſiſter and coheireſs of John Viſcount L'Iſle, her brother (*l*). In 1499, he was one of thoſe who ſigned the ratification of the peace before-mentioned, by authority of Parliament (*m*). This plainly ſhews, that he was a perſon in great credit with his country, as well as in high favour with his Prince, whom he ſerved in promoting the filling of his coffers, under colour of the Law, though with very little reſpect to the principles of equity and juſtice, as an able and excellent author informs us (*n*) [*G*]. But, in what capacity he did this, is not at all in our power to aſſert. We are aſſured by Stowe, that, in 1497, he was Under-Sheriff of London, and continued ſo for ſix years (*o*); which might, indeed, put it in his power to pack Juries, and to have a hand in other enormities with which he was charged; but, that the ſame perſon ſhould, at the ſame time, be Under-Sheriff of London, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Lawyers

(*l*) Eſc. 20 H. VII.

(*m*) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XII. p. 710.

(*n*) Lord Bacon in his life of Henry VII.

(*o*) Annals, p. 487.

on his part, raiſed an army of twenty-five thouſand foot and one thouſand ſix hundred horſe, and, attended by the flower of his Nobility, paſſed the ſeas after Michelmas, 1492. And, as if he intended no time ſhould be loſt, he afterwards actually opened the ſiege of Boulogne, though propoſitions had been made for amicably compoſing all diſputes; upon which a negotiation was begun, and, while the ſiege went on, a peace was concluded by the commiſſioners, to continue for both Kings lives; 'in which, ſays Lord Bacon (12), 'there was no article of importance, being, in effect, rather a bargain than a treaty. For, all things remained 'as they were, ſave, that there ſhould be paid to the 'King ſeven hundred and forty-five thouſand ducats, 'in preſent, for his charges in that journey, and five and 'twenty thouſand crowns, yearly, for his charges ſuſtained in the aids of the Britains. For which annual 'ſum, though he had Maximilian bound before for 'thoſe charges, yet he counted the alteration of the 'hand as much as the principal debt. And, beſides, 'it was left ſomewhat indefinitely, when it ſhould determine or expire, which made the Engliſh eſteem it 'as a tribute carried under fair terms. And the truth 'is, it was paid both to the King and to his ſon 'King Henry VIII. longer than it could continue 'upon any computation of charges. There was alſo 'aſſigned by the French King, unto all the King's 'principal Counſellors, great penſions, beſides rich 'gifts for the preſent. Which, whether the King 'did permit to ſave his own purſe from rewards, or to 'communicate the envy of a buſineſs that was diſpleaſing to his people, was diverſly interpreted. For, 'certainly, the King had no great fancy to own this 'peace. And therefore, a little before it was concluded, he had, underhand, procured ſome of his 'beſt captains and men of war to adviſe him to a 'peace under their hands, in an earneſt manner, in the 'nature of a ſupplication. But the truth is, this peace 'was welcome to both Kings. To Charles; for that 'it aſſured unto him the poſſeſſion of Britain, and freed 'the enterprize of Naples. To Henry; for that it 'filled his coffers; and that he foreſaw, at that time, 'a ſtorm of inward troubles coming upon him, which 'preſently after brake forth. But it gave no leſs diſcontent to the nobility and principal perſons of the 'army, who had many of them ſold or engaged their 'eſtates upon the hopes of the war. They ſtuck not 'to ſay, that the King cared not to plume his nobility 'and people to feather himſelf. And ſome made 'themſelves merry with, that the King had ſaid in 'Parliament, that, after the war was once begun, he 'doubted not but to make it pay itſelf; ſaying, he 'had kept promiſe.' The curious reader may find a very fair and full account of this matter in the French Hiſtorians, which will convince him, that they differed very little in their judgment of the matter from us; that is, they thought the honour of the nation highly concerned, and blamed Lewis XII. who ſucceeded in 1498, for renewing this treaty, and undertaking to continue the payment of thoſe ſums annually, which had been ſtipulated by his father (13). This, they ſay, he might very well do for the ſake of peace; but then he ſhould have done it as an act of his own, and not as heir and ſucceſſor to his father, and ſo bound to comply with, and diſcharge his engagements (14).

(12) Hiſt. of H. VII. in the 3d. Vol. of his Works, p. 447.

(13) P. Daniel Hiſt. d'France, Vol VI. p. 671.

(14) Recueil des Roys de France, leurs Couronne et Miſtere, par J. du Tillet, P. ii. p. 380.

[*C*] *As an able and excellent author informs us.*] In all our general hiſtories, this matter is handled in the groſs, ſo that it is very difficult to conceive wherein the crimes of Empſon and Dudley conſiſted; but Lord Bacon, who underſtood the matter well, relates every circumſtance freely and fully, in the following manner (15). 'As Kings do more eaſily find inſtruments 'for their will and humour than for their ſervice and 'honour, he had gotten for his purpoſe, or beyond 'his purpoſe, two inſtruments, Empſon and Dudley, 'bold men and careleſs of fame, and that took toll of 'their maſter's griſt. Dudley was of a good family, 'eloquent, and one that could put hateful buſineſs into 'good language. But Empſon, that was the ſon of a 'Sieve maker, triumphed always upon the deed done, 'putting off all other reſpects whatſoever. Theſe two 'perſons being Lawyers in ſcience, and Privy-Counſellors in authority, turned law and juſtice into wormwood and rapine. For, firſt, their manner was to cauſe divers ſubjects to be indicted of ſundry crimes, 'and ſo far forth to proceed in form of law; but, 'when the bills were found, then preſently to commit 'them: and, nevertheleſs, not to produce them in any 'reaſonable time to their anſwer, but to ſuffer them to 'languiſh long in priſon, and, by ſundry artificial devices and terrors, to extort from them great fines and 'ranſoms, which they termed compoſitions and mitigations. Neither did they, towards the end, obſerve 'ſo much as the half face of juſtice in proceeding by 'indictment, but ſent forth their precepts to attach 'men, and convent them before themſelves and ſome 'others, at their private houſes, in a Court of Commiſſion, and there uſed to ſhuffle up a ſummary proceeding by examination, without trial of jury, aſſuming 'to themſelves there to deal both in pleas of the 'Crown and controverſies civil. Then did they alſo 'uſe to enthrall and charge the ſubjects lands with 'tenures in capite, by finding falſe offices, and thereby 'to work upon them for wardſhips, liveries, premier 'ſeiſins, and alienations, being the fruits of thoſe tenures, refuſing, upon divers pretexts and delays, to 'admit men to traverſe thoſe falſe offices according to 'the law. Nay, the King's wards, after they had accompliſhed their full age, could not be ſuffered to 'have livery of their lands, without paying exceſſive 'fines, far exceeding all reaſonable rates. They did 'alſo vex men with informations of intruſion, upon 'ſcarce colourable titles. When men were outlaw'd 'in perſonal actions, they would not permit them to 'purchaſe their charters of pardon, except they paid 'great and intolerable ſums, ſtanding upon the ſtrict 'point of law; which, upon outlawries, giveth forfeiture of goods: nay, contrary to all law and colour, they maintained, the King ought to have the 'half of men's lands and rents, during the ſpace of 'full two years, for a pain, in caſe of outlawry. They 'would alſo ruſtle with jurors, and enforce them to find 'as they would direct; and, if they did not, convent 'them, impriſon them, and fine them.' It appears, from Polydore Virgil, that, at firſt, theſe proceedings were carried on with much temper and addreſs; that is to ſay, the penalties levied were not very ſevere, and thoſe who paid them were commonly perſons in pretty good circumſtances, which prevented any great clamour: but by degrees, when the legality of theſe proceedings ſeemed to be thoroughly eſtabliſhed, they were extended farther, and then it was, that they created ſuch a general diſſatisfaction as induced the King to promiſe reſtitution, and to part with his Miniſters, Sir Richard Empſon and Edmund Dudley.

(15) In his Hiſt. of H. VII. in the 3d Vol. of his Works, p. 491.

at the Bar, and a Privy-Counſellor, is not to be conceived (*p*). The ingenious Dr. Fuller gives us a more plauſible account; for, he makes him a *puiſne Judge* (*q*); but it happens unluckily, that, had he been ſo, it muſt have appeared, which it does not. Beſides, as a Judge, he could not have meddled with the King's revenue: as a Baron of the Exchequer he might; but neither was he that. Polydore Virgil, who was well acquainted with thoſe times, tells us, what both he and Sir Richard Empſom were, but he tells it us in Latin; they were, ſays he, *Fiſcales Judices* (*r*); the misfortune is, that we do not know how to put this into Engliſh. It might, perhaps, be no improbable gueſs, that they were Attorney and Solicitor General; for which, however, no direct authority can be alleged. In the Parliament, held in 1504, Edmund Dudley, Eſq. was Speaker of the Houſe of Commons (*s*), and, about the ſame time, was, by the King's writ, diſcharged from the ſtate and degree of a Serjeant at Law (*t*), as Sir William Dugdale tells us. Another writer calls it degraded, which, however it may ſound, was, in reality, an act of favour (*u*) [*D*]. In the Parliament in which this Gentleman was Speaker, there were ſeveral acts paſſed, much for the public benefit; but which, at the ſame time, very plainly diſcovered, that they were framed and digeſted by Lawyers; and this, perhaps, was one reaſon why they were found very practicable in the execution, and, like many other laws made in this reign, have been ſince admired for going clearly and directly to the ends that they were meant to accompliſh (*w*) [*E*]. In conſideration, as it may be preſumed,

(*p*) See this point examined in note [*D*].

(*q*) Worthies in Staffordſhire, p. 43.

(*r*) Hiſt. Angliæ. p. 613. n. 10.

(*s*) Bacon's Hiſt. H. VII. in his Works, Vol. III. p. 494.

(*t*) Chronica Series, p. 77.

(*u*) Chronica Juridicialia, p. 147.

(*w*) Lord Bacon's Hiſt. H. VII.

[*D*] *Which, however it may ſound, was in reality an act of favour.*] That learned Herald and Antiquary, mentioned in the text, gives us a large account of this matter (16). 'In the nineteenth of Henry VII. ſays 'he, he was Speaker of the Parliament, and ſhould 'the ſame year have been made a Serjeant at Law, 'but, for what reaſon I will not take upon me to aſ'ſign, he deſired that he might be diſcharged from 'aſſuming that degree; whereupon the King directed 'his precept to William, Biſhop of London, then Lord 'Keeper of the Great Seal, commanding his forbear'ance of making out any writ to him for that pur'poſe.' This ſufficiently ſhews Dr. Fuller's miſtake in aſſirming our Dudley to have been a Puiſne Judge, for, if ſo, he muſt have been a Serjeant. We have a large account of the antient manner of making Serjeants at Law, from an author of great dignity (17), who informs us, that the Chief Juſtices of the Common-Pleas, with the advice of the other Judges of that Court, were wont to ſet down the names of a certain number of the diſcreeteſt perſons who had moſt profited in the Laws, and were thought to be of beſt diſpoſition, which being preſented to the Lord Chancellor of England in writing, he, by the King's writ, charged every of the perſons elect to be before the King, at a day by him aſſigned, to take upon him the ſtate and degree of a Serjeant at Law, under a great penalty which in thoſe writs was ſpecified. But there were many reaſons why perſons thus named choſe to avoid taking upon them that dignity, though it may be doubted whether this was not the firſt inſtance of a perſon's being diſcharged by the interpoſition of the royal authority: but it was ſoon followed; for, we find in the ſecond year of Henry VIII. that the King granted to Richard Brooke (18) an exemption from being called to the degree of a Serjeant againſt his good will, or, if he was called, to refuſe it. Sometimes alſo they were diſcharged from that degree in order to their enjoying ſome office that was inconſiſtent therewith, which was the caſe of Thomas Fleming, Serjeant at Law, who was diſcharged by writ directed to himſelf from Queen Elizabeth, November 5, in the thirty-ſeventh year of her reign, in order to his being made Solicitor-General (19). Now, from what Sir William Dugdale ſays, it looks as if there was ſome particular reaſon for Mr. Dudley's deſiring his diſcharge, and it is not impoſſible that it might be for obtaining the office of Solicitor-General. It is very true that Sir William Dugdale mentions but two Solicitors in the whole reign of Henry VII. *viz.* Andrew Dimmock, who obtained that office in the firſt of Henry VII. and John Ernley, who came into it in the twenty-ſecond of the ſame reign (20). But that there were other perſons in that office, within that ſpace of time, may be hence concluded, that Andrew Dimmock was raiſed to the degree of a Baron of the Exchequer in the eleventh year of that King, and one cannot ſuppoſe, that in ſo buſy a reign there ſhould be no Solicitor for eleven years together. Something of the ſame kind might be ſaid as to the poſt of Attorney-General, in which we find Sir James Hobart during that whole reign.

(16) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 420.

(17) From a MS. of the Lord-Chancellor Fortoſcue.

(18) See the Chronica Series in that year.

(19) See the copy of that writ in the Origines Juridiciales, p. 140.

(20) In his Chronica Series, p. 75, 79.

[*E*] *That they were meant to accompliſh.*] We have this matter admirably ſet forth by the wiſe and judicious Hiſtorian of this reign (21). 'In this Parliament, ſays he, there were not made any ſtatutes 'memorable touching public government. But thoſe 'that were had ſtill the ſtamp of the King's wiſdom 'and policy. There was a ſtatute made for the diſ'annulling of all patents of leaſe, or grant, to ſuch as 'came not upon lawful ſummons to ſerve the King in 'his wars againſt the enemies or rebels, or that ſhould 'depart without the King's licence, with an exception 'of ſeveral perſons of the long robe. Providing, ne'verthelefs, that they ſhould have the King's wages 'from their houſe till their return home again. There 'hath been the like made before for officers, and by 'this ſtatute it was extended to lands. But a man may 'eaſily ſee, by many ſtatutes made in the King's time, 'that the King thought it ſafeſt to aſſiſt martial law by 'law of Parliament. Another ſtatute was made, pro'hibiting the bringing in of manufactures of ſilk 'wrought by itſelf, or mixed with any other thread. 'But it was not of ſtuffs of whole piece (for that the 'realm had of them no manufacture in uſe at that time) 'but of knit ſilk, or texture of ſilk; as ribbons, laces, 'cauls, points, and girdles, which the people of En'gland could then well ſkill to make. This law 'pointed at a true principle, that, where foreign ma'terials are but ſuperfluities, foreign manufactures 'ſhould be prohibited. For, that will either baniſh 'the ſuperfluity, or gain the manufacture. There was 'a law alſo of reſumption of patents of gaols, and the 'reannexing of them to the ſheriffwicks, privileged 'officers being no leſs an interruption of juſtice than 'privileged places. There was a law likewiſe to re'ſtrain the bye-laws, or ordinances, of corporations, 'which many times were againſt the prerogative of the 'King, the common law of the realm, and the liberty 'of the ſubject, being fraternities in evil. It was 'therefore provided, that they ſhould not be put in 'execution without the allowance of the Chancellor, 'Treaſurer, and the two Chief-Juſtices, or three of 'them, or of the two Juſtices of Circuit where the cor'poration was. Another law was in effect to bring in 'the ſilver of the realm to the mint, in making all 'clipped, miniſhed, or impaired, coins of ſilver not to 'be current in payments, without giving any remedy 'of weight, but with an exception only of reaſonable 'wearing, which was as nothing in reſpect of the un'certainty; and ſo upon the matter to ſet the mint on 'work, and to give way to new coins of ſilver which 'ſhould be then minted. There likewiſe was a ſtrong 'ſtatute againſt vagabonds, wherein two things may be 'noted, the one, the diſlike the Parliament had of 'gaoling them, as that which was chargeable, peſte'rous, and of no open example. The other, that in 'the ſtatutes of this King's time (for this of the nine'teenth year is not the only ſtatute of that kind) there 'are ever coupled the puniſhment of vagabonds and the 'forbidding of dice and cards, and unlawful games, 'unto ſervants and mean people, and the putting down 'and

(21) Bacon's Hiſt. of H. VII. in the 3d Vol. of his Works, p. 494.

sumed, of the great services rendered by him in this high station we find, that, two years afterwards, he obtained a grant of the Stewardship of the rape of Hastings, in the county of Sussex (*x*). This was one of the last favours that he received from his Master, who, at the close of his life, is said to have been very much troubled at the oppressions and extortions of which his Ministers, particularly Empson and Dudley, had been guilty; insomuch that he expressed a willingness to make restitution to such as had been injured, and directed the same by his will (*y*). Polydore Vergil (*z*), and some other courtly writers, hence take occasion to free that Monarch, in a great measure, from blame, discharging, as is commonly done, all the errors and evil practices in his government upon the shoulders of Empson and Dudley (*a*), who, it is very certain, lost their heads for them. But, that they did not drive the King, or even deceive him, into such measures, the judicious Lord Bacon (*b*) has very plainly proved, from instances that are worth the reader's notice [*F*]. The King died at Richmond on the 21st of April, 1509 (*c*); and he was scarcely laid in his grave before Mr. Dudley was sent to the Tower, the clamour of the people being so great, that this step was thought absolutely necessary to quiet them (*d*); tho' Stowe seems to think, that both he and Sir Richard Empson were decoyed into the Tower, or they had not been so easily taken (*e*). At the same time, numbers of their subordinate instruments were seized, imprisoned, tried, and punished (*f*). On the 16th of July, the same year, Edmund Dudley, Esq. was arraigned, and found guilty of High-Treason, before Commissioners assembled in Guild-Hall (*g*) [*G*]. The King taking a progress afterwards

(*x*) Pat. 22 H. VII. p. 2.

(*y*) Holinshed, Stowe.

(*z*) Hist. Angliæ. lib. xxvi.

(*a*) Hall, Cooper, and Stowe.

(*b*) Hist of Hen. VII. See also Grafton's Chronicle in the same reign.

(*c*) Polydor. Vergil. Hist. Angliæ. p. 790.

(*d*) Lord Herbert's Hist. of H. VIII. p. 1.

(*e*) Annals, p. 486.

(*f*) See Grafton, Stowe, Holinshed.

(*g*) Petition in Parliament for the restitution of his son, 3 Hen. VIII.

'and suppressing of ale-houses, as strings of one root 'together, and as if the one were improfitable without 'the other. As for riot and retainers, there scarce 'passed any Parliament in this time without a law 'against them, the King ever having an eye to might 'and multitude. There was granted also, that Parlia-'ment, a subsidy, both from the temporality and the 'clergy. And yet nevertheless, ere the year expired, 'there went out commissions for a general benevolence, 'though there were no wars, nor fears. The same year 'the city gave five thousand marks for confirmation 'of their liberties; a thing fitter for the beginnings 'of Kings reigns than the latter ends. Neither was 'it a small matter that the mint gained upon the late 'statute, by the recoinage of groats and half-groats.

[*F*] *That are worth the reader's notice.*] The turn, given by some writers to these oppressions and exactions, is this, that the King intended one thing, and his Ministers did another. He found many of his subjects either too rich, or too proud, to stoop to the laws, which conceiving to be the effects of those domestic commotions with which the realm had been often troubled, he judged that the best physick for this estate-malady was the calling great and opulent offenders to justice: but, Sir Richard Empson and Mr. Dudley extended this plan so as to take in all ranks of people, and at the same time stretched the laws, and heightened the severities of them beyond the intention of the legislators; with all which, when the King was thoroughly informed, he was highly offended (22). But that there was little or no truth in this; that the King was himself as severe and as rapacious as his ministers could be; and that there is very small reason to suppose he was at all ignorant of any of their proceedings will appear from the following instances; one of which, the noble author had from good authority, and the other he relates from his own knowledge; so that, if we aim at discovering truth in this business, we may easily discern it (23).

'There remaineth to this day, says Lord Bacon, a 'report, that the King was on a time entertained by 'the Earl of Oxford, his principal servant, both for 'war and peace, nobly and sumptuously, at his castle 'at Hemingham; and, at the King's going away, the 'Earl's servants stood in their livery-coats, with cog-'nizances, ranged on both sides, and made the King a 'lane. The King called the Earl to him, and said to 'him, My Lord, I have heard much of your hospi-'tality, but I see it is greater than the speech: these 'handsome gentlemen and yeomen, which I see on both 'sides of me, are sure your menial servants. The Earl 'smiled, and said, it may please your Grace, that 'were not for mine ease; they are most of them my 'retainers that are come to do me service at such a 'time as this, and chiefly to see your Grace. The 'King started a little, and said, by my faith, my 'Lord, I thank you for my good chear, but I may 'not endure to have my laws broken in my sight, my 'Attorney must speak with you. And, it is part of 'the report, that the Earl compounded for no less 'than fifteen-thousand marks. And, to shew farther the 'King's extreme diligence, I do remember to have 'seen a book of accompt of Empson's, that had the 'King's hand almost to every leaf, by way of signing, 'and was in some places postilled in the margin with 'the King's hand; likewise, where was this remem-'brance.

'Item, *Receiv'd of such a one*, five *marks for a par-*
'*don to be procured, and, if the* pardon *do not*
'*pass, the money to be repaid, except the* party *be*
'*some otherways satisfied.*

And over against this memorandum, of the King's own hand,

'*otherwise satisfied.*

It was by such small sums as these, as our excellent Historian well observes, that King Henry collected that immense mass of treasure of which he died possessed; and how immense that wealth was, in comparison of those, or indeed of these times, that learned and painful Antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, has told us, from a book of receipts and payments kept between the King and Mr. Edmund Dudley, viz. four millions and a half in coin and bullion, exclusively of rich furniture, wrought plate, and jewels. It appears likewise from the same book, that the extraordinary, or casual revenue arising from the sale of offices, composition of penalties, and dispensing with the laws, was advanced to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year (24).

[*G*] *Before Commissioners assembled in Guild-Hall.*] It appears, from the account given by Stowe, that Sir Richard Empson and Mr. Dudley were sent for to attend the King in the Tower of London at such a time, very probably, as his Privy-Counsellors were sworn; and, having thus put themselves in the power of those who had no good will to them, they were committed to prison, contrary, as he insinuates, to their expectations (25). Grafton tells us, that, in the last year of King Henry VIIth's reign, they were, by special Commission, appointed to enquire of the offenders against penal laws, which they diligently prosecuted; but, says he, the malice of the people was so increased against them, for their endeavours and service in the said Commission, the new King, to pacify the populace, was obliged to proceed against them (26). Accordingly, Edmund Dudley, Esq. was brought, on the day mentioned in the text, before Edward, Duke of Buckingham; Henry, Earl of Northumberland; Thomas, Earl of Surrey; George, Earl of Shrewsbury; Thomas, Earl of Derby; Thomas, Prior of St. John's of Hierusalem, in England; Charles Somerset, of Herbert, Knight; Stephen Jennings, Mayor of the City of London; John Fineux, Knight; Robert Rede, Knight; William Hodie, Knight; Robert Brudnele, Humphry

(22) Polydor. Vergil. Hist. Angl. lib. xxvi.

(23) Hist. of H. VII. in the 3d Vol. of his Works, p. 492. 493.

(24) Discourse of foreign war, with an account of all the taxations from the Conquest to the end of the reign of Q. Elizabeth, p. 53. in which the sum is written in words at length.

(25) Annals, p. 485.

(26) Brief Chronicle of England, fo. 120. *b.*

afterwards into the country, found himſelf ſo much incommoded by the general outcry of his people, that he cauſed Sir Richard Empſon to be carried down into Northamptonſhire, where, in the month of October following, he was alſo tried and convicted, and then remanded back to the Tower (*b*). In the Parliament which began January 21ſt, 1510, of which Sir Thomas Ingleby was Speaker, Sir Richard Empſon and Edmund Dudley, Eſq. were attainted of High-Treaſon (*i*). The King, however, was unwilling to execute them; and Stowe (*k*) informs us, that a rumour prevailed, as if Queen Catharine had interpoſed, and procured Mr. Dudley's pardon. To give ſome employment to his thoughts during his tedious impriſonment, and, perhaps, with a view of extricating himſelf happily out of all his misfortunes, he compoſed a very extraordinary piece (*l*), which he addreſſed to King Henry VIII. but, as it never came to his hand, ſo it could not contribute to ſave the head from which it ſprang [*H*]. The clamours of the people continually increaſing, and being rather exaggerated than ſoftened by ſeeing numbers of mean fellows, whom theſe great men had employed as informers and witneſſes, convicted and puniſhed while they were ſpared, the King was, at laſt, obliged to iſſue his writ for their execution, in obedience to which the Sheriffs of London, Auguſt 18th, 1510 (*m*), brought Sir Richard Empſon and Edmund Dudley, Eſq. out of the Tower to a ſcaffold upon the Hill, where they both loſt their heads. The ſame night their bodies were interred; that of Empſon in White-Friers, and that of Dudley in the Black-Friers Church (*n*). Such was the end of our great Lawyer and Stateſman, in the forty-eighth year of his age. We are aſſured, that he inherited ſome eſtate from his father, and a better from his mother, to

(*b*) Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 804.

(*i*) Polydor Vergil. Hiſt. Angl. lib. xxvii.

(*k*) Annals, p. 487.

(*l*) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 798.

(*m*) Stowe's Annals, p. 483.

(*n*) Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 809.

Humphry Coningſby, John Fiſher, Knight; John Boteler, William Grevill, Thomas Lovell, Knight; Edward Poynings, Knight; Henry Marney, Knight; Thomas Engleheld, Knight; and Robert Drury, Knight; Juſtices to enquire, &c. (27). He was then indicted, together, as it ſeems, with Sir Richard Empſon, for high-treaſon; in proof of which, it was alleged, that, during the ſickneſs of the late King, in the month of March preceding, they ſummoned certain of their friends to be in arms at an hour's warning, and, upon the death of the ſaid King, to haſten to London; out of which, and other circumſtances, it was collected by the jury, that their intention was to ſeize on the perſon of the new King, and ſo to aſſume the ſole government, or, if they could not attain this, to deſtroy him. It was a very ſtrange inference, that, becauſe a man, who had the misfortune to labour under the public hatred, deſired the aſſiſtance of his friends in order to come ſafe to London, therefore this implied a deſign to impriſon and deſtroy the King; but, as ſtrange as it was, the jury, it ſeems, thought it credible. However, Sir Richard Empſom was ſent down into the country, and there tried for as ſtrange a felony as this was a treaſon (28). To ratify all this, they were attainted in Parliament, notwithſtanding an excellent ſpeech made by Sir Richard Empſon, which was not, as is generally ſuppoſed, written for him by the Lord Herbert (29); for, the ſubſtance of it was long before printed in one of our chronicles (30). The whole of theſe proceedings, which were in the firſt and ſecond years of the reign of Henry VIII. were recited at large in the petition exhibited in the name of John Dudley, the ſon of Edmund, by his guardian Edward Guildford, Eſq. in the third year of the ſame reign, upon which he obtained a ſpecial Act of Parliament, for the repeal of this attainder; which ſufficiently ſhews, that it was founded rather in clamour than in juſtice, and that the Parliament were as willing to remove that precedent as to make it.

(27) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 420, 421.

(28) Holinſhed, Vol. II. p. 804.

(29) Hiſt. of the reign of H. VIII. p. 2.

(30) Holinſhed, Vol. II. p. 803.

[*H*] *To ſave the head from which it ſprang.*] It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that this book, though ſeen and peruſed by many, and thence made often the theme of public diſcourſe, ſhould never yet ſee the light; as from the title and contents it ſeems well to deſerve. We will firſt give the reader theſe; next ſpeak of the fate of the author's original book; and, laſtly, ſay ſomewhat of its conſequences. It was entitled (31). "The Tree of the Commonwealth, by Edmund Dud-"ley, Eſq. late Counſellor to King Henry VII. the "ſame Edmund being, at the compiling thereof, "priſoner in the Tower, in 1 Henry VIII."

(31) Cat. Lib. MSS. Ang. & Hib. Oxon. Tom. II. p. 102. where it is ſaid, there is a copy of it among the MSS. of William Bromley, of Bagington in Warwickſhire, Eſq.

'The effect of this treatiſe conſiſteth in three 'eſpecial points.

'Firſt, Remembrance of God, and the faithful of 'his Holy Church, in the which every Chriſtian 'prince had need to begin.

'Second, Of ſome conditions and demeanors neceſ-'ſary in every prince, both for his honour and aſſurety 'of his continuance.

'Thirdly, Of the Tree of Commonwealth, which 'toucheth people of every degree, of the conditions 'and demeanors they ſhould be of.'

As to the original book, as it miſſed the King's hands, ſo it ſeems the family were alſo deprived of it; but, many years afterwards, it was met with by that faithful hiſtorian and curious collector of whatever regarded our antiquities, honeſt John Stowe; who, believing the ſight of it would be welcome to the grandſon of this great man, then Earl of Warwick, ſet himſelf to make a very fair tranſcript of it; which, when he had performed, he carried to that noble perſon, by whom it was very graciouſly accepted, John Stowe receiving, in return, as much thanks and as many good words as he could wiſh (32). The original, that induſtrious man kept to his death; long after which, with the greateſt part of his hiſtorical collection, it came into the poſſeſſion of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, who purchaſed them at a conſiderable price, about the time that he began to collect his noble library of manuſcripts, afterwards purchaſed by the late worthy Earl of Oxford, in which it is highly probable, this original work is to be found, though ſeveral copies of it have been and are ſtill to be met with in other Libraries, beſides that before ſpecified in the margin, which probably was tranſcribed from the Earl of Warwick's.

(32) See Strype's life of Stowe, prefixed to his edition of the Survey of London.

It may be conjectured, that if this piece had been preſented, as its author intended, to King Henry VIII. it might have delivered him from his misfortunes; but as Camden ſays on another occaſion, ſome ill ſtar ſeems to have waited upon all ſuch undertakings. King Henry VIII. being very deſirous of having ſuch a book as our author Dudley had compoſed for his uſe, aſſigned this employment to another of his father's Counſellors, Dr. Thomas Ruthall, Biſhop of Durham (33), a man famous for his abilities, and who executed it with all the ſkill and accuracy imaginable. It happened however a little unluckily for him, that, prompted by the ſame deſire which warmed the breaſt of his maſter, he had drawn up a book of the ſame kind, with reſpect to his Biſhoprick of Durham, and cauſed both, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, to be very neatly bound in parchment, preciſely in the ſame manner. When, therefore, Cardinal Wolſey came from the King, to enquire for this ſyſtem of government for his uſe, the Biſhop directed his Secretary to reach the new parchment book, who, by miſtake, reached him that of the Biſhoprick of Durham. The Cardinal, taking the liberty to read the book firſt, then carried it to his maſter with this compliment; I bring your Grace a mine, out of which, when your occaſions require it, you may take a large maſs of treaſure. It was not long before this miſtake reached the Biſhop's ears, which affected him ſo ſtrongly, that, falling into a fever, he died, and Wolſey ſucceeded him. Another treatiſe of the like nature was penned for the ſpecial uſe of King Edward VI. by William Thomas, Eſq. Clerk of the Council in his reign (34), who afterwards had the misfortune to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, for high-treaſon, in that of Queen Mary.

(33) Godwin. de præſulibus, P. ii. p. 136.

(34) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 175.

whom he was found heir at her death, in the thirty-ſixth year of his age. He was a gainer by both his marriages, and a great gainer by the laſt; to which if we add the profits of his profeſſion, what he received from his Maſter's bounty, and what might be diverted into his own coffers, in its paſſage to the royal treaſury, we have no great reaſon to ſcruple what Stowe relates as a fact, that, at the time of his fall, he had an eſtate of eight hundred pounds a year, and above twenty thouſand pounds in money, excluſively of plate, jewels, and rich furniture (*o*). As to his character, it ſufficiently appears from what has been ſaid, as well of his abilities as actions; and, in reference to his family, becauſe there are many diſputes about it, and we go ſomewhat a different road from that in which thoſe travelled who went before us, we ſhall ſpeak of it at large in the notes [*I*]. The reader may obſerve, in this and the ſubſequent articles, that we are careful in giving him matters of fact, without adopting the ſentiments of any of our Hiſtorians, farther than as we find them ſupported by evidence. Several of them aſcribe all the exactions and proſecutions under colour of penal laws, which began in this reign almoſt as ſoon as the Civil Wars ceaſed, to Sir Richard Empſon and Mr. Dudley; but there is no proof at all to ſupport this, more eſpecially with reſpect to the latter, who ſeems to have entered into the management of ſuch affairs but a very few years before the King's death. The Noble Hiſtorian, who has ſo impartially written the hiſtory of Henry VII. ſpeaks clearly to this point; of which, if we conſider his profeſſion, he muſt be allowed a much better judge than any who have taken upon them to treat of the ſame ſubject. The King's cloſe and griping diſpoſition, he plainly admits, was the cauſe of all theſe rigorous proceedings; but he obſerves, that Cardinal Morton, Sir Reginald Bray, and ſome other Miniſters in the beginning of his reign, took much pains to bridle his avaricious diſpoſition; which, however, was not ſo underſtood by the people, who, meaſuring the merits of Miniſters by thoſe events which fell under their adminiſtration, attributed to them thoſe miſchiefs which, but for their interpoſition, had been far greater than they were. The wiſe Lord Bacon tells us, that, upon their demiſe, and the coming of Sir Richard Empſon and Edmund Dudley, Eſq. into the direction of theſe matters, the King made no account of them at all, farther than as they obeyed his orders, and carried all things as far as they would go, which Polydore Vergil, and other writers, ſay they did; and Lord Bacon alſo ſays much the ſame: and, if this be the truth, then they were ſtrictly and properly the King's inſtruments; but it may be with ſome diſtinction in their practices: for, if Dudley had been as guilty as Empſon, he might have been convicted for ſuch offences as he was; whereas the matter objected to him was treaſon. As to the other great men of this line, they are treated much in the ſame way, and writers give what colour they think fit to their actions; which make their characters uniform indeed, but in a way that will not ſatisfy impartial readers, who know that all actions may be ſet in different lights, and will therefore expect to be told, why they are ſet in one light rather than another. This, whenever it is in our power, we ſhew; and, when not, we content ourſelves with the bare matters of fact, knowing that even the greateſt men are inconſiſtent, and that there is no ſuch thing as gueſſing, with any degree of certainty, at their ſecret intentions. Laſtly, it is to be obſerved, that, when we ſpeak of rewards, honours, or offices, conferred for the wiſdom, fidelity, and great ſervices, of thoſe who receive them, we ſpeak commonly in

(*o*) Stowe's Annals, p. 487.

[*I*] *We ſhall ſpeak of it at large in the notes.*] Sir William Dugdale takes no notice at all of this gentleman's having two wives, and, indeed, I do not find any writer that mentions his having had iſſue by the firſt, except the manuſcript Baronage, which has been ſo often cited. Thence we learn that he married, firſt, Anne, Daughter of Sir Andrews Windſor, afterwards Lord Windſor, then the widow of Sir Roger Corbet, of Morton, in the County of Salop, by whom he had a daughter Elizabeth, who married William Lord Stourton (35). His ſecond wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, Lord L'Iſle, and ſiſter and coheireſs to John Viſcount L'Iſle, by whom he had three ſons, John Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, of whom in the next article, Sir Andrews Dudley, Knight of the Garter, and Jerom Dudley, Eſq. concerning whom we know very little, excepting that he lived long in the family of his brother the Duke of Northumberland, and that he was provided for by the will of the Ducheſs. As to the Lady Elizabeth Grey, about five years after the deceaſe of her huſband Edmund Dudley, ſhe married Arthur Plantagenet, ſon to Edward IV. by Lady Elizabeth Lucy, who, in her right, upon the reſignation of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who had married that lady's neice, was created Viſcount L'Iſle. By this noble perſon ſhe had three daughters; Bridget, married to Sir William Carden, Knight; Frances, who eſpouſed John Baſſet, Eſq. firſt, and afterwards Thomas Monk of Potheridge, in the County of Devon, Eſq. from whom deſcended George, created by King Charles II. Duke of Albemarle; and, laſtly, Elizabeth, the wife of Sir Francis Jobſon, Knight (36). C.

(35) Baronagium Angliæ, fo. 21.

(36) See the Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

***[Notwithſtanding Polydore Vergil's aſſertion, we cannot help entertaining ſome doubt whether Edmund Dudley was ſworn of the King's Privy Council ſo early as in the twenty-third year of his age. This is an honour that has not uſually been conferred at any time upon ſo young a perſon, and much leſs at the period referred to, when the courſe of promotion was for the moſt part very ſlow. If the fact be true, Henry the Seventh muſt have diſcerned talents in Edmund Dudley uncommonly adapted to the purpoſes of arbitrary power. But it is more likely that Polydore Vergil ſhould be miſtaken; eſpecially when it is conſidered that the event muſt have happened in the firſt year of the King's Reign, when he could ſcarcely have had time to become acquainted with Dudley's eminent abilities.

Edmund Dudley's being one of thoſe who ſigned the ratification of the peace with France is ſaid plainly to ſhew, that he was a perſon in great credit with his country, as well as in high favour with his prince. But the fact does not warrant ſuch a concluſion. There are a thouſand inſtances to prove that a King may employ in a political tranſaction a Miniſter, who is far from being held in eſtimation by the people.

However abſurd might be ſome of the accuſations and ſome of the proceedings with regard to Edmund Dudley, it could never be juſtly aſſerted, as is done at the end of note G, that the attainder of him was founded rather in clamour than in juſtice. He was undoubtedly

in the words of the grant, and mean thereby no more than to declare the cauſes expreſſed by the Royal Donor, without pretending to maintain that theſe were never miſtaken.

undoubtedly a profligate and infamous tool of royal oppreſſion; and as ſuch he deſerved the utmoſt ſeverity of the law. Dr. Campbell is much too favourable to his reputation. The doctor, inſtead of ſoftening Dudley's crimes, ſhould have more explicitly condemned them. The kind of apology, which the Biographer makes at the concluſion of the article, is more curious than ſatisfactory. "It is," ſays he, "to be obſerved, that, when we ſpeak of rewards, "honours, or offices, conferred for the wiſdom, fidelity, and great ſervices, of thoſe who receive them, "we ſpeak commonly in the words of the grant, and "mean thereby no more than to declare the cauſes "expreſſed by the royal donor, without pretending to "maintain that theſe were never miſtaken." But, if the language of grants and patents is to be admitted without reſtriction and heſitation, what will become of the truth of hiſtory?] K.

DUDLEY (JOHN), ſon of the former, Baron of Malpas, Viſcount L'Iſle, Earl of Warwick, and Duke of Northumberland; reputed, by many of our Hiſtorians, the moſt powerful ſubject that ever flouriſhed in this kingdom. He was born ſome time in the year 1502, when his father was in the very zenith of his power, and ſtood in equal credit with the King and his ſubjects, as appears by his being choſen, the year after, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons (*a*). At the time his father was put to death, this John, his eldeſt ſon, was about eight years old; and, it being well enough known that the ſeverity exerciſed in that act was rather to ſatisfy the people than juſtice, John Dudley, by Edmund Guilford, Eſq. of the body to the King, his Guardian, petitioned the Parliament that the attainder might be reverſed of Edmund Dudley, his late father, and himſelf reſtored in blood; which was accordingly obtained, and a ſpecial act paſſed for that purpoſe in 1511 (*b*). There is no reaſon to doubt, that all due care was taken of his education, by a mother equally diſtinguiſhed by her virtues and her quality, and by a guardian, who is celebrated for being one of the fineſt gentlemen in a court then eſteemed the politeſt in Europe (*c*). But, as to any particulars, hiſtorians are ſilent. When his mother, with the King's conſent, married Arthur Plantagenet, who, in her right, was created Viſcount L'Iſle (*d*), which was about the year 1523, we find that he was brought to court, and, being a young gentleman of a fine perſon, and highly accompliſhed, he attended the King's favourite, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in his expedition into France (*e*); where his gallant behaviour not only entitled him to the ſpecial notice of his noble General, but procured him alſo the honour of knighthood (*f*). It may be reaſonably preſumed, that, upon his return, he met with a kind reception at Court, having many relations in great favour: but it ſeems he truſted chiefly to his own abilities, and very wiſely attached himſelf to the King's firſt Miniſter, Cardinal Wolſey (*g*), whom he accompanied in his embaſſy to France, in the nineteenth year of that reign (*h*); and, making a proper uſe of the advantage which this afforded, entered, not long after, into the King's ſervice, as appears from a patent (*i*) granted him for the office of Maſter of the Armory of the Tower, with the allowance of a groom. His hopes at Court did not hinder him from attending to his concerns in the country, where he was very careful to improve his intereſt amongſt the gentry; and, in 1536, was Sheriff of Staffordſhire, where he lived hoſpitably, and had the good-will of his neighbours in a much greater degree than when he was exalted to a far ſuperior ſtation (*k*). About two years after this he entered himſelf of the ſociety of Gray's-Inn (*l*): but that he ever ſtudied the laws there, as his father did, ſeems to be very doubtful; though ſome authority might be brought to prove it (*m*). The Court was ſtill his home, and Wolſey his patron ſo long as he had power. He was alſo in great confidence with the next Prime Miniſter, Thomas Lord Cromwell; ſo that, upon the coming over of Lady Anne of Cleves, whom that ſtateſman had engaged the King to marry, when that Lord was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Eſſex and Great Chamberlain of England, he was made Maſter of the Horſe to the intended Queen (*n*). On the firſt of May 1539, he was the firſt of the challengers in the triumphant tournament held at Weſtminſter, in which he appeared with great magnificence (*o*) [*A*]. The fall of

(*a*) Lord Herbert's Hiſt. of H. VIII. p. 6.

(*b*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 218.

(*c*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 421.

(*d*) Pat. 15. H. VIII. p. 1.

(*e*) Stowe's Annals, p. 519, 520.

(*f*) November 6th, 1523.

(*g*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 421.

(*h*) Stowe's Annals, p. 531.

(*i*) Pat. 26 H. VIII. p. 1.

(*k*) Fuller's Worthies in Staffordſhire, p. 53.

(*l*) Origines Juridiciales, p. 299.

(*m*) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 189.

(*n*) Holinſhed's Chron. p. 919. *b*.

(*o*) Stowe's Annals, p. 579.

[*A*] *In which he appeared with great magnificence.*] We are told that this great man, who did not riſe overhaſtily at the beginning, took a great deal of pains to qualify himſelf for the King's ſervice; in order to which he made a tour to Italy, and remained ſome time at Rome: as with the like deſign he viſited France, by which means he became a very complete courtier, and capable of employments of very different kinds (1). In this, which was to make way for his future honours, he, to pleaſe the King, accepted an office in the houſehold of a Queen who was not likely to enjoy that honour long, it being well enough known in the Court, that the King had not married her from affection but from policy (2). This tournament, in which he made the principal figure, had been proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spain, for all comers to try their proweſs againſt the Engliſh challengers, who were Sir John Dudley, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Thomas Poynings, Sir George Carew, Knights; Anthony Kingſton, and Richard Cromwell, Eſquires. They came into the liſts upon May-day, preceded by a band of Knights and Gentlemen, all dreſſed in white velvet: the furniture of their horſes was of the ſame, but the challengers themſelves were very richly dreſſed. The firſt day there were forty-ſix defendants, amongſt whom were the Earl of Surrey, Lord William Howard, Lord Clinton, and Lord Cromwell, ſon to the Prime-Miniſter, who was a little before created Earl of Eſſex. Sir John Dudley, by ſome miſchance of his horſe, had the misfortune to be overthrown by one Mr. Breme; but, however, he mounted again and performed very gallantly. After this was over, the challengers rode in ſtate to Durham-houſe, where they entertained the King, Queen, and Court. On the ſecond of May, Anthony Kingſton and Richard Cromwell were made Knights; on the third,

(1) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 421.

(2) Burnet's Hiſt of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 271.

of the Earl of Eſſex, which happened ſoon after, did not in the leaſt affect the favour or the fortune of Sir John Dudley, who had a very great dexterity in maintaining himſelf in the good graces of powerful miniſters, without embarking too far in their deſigns (*p*), preſerving always a proper regard for the ſentiments of his ſovereign, which kept him in full credit at Court in the midſt of many changes, as well of men as of meaſures. It was owing to this wiſe conduct of his, as well as to his ſplendid manner of living and great liberality, not only to the extent but beyond the limits of his eſtate, that he never wanted friends to ſolicit in his behalf, and to excite, in his royal maſter, a juſt attention to his ſervices (*q*). This very clearly appeared ſoon after the death of his father-in-law, when the King, by letters patent, bearing date the twelfth of March 1542, raiſed him to the dignity of Viſcount L'Iſle (*r*), with very ſingular marks of his eſteem and conſideration [*B*]. At the next feſtival of St. George, he was alſo elected Knight of the Garter (*s*). This was ſoon after followed by a much higher inſtance, both of kindneſs and truſt; indeed, ſuch an inſtance as had ſcarcely any example in former times, and has not been conſidered as a precedent fit to follow in thoſe that have ſucceeded ſince; for, the King, conſidering his prudence, his courage, and his activity, as well as the occaſion he had, and was like to have, for a man of ſuch talents in that office, conſtituted him Lord High-Admiral of England for life (*t*). The next year he commanded a fleet of two hundred ſail, with which he proceeded to the Scotch coaſts, where he performed all the ſervice that was expected from him, and, having landed his forces, marched through the ſouthern provinces of Scotland by land, and moſt effectually reſtored the tranquillity of the marches (*u*) [*C*]. He next embarked for France, and, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1543, appeared before Boulogne, then beſieged by King Henry VIII. in perſon, and, by his great diligence and courage, facilitated very much the taking of the place, of which the King left him the charge, with the title of his Lieutenant (*w*). In this important employment he did more than his maſter had reaſon to expect, and as much as the nation or himſelf could deſire [*D*].

(*p*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 421.

(*q*) Strype's Memorials.

(*r*) Pat. 34 H. VIII. p. 3.

(*s*) Regiſter of the order of the Garter.

(*t*) Pat. 34 H. VIII. p. 7.

(*u*) Cowper, Holinſhed, and Strype.

(*w*) Stowe's Annals, p. 585.

t

hird, the challengers fought on horſeback with ſwords againſt twenty-nine defendants; Sir John Dudley and the Earl of Surrey running firſt with equal advantage. On the fifth of May they fought on foot at the barriers againſt thirty defendants. In the courſe of theſe military diverſions, the challengers, at a vaſt expence, entertained both Houſes of Parliament, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and their wives, and all the perſons of diſtinction then in town, as a reward for which, the King gave to each of them a houſe and a hundred marks a year for ever, out of the revenues of the Knights of Rhodes, which had been given to his Majeſty by the Parliament then ſitting (3).

(3) Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 950, 951.

[*B*] *Of his eſteem and conſideration.*] We have before obſerved, that, upon the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Viſcount L'Iſle, and widow of Edmund Dudley, Eſq. to Sir Arthur Plantagenet, he was raiſed to that dignity, which was limited to his heirs male by that lady, in prejudice of her children by the firſt marriage: but he dying in the Tower on the third of March 1542 (4), it was repreſented to the King that this honour naturally deſcended to Sir John Dudley, to which therefore he was advanced by patent (5), in conſideration (as the preamble ſets forth) not only of the acceptable and laudable ſervices of his beloved and faithful ſubject, Sir John Dudley, Knight, variouſly done, but alſo his vigilance, foreſight, faithfulneſs, valour, and illuſtrious deſcent: to hold the ſaid title to him and the heirs male of his body, and to enjoy ſeat and place in Parliament among the Viſcounts of this realm of England, and in all other the King's dominions, with a grant of an annuity of twenty marks, payable half yearly out of the revenues of the counties of Warwick and Leiceſter, by the Sheriffs of the ſaid counties.

(4) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 312.

(5) Pat. 34 H. VIII. p. 3.

[*C*] *The tranquillity of the marches.*] We find the Lord Viſcount L'Iſle, from the time of his being promoted to the great office of Lord High-Admiral, commonly mentioned, by that title, in all our hiſtories. It is plain enough, that he had ſerved with reputation at ſea, before he obtained that honour, ſince we are told, by a perſon who attended him in all his expeditions, that he boarded and took the Admiral of Sluys, fighting her ſhip to ſhip (6). In this expedition to Scotland, he had a fleet of two hundred ſail, on board of which, at Newcaſtle, he embarked an army of ten thouſand men: on the fourth of May, 1544, he landed the troops about four miles from Leith, whence they marched to Edinburgh, the Lord-Admiral commanding the van-guard, and the Earl of Hertford the main battle (7): the former had the credit of routing the Scots, and of forcing the principal gate of Edinburgh, into which, he was the firſt man that entered (8): the fleet alſo did infinite miſchief, ruining the ſea-coaſts, and taking all the ſhips which the Scots had in thoſe parts, particularly the Salamander, a very fine ſhip of war, preſented by the French King to his ſon-in-law King James, at the time of his marriage: and the Unicorn, built by order of the King of Scots. The fleet quitted Leith on the 15th of May, after ſpoiling the port, deſtroying the pier, burning the town, ruining the towns and villages on each ſide the river, as high as Stirling, and ſinking every veſſel, great and ſmall, that they did not carry away. The land army, in its return, proceeded with the ſame rigour, and in our hiſtories there is a long liſt of places, by the ruin of which their rout was diſtinguiſhed (9). This was, in execution of the King's orders: afterwards, it ſeems his hiſtorian thought of it in another light, when he ſaid, we did on that occaſion too much for lovers, and for conquerors, too little (10).

(6) The valiant exploits of the Right Honourable the Viſcount L'Iſle, Lord Admiral, &c. by Mr. Cock, Lancaſter-Herald, preſerved amongſt the papers of the Sidney family.

(7) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 331.

(8) Lancaſter-Herald's account of his exploits before cited.

(9) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 963.

(10) Lord Herbert's Hiſt. of H. VIII. in the Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 423.

[*D*] *As the nation or himſelf could deſire.*] The ſiege of Boulogne, was formed on the 19th of July by the Duke of Suffolk. The King came to the camp in perſon on the 26th; and the Lord Admiral arrived there on the 28th of the ſame month, where he encamped the neareſt the town of any of the King's forces. In this ſiege, he was preſent in moſt of the attacks, and had there the misfortune to loſe his eldeſt ſon. The place was ſurrendered on the 14th. of Sept. and, on the 18th, the King made his public entry into it, and, ſoon after, delivered the keys of the place to the Lord-Admiral, with the title of Governor; and, upon his embarking for England on the 30th of the ſame month, declared him his Lieutenant-General (11). The Dauphin being not far off, with an army of upwards of 50,000 men, he firſt formed a deſign of retaking the place by ſiege; and afterwards, on the 9th of October, attempted it by ſurpriſe, in which, through the vigilance care, and courage of the Lord-Admiral and his garriſon, the French were repulſed, with the loſs of 800 men of their beſt troops; and this, all our writers allow (12) to have been one of the gallanteſt actions performed in that war, none of the breaches being repaired, and the place in a manner open. On the 1ſt of February following, the Lord-Admiral, ſallying out of Boulogne with a ſmall body of horſe and foot, attacked a much ſuperior corps of French forces, under the command of Monſ. de Beiz, forced them to retire precipitately, and made themſelves maſters of twelve pieces of cannon (13).

(11) From the Journal of this Siege, inſerted in Ld. Herbert's Hiſtory.

(12) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 967. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 342.

(13) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 967.

On the twenty-ſeventh of March, 1646, the King declared him, by patent, Lieutenant-General, and commander of all his forces at ſea (*x*), for the more effectual carrying on of the war againſt France; and this at a time when the French, by the help of money, and alliances with the maritime powers of Europe, had drawn together a very great naval force, and threatened to make the Engliſh feel the weight of it, not only at ſea, but by covering an invaſion, which they had long meditated; all which vaſt deſigns were fruſtrated by the courage and conduct of the Lord Viſcount L'Iſle, with a force much inferior to theirs (*y*). After this the Lord High-Admiral returned their viſit, landed five thouſand men upon their coaſts, burnt the town of Treport, and ſome other villages; and the French army advancing offered them battle, which they declined; and he thereupon reimbarked his troops, having, in this expedition, loſt only a ſingle man, and done infinite miſchief to the enemy (*z*) [*E*]. The ſame year he was, together with Dr. Cuthbert Tonſtall, Biſhop of Durham, and Dr. Nicolas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York, appointed a Commiſſioner to take the oath of Francis the French King, for obſerving the treaty of peace ſigned June 7th, 1546 (*a*); which he performed with great ſolemnity. On the ſixteenth of October following, he was, together with many other perſons of rank, named in a commiſſion for ſettling accompts of the army. This was one of the laſt ſervices he performed in the reign of that great Prince, to whom he owed all his honours and fortune, receiving from him, towards the cloſe of his reign, very large grants of church-lands, which delivered him from the inconveniences that muſt otherwiſe have enſued from his unbounded generoſity; which grants, however, created him many enemies (*b*) [*F*]. The King's health daily declining, his Majeſty made the beſt proviſion he could for the ſafety and quiet of his ſon's reign; in order to which he cauſed his laſt will and teſtament to be framed, with much deliberation, by the ableſt and wiſeſt of his counſellors, which he ſealed and ſubſcribed December 30th, 1546 (*c*); and therein, as the laſt mark of his affection and truſt, he named Sir John Dudley, Lord Viſcount L'Iſle, one of his ſixteen executors, and gave him alſo a legacy of five hundred pounds, which was the higheſt that he beſtowed upon any of them (*d*). By this will they were conſtituted Privy Counſellors, and had the government put into their hands, which gave them a legal authority, ſince this will was founded upon act of Parliament (*e*). On the laſt day of the month of January ſucceeding, King Henry VIII. died, and his ſon Edward VI. ſucceeded him, to the general joy and ſatisfaction of the nation (*f*). It was not long before great alterations were made in the diſpoſitions by the late King's will; which alterations were, in truth, the ſource of all the miſchiefs that followed. The Earl of Hertford, who was the King's uncle, and, by that near relation, in very great credit about his perſon, thought that ſufficient regard had not been ſhewn to him, by the bare nomination to a ſeat in the Council, among ſo many, where, at firſt, he did not perceive that he was like to have any precedency. He therefore preſſed to be declared Protector, that the ſtate might have ſome viſible head; to which, very probably, from their own views, the major part of the Council yielded, much againſt the will of the Lord Chancellor Wriotheſly, who ſhewed, that this was departing entirely from the will of Henry VIII. which was the legal rule they had (*g*). The Protector ſoon after took from him the ſeals, and thought of nothing ſo much as how to eſtabliſh his own power. It is indeed reported, by many writers, that he was excited to theſe ſteps by a wiſer man than himſelf, by

(*x*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 84.

(*y*) The valiant exploits of the Right Honourable the Viſcount Liſle, Lord Admiral, &c. by Mr. Cock, Lancaſter-Herald, preſerved among the papers of the Sidney family.

(*z*) Hayward's life of Ed. VI. p. 16.

(*a*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 98.

(*b*) See this point explained in the note.

(*c*) Alen, Qu. p. 32.

(*d*) See the King's Will in Fuller's Church Hiſtory.

(*e*) See Lord Herbert's Hiſt. of the Reformation.

(*f*) Stowe's Annals, p. 593.

(*g*) Hayward, Burnet, Strype.

[*E*] *And done infinite miſchief to the enemy.*] The French King, at an immenſe expence, hired, from ſeveral of the Italian powers, what in thoſe days was accounted a very large fleet. It conſiſted of upwards of two hundred ſail of all ſorts, beſides galleys; which, however, met with an accident when it firſt put to ſea, one of their beſt ſhips, of the burthen of eight hundred ton, taking fire (14). Between Alderney and Guernſey, their galleys attacked the Lord Admiral, who, had but a ſmall ſquadron with him, bending all their endeavours to take his own ſhip; which, however, he defended ſo well againſt eighteen of thoſe veſſels at once, that they were at length glad to retire (15). The whole French fleet appearing before St. Helen's, and making a ſhow of attempting ſomething upon the coaſt, the Admiral advanced, with his ſmall fleet of ſixty ſail; but after exchanging ſome ſhot, the French retired. The Engliſh fleet being then reinforced, and taking ſome troops on-board, offered them battle again, forced them to retire to their own coaſts, where they were ſpectators of thoſe miſchiefs done by the Engliſh (16), which are briefly mentioned in the text. All theſe tranſactions happened between the beginning of June, and the end of Auguſt, 1545.

(14) Lord Herbert's Hiſt. of H. VIII. Vol. II. p. 250.

(15) Lancaſter-Herald's account of his exploits before cited.

(16) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 970.

[*F*] *Which grants, however, created him many enemies.*] The Abbey of Hales-Owen, in Shropſhire, dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin and St. John the Evangeliſt; which, at the diſſolution, had lands of the annual value of three hundred thirty-ſeven pounds, fifteen-ſhillings and ſix-pence, according to Speed, was granted to Sir John Dudley by King Henry VIII. in the thirtieth year of his reign (17): the hoſpital of Burton Lazars, in Leiceſterſhire, which was the largeſt foundation of that kind in England, being valued, both according to Dugdale and Speed, at the annual rent of two-hundred ſixty-five pounds, ten ſhillings, was granted to the Lord L'Iſle, by the ſame monarch, in the thirty-ſixth year of his reign (18): the manor of Choſel, near Ringſtead, in the County of Norfolk, was about the ſame time granted to him, as being annexed to the hoſpital beforementioned: by the ſame grant he acquired the hoſpital of St. Giles's (19), without the Bar of the Old Temple, London. The ſame King, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his reign, granted to John Dudley, Lord Viſcount L'Iſle, and Lord High-Admiral of England, as well in conſideration of his ſervice as for the ſum of one thouſand pounds ſterling, the ſite, circuit, and precinct of the hoſpital, or priory of St. John of Jeruſalem (20), only the lead, bells, timber, ſtone, glaſs, and iron, and other things of the church, were ſpecially reſerved to the King's Majeſty. I have likewiſe ſeen accounts of ſome other ſmall grants, with which I will not trouble the reader.

(17) Tanner's Notitia Monaſtica, p. 452.

(18) Ibid. p. 239.

(19) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 500. Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 602. 611.

(20) Ibid. p. 668.

whom they mean the Lord Viſcount L'Iſle (*b*); but of this, as there is no evidence, ſo in truth there is not much probability. Amongſt the firſt of the Protector's projects, one was, to get his brother, Sir Thomas Seymour, made High-Admiral, in whoſe favour the Lord Viſcount L'Iſle reſigned, not willingly (*i*) to be ſure, but upon the beſt terms he could make. Accordingly, February 17, 1547, the very ſame day that the new Lord Admiral's patent paſſed, he was created Earl of Warwick, and made Great Chamberlain of England; neither was it long before he had great grants from the crown, particularly Warwick Caſtle and Manor (*k*). This has occaſioned ſeveral writers to repreſent the promotions made, and titles conferred about this time, as proceeding from his intrigues; whereas, in truth, he had a title by deſcent to the Earldom of Warwick. King Henry VIII. intended to have created him Earl of Coventry (*l*); and the new King's coronation made it natural to do ſomething extraordinary to grace it. The Duke of Somerſet, Lord Protector, finding himſelf under a neceſſity of marching an army into Scotland, reſolved to command it in perſon, and took the Earl of Warwick with him, in quality of his Lieutenant-General (*m*). In this expedition he added to that reputation which he had already acquired, as even his enemies themſelves confeſs, being the chief author of that victory which was then obtained, and would alſo have puſhed the war to a glorious concluſion, if he had been intruſted with the ſole command. As it was, his conduct was univerſally commended, and all the blame fell elſewhere (*n*) [G]. He was next employed by the Duke of Somerſet, Lord Protector, in

(*b*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 422.

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 594.

(*k*) Pat. 1 Ed. VI. p. 6. 9.

(*l*) Strype's Memorials.

(*m*) Stowe's Annals, p. 595.

(*n*) See Patten's Relation, inſerted both in Hayward and Holinſhed.

[G] *And all the blame fell elſewhere.*] Sir John Hayward, who took upon him to write the hiſtory of this reign, was no friend at all to the noble perſon who is the ſubject of this article, and yet he allows him all the honour of this expedition. We will firſt give the reader a ſhort character of the Earl of Warwick as he has drawn it, and afterwards ſome other paſſages, which will fully juſtify what we have advanced in the text (21). 'The Earl of Warwick,' ſays he, 'was a man of antient nobility, comely in ſtature 'and countenance, but of little gravity or abſtinence 'in pleaſures, yea ſometimes almoſt diſſolute, which 'was not much regarded, if, in a time when vices be'gan to grow into faſhion, a great man was not over 'ſevere. He was of a great ſpirit and highly aſpiring, 'not forbearing to make any miſchief the means of 'attaining his ambitious ends. Hereto his good wit 'and pleaſant ſpeeches were altogether ſerviceable, 'having the art alſo by empty promiſes and threats to 'draw others to his purpoſe. In matters of arms he 'was both ſkilful and induſtrious, and, as well in fore'ſight as reſolution, preſent and great. To ſay truth, 'for enterprizes by arms he was the minion of that 'time, ſo as few things he attempted but he atchieved 'with honour, which made him more proud and am'bitious when he had done. He generally increaſed 'both in eſtimation with the King, and authority 'among the nobility, doubtful, whether by fatal deſ'tiny to the ſtate, or whether by his virtues, or at leaſt 'by his appearances of virtues.' After this character, the ſame author proceeds to give us the following relation (22): 'As the Engliſh directed their way to'wards the place where they underſtood the Scots aſ'ſembled, they came to a river called Lynne, croſſed 'with a bridge of ſtone. The horſemen and carriages 'paſſed through the water, the footmen over the 'bridge, which, becauſe it was narrow, the army 'was long in ſetting over. The avaunt-guard marched 'forth, and the battail followed; but, as the rear was 'paſſing over, a thick miſt did ariſe. The Earl of 'Warwick, having before eſpied certain plumps of 'Scottiſh horſemen in ranging the field, returned to'wards the rear, to prevent ſuch danger as the thick'neſs of the miſt, the nearneſs of the enemy, and the 'diſarray occaſioned by the narrowneſs of the bridge, 'might caſt upon them. The Scots conjecturing, as 'it was, that ſome perſonage of honour ſtayed to have 'a view of the rear, called to the Engliſh to know if 'any Nobleman were near, for that one whom they 'named, well known to be of honourable condition, 'would preſent himſelf to the General, in caſe he 'might ſafely be conducted. Certain young ſoldiers, 'not uſed to ſuch trains, made raſh and ſudden an'ſwer, That the Earl of Warwick was near, under 'whoſe protection he might be aſſured. Hereupon 'they paſſed the water, placed two hundred of their 'prickers behind a hillock, and, with forty more, 'caſt about to find the Earl. Now the Earl eſpying 'ſix or ſeven of them ſcattered near the army, and 'taking them to be of the Engliſh, ſent one to com'mand them to their array, and to that end himſelf 'rode an eaſy pace towards them, followed only with 'ten or twelve on horſeback. He, that had been ſent 'before, was ſo heedleſs either to obſerve or advertiſe 'what they were, that the Earl did not diſcover them 'to be enemies until he was in the midſt among them. 'Certainly a Commander ſhould not careleſsly caſt 'himſelf into danger: but when, either upon neceſ'ſity or miſadventure he falleth into it, it much ad'vanceth both his reputation and enterprize if brave'ly he behave himſelf. Now, the Earl, eſpying where 'he was, gave ſo rude a charge upon a Captain of the 'Scots, named Dandy Care, that he forced him to 'turn, and chaced him above twelve ſcore at the lance's 'point. Herewith the reſidue retired deceitfully to'wards the place of their ambuſh, from whence iſſued 'about ſixty more. Then the Earl gathered his ſmall 'company about him, and, with good countenance, 'maintained the fight. But the enemy in the end, 'whether perceiving ſome ſuccours advancing from 'the army where the alarm was then taken, or whe'ther intending to draw the Engliſh further into their 'ambuſh, turned away an eaſy pace. The Earl for'bad his men from following, fearing a greater am'buſh behind the hill, as in truth there was. At his 'return he was received with great applauſe by the 'Engliſh ſoldiers, for that he did ſo well acquit him'ſelf in the danger, whereunto, by error and not 'by raſhneſs, he had been carried. One of his men 'was ſlain; another hurt in the buttock; a third, 'named Vane, ſo grievouſly hewn, that many thou'ſands have died of leſs than half his hurts, whereof, 'notwithſtanding, he was cured afterwards. Of the 'Scots three were taken priſoners, and preſented to 'the General by the Earl.' When a challenge was brought, in the name of the Earl of Huntley, to the Lord Protector, the Earl of Warwick told the trumpeter, that he would undertake that Lord, and give give him a thouſand crowns reward upon his bringing news that his offer was accepted (23). In the battle of Muſſleborough, fought Sept. 10, which was one of the greateſt defeats the Scots ever received, the victory was the pure effects of the courage and conduct of the Earl of Warwick. The Lord Grey began the battle, contrary to his orders, and, being ſoundly beaten, had like to have thrown all into confuſion; but the Earl of Warwick ſtood firm, though very much expoſed, and, giving his orders with great preſence of mind, recovered all, and drove the Scots out of the field. What little was done afterwards was by his command, and the execution of it truſted to his brother, Sir Andrews Dudley (24). But the Protector had his reaſons for returning as ſoon as poſſible to London; and Biſhop Burnet ſays, that the Earl of Warwick was not diſpleaſed with that, becauſe he ſaw it would leſſen the Duke's reputation; which is a conjecture only, and ought

(21) Hiſt. Ed. VI. p. 15. in which what regards the war with the Scots is by far the beſt written part of the book, being drawn from Patten's Relation. Stowe's Chron. p. 594.

(22) Hayward's Hiſt. of Ed. VI. p. 17.

(23) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 984. in which Patten's Relation is inſerted in his own words; and there it is but one hundred crowns, whereas Hayward makes it one thouſand.

(24) Lancaſter-Herald's account of his exploits, before cited Hayward, Holinſhed, Stowe.

in conjunction with many other honourable perſons, to compromiſe matters with the French, who, after the death of King Henry, were very deſirous of getting Boulogne again into their hands (*o*), which it was of great conſequence to the Protector to prevent, and yet to avoid, if poſſible, engaging in a war; both which ends were effected for the preſent; to which the induſtry and authority of the Earl of Warwick did not a little contribute (*p*). It was this activity of his in buſineſs, which was generally attended with ſucceſs, that chiefly recommended him to the Protector Somerſet, who certainly had much ſlowneſs and timidity in his nature, which made him admire men of quick parts and ſolid abilities, whoſe advice he uſed from time to time, but more eſpecially liſtened to the counſels of Warwick, Sir William Paget, who was Secretary, and Sir William Cecil, who afterwards enjoyed the ſame place (*q*). Happy had it been for him, if he had conſtantly followed their opinions. But it ſo fell out, that, without regarding the feebleneſs of the government, he perſiſted in a war with Scotland, which was very indifferently managed, aſſumed the direction of affairs at home entirely to himſelf, undertook too many great enterprizes at once, which unluckily croſſed one another, and, by degrees, brought all into confuſion (*r*). His own brother, the Lord Admiral, entered into ſtrange practices againſt him, which occaſioned great diſturbance in the Court. But there is no ſign that the Earl of Warwick had any correſpondence with him, but, on the contrary, diſcountenanced his proceedings, and, in appearance at leaſt, ſupported the cauſe of the Duke of Somerſet, who, after temporizing a long time, cauſed the Lord Admiral, in the end, to be attainted by Parliament, and executed (*s*). In the midſt of theſe troubles, the common people in moſt parts of the kingdom, as is uſual when any ſtate is diſtracted by factions, began to grow mutinous and diſobedient, and, at laſt, broke out into inſurrections (*t*). The Protector Somerſet permitted theſe to grow to a great head, either from an unwillingneſs to ſhed the blood of his countrymen, for he was certainly a man of a mild and merciful diſpoſition, or that he might gain time to bring in foreign troops, which he might have afterwards at his own diſpoſal. In Devonſhire they grew ſo ſtrong, that they beſieged the city of Exeter, and, before they could be reduced by the Lord Ruſſell, a new rebellion broke out in Norfolk, under the command of one Robert Ket, a tanner, who was very ſoon at the head of ten thouſand men (*u*). The ſwiftneſs of their progreſs excited a commotion in Yorkſhire; and, in both places, the rebels went upon levelling principles, thought of nothing but pulling down the nobility, and changing the conſtitution at their fancy. This was an evil not to be trifled with; and therefore an army of ſix thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, which was to have been employed againſt the Scots, received orders to march towards the rebels, under the command of John Earl of Warwick, whoſe known military abilities rendered him fitteſt for this ſervice. He preſerved Norwich with ſome difficulty, and afterwards fought with the rebels, who, both in drawing up their men, and in the courſe of the action, behaved much better than could have been expected from ſuch raw ſoldiers (*w*). The Earl, however, defeated them, and killed about a thouſand men; other writers ſay many more. This greatly diſcouraged, but did not diſſipate, them: on the contrary, they collected all their ſcattered parties, and offered him battle a ſecond time. The Earl marched directly towards them, but, when he was on the very point of engaging, he ſent them a meſſage, "That he was ſorry to ſee ſo "much courage expreſſed in ſo bad a cauſe; but that, notwithſtanding what was paſſed, "they might depend upon the King's pardon on delivering up of their leaders;" to which they anſwered, "That he was a nobleman of ſo much worth and generoſity, that, "if they might have the aſſurance from his own mouth, they were willing to ſub-"mit (*x*)." The Earl accordingly went amongſt them, upon which they threw down their arms, delivered up Robert Ket and his brother William, with the reſt of their chiefs, who were hanged; upon hearing which the Yorkſhire rebels diſperſed, and ſo all was quiet again (*y*). This rebellion being ſuppreſſed in the ſummer, the Lords of the King's Council, amongſt whom was the Earl of Warwick, began in the autumn to confer amongſt themſelves, as to the cauſes of that diſtreſſed and diſcontented ſtate into which the nation was reduced. The Protector, upon this, ſent Secretary Petre to know the meaning of their meetings, whom they kept with them; and, October 8th, 1549, they went into the city, where, having acquainted the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, that they had no other views than for the ſafety of the King's perſon, the redreſs of grievances, and the reſtoring the peace of the kingdom, the city thank-

(*o*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 135.

(*p*) Hayward, Burnet, Stype.

(*q*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 424.

(*r*) Stowe, Holinſhed, Speed.

(*s*) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 996.

(*t*) Stowe's Annals, p. 597.

(*u*) Hayward, Burnet, and Stype.

(*w*) There is a long and very diſtinct relation of this expedition in Speed.

(*x*) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1036.

(*y*) Stowe's Annals, p. 597.

ought to be conſidered as ſuch, and not at all eſteemed a fact, ſince there is no evidence to ſupport it (25). At that time the Protector had ſo good an opinion of the Earl of Warwick, that he left him behind in the North to treat with the Scots, which proved indeed a thing of no conſequence, as the Scots never intended to treat, but made that propoſal to the Duke of Somerſet only to gain time; as the Duke accepted it becauſe it afforded him a fair pretence for returning into England (26). It has little or no relation to the Earl of Warwick's character, whether this war was wiſely or imprudently entered into; ſince it is univerſally acknowledged, that he diſcharged the truſt repoſed in him with great capacity, hazarded his perſon freely, and, by a right application of his military ſkill, gained a glorious victory, which procured him, at that time, what he certainly deſerved, a very great and high reputation.

(25) Hiſt. of the Reform. Vol. II. p. 35.

(26) See Hayward and Burnet.

fully concurred with them; upon which the Protector, who had removed the King from Hampton-Court to Windsor, submitted himself, and was sent prisoner to the Tower on the 28th of the same month (z). The Earl of Warwick was again made Lord High-Admiral, by the King's letters patent, with very extensive powers (a). At this time, it is said, the Papists had some hopes that he would favour their religion; but, whether as a Politician he gave them any grounds for these hopes, whether they took them up without grounds, or whether, as others had done, he altered his system when he came into power, certain it is that he adhered steadily to the reformation, and, shortly after, procured the removal of some who differed in opinion from him in that and many other respects (b) [H]. He stood, at this time, so high in the King's favour, and had settled so firm a friendship with the rest of the Lords of the Council, that nothing was done but by his advice or consent; to which, therefore, we must attribute the release of the Duke of Somerset out of the Tower, and restoring him to some share of power and favour at Court. The King was much pleased with this, and, being desirous that the friendship of these two great men should not be barely in appearance, a marriage was proposed between the eldest son of the Earl of Warwick and the Lady Anne Seymour, daughter to the Duke of Somerset; which, at length, was brought to bear, and, on the third of June, 1550, was solemnized in the King's presence, who expressed great satisfaction thereat (c). The King's favour to him still continued, or rather increased, so that upon his surrendering the office of Lord High-Chamberlain of England, which was bestowed upon the Marquis of Northampton, the King was pleased to make him Lord Steward of his Household, by Letters Patents (d), not only expressive of his Majesty's affection and esteem, but containing also some other matters that deserve the reader's notice [I]. In the month of April, 1551, he was constituted Earl-Marshal

(z) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 136.

(a) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 124.

(b) Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. Vol. II. p. 139.

(c) Taken from King Edward's Journal.

(d) Pat. 4 Ed. VI. p. 2.

[H] *In that and many other respects.*] If we consider the removal of the Lord Protector Somerset from the government, as it is stated by Stowe and other plain writers, it will appear that the far greatest part of the King's Council concurred in that measure, and offered very plausible reasons for their so doing (27). Sir John Hayward is very clear, that the whole was a contrivance of the Earl of Warwick's, that the rest were but his tools, and that the articles objected against the Protector were invented to make him odious (28). It is very true, that when the Council met to take this bold step of pulling down the King's uncle, it was at Ely-house, where the Earl of Warwick then resided; yet it no where appears that he was at the head of this business; nor indeed could he be, when the Lord Chancellor Rich, and the Lord St. John, who was President of the Council, were at all the consultations. The articles against the Protector are extant in our histories: there is nothing in them of black and heinous crimes, but of presumption, overbearing, and high indiscretions; many of the facts in them were notoriously known, and the Duke of Somerset confessed them in his submission (29). When the Lords went to the King to justify their complaints, the Earl of Warwick went not with them, which Sir John Hayward says was a piece of craft; it might be so, and it might also be the effects of tenderness and modesty. He was appointed by the Council one of the Lords to attend upon the King's person, which was a great honour, but then he shared it with five others (30). Sir John Hayward speaks much of his secret conferences with the Earls of Arundel and Southampton, and affirms, that, not being able to work these great Peers to serve his purposes, he got them both excluded from the Council. Bishop Burnet is of quite another opinion: he suggests, that the Papists were in hopes of making some great advantage by this notable change in the government, because they were sure of the other two Earls, and had a favourable opinion of Warwick (31). But it seems he was a very great politician: he saw that the King was a firm Protestant, and perhaps he made it a rule with him to be of the religion of the Crown; so that it is very likely his conferences with Arundel and Southampton might be upon this subject, Whether it was best to stop the reformation of religion, or to promote it? and there is nothing more certain than that in this they differed, that the two Earls were for the old Popish road: but the Earl of Warwick was for marching in the King's high-way; and therefore it is no wonder that he procured their exclusion from Councils, in which he was determined to lead, and knew very well they were not inclined to follow (32). In all this he acted like a great Statesman, though perhaps not upon virtuous or religious principles. Whatever censures he may deserve for this must light upon him in common with many others; for, few Statesmen are very remarkable for a steady adherence to any thing but their own interest; and, if his happened at this time to concur with the true interest of his country, he was so much the less to blame.

(27) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 597. Holinshed, Vol. II. p. 1057.

(28) Hist. Ed. VI. p. 322.

(29) Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. Vol. II. p. 138.

(30) King Edward's Journal of his own reign, in the Appendix to Bishop Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation.

(31) Hist. Ed. VI. p. 103. 112. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 139, 140.

(32) See what is said upon this subject in Leicester's Commonwealth.

[I] *That deserve the reader's notice.*] These letters patent bear date, February 20, 1550, in the fourth of Edward VI (33), wherein the King recites, 'That 'whereas Henry VIII. late King of England, granted 'to his most beloved cousin and chancellor, Charles, 'late Duke of Suffolk, deceased, the office of Lord 'Steward of the Household, by the name of Great 'Master of the Household, or the Great Master of the 'King's Household: and whereas, by Act of Parliament, in May 22, Hen. VIII. it was enacted, that, 'during the time the late Duke of Suffolk, and his 'successors in the said office, should enjoy the said 'post of Lord Steward, they should be called Lord 'Steward of the King's Household, as by the said 'Act appears. That, attributing much to the loyalty, wisdom, and virtue, of his beloved cousin and 'counsellor, John, Earl of Warwick, &c. and having always experienced his constancy in the Christian 'Religion, his valour in war, sedition, and riots; 'his friendly and faithful inclination towards him, 'and desiring his abode and residence in his palace, 'and attendance on his royal person: By advice of his 'Privy-Council, he grants to the said Earl of Warwick the office of Lord or Great Master of his 'Household for life, with all fees, wages, &c. as the 'said Duke of Suffolk, Earl of Wiltshire, or any 'Steward of the King's Household, held, or enjoyed: 'and commands, that the said Earl of Warwick have 'his Letters Patent, without fine or fee, great or 'small, to his use to be paid.' At this time he was looked upon as so warm a Protestant, that the most zealous divines had recourse to his favour and protection; amongst the rest, Dr. Hooper, appointed about that time Bishop of Gloucester, who scrupled much the wearing the episcopal habit, and for whom the Earl, out of respect to the tenderness of his conscience, actually interposed; but afterwards, when the Earl became better acquainted with the state of the question, and was made sensible of the consequences that might follow from indulging such a singularity in sentiments, he withdrew his protection, and Dr. Hooper was forced to submit (34). On the other hand, though it is certain, that Dr. Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, wrote him a letter of compliment after the fall of the Protector, yet he never shewed him any countenance, nor did he give the least opposition to his being deprived of the rich Bishoprick of Winchester,

(33) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 203. 208.

(34) Fuller's Church Hist. cent. xvi. p. 403. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 152. 154.

Marſhal of England (*e*): but whereas a certain Hiſtorian ſays, that he was joined in an embaſſy with William Marquis of Northampton to the French King, about the ſame time (*f*), it is clearly a miſtake; ſince it appears, from unexceptionable authority, that it was his ſon, the Lord Viſcount L'Iſle. On the 15th of Auguſt the ſame year, Sir Robert Dudley, one of the Earl's younger ſons, was ſworn one of the ſix ordinary Gentlemen of the Chamber (*g*). A ſhort time afterwards the Earl of Warwick was made Lord-Warden of the Northern Marches (*h*); and, on the 11th of October the ſame year, he was advanced to the dignity of Duke of Northumberland (*i*), at the ſame time that the Marquis of Dorſet was created Duke of Suffolk. In a few days after theſe promotions, the conſpiracy of the Duke of Somerſet, as it was called, broke out, being betrayed by Sir Thomas Palmer. The Duke, his Ducheſs, and ſeveral other perſons, were ſent priſoners to the Tower; and the King, being perſuaded that he had really formed a deſign to murder the Duke of Northumberland, reſolved to leave him to the law (*k*). Accordingly, on the 1ſt of December, he was brought to his trial in Weſtminſter-Hall, where the Duke of Northumberland, which was very indecent, ſat as one of his Judges (*l*). He was acquitted of the treaſon, but found guilty of the felony, upon a ſtatute made in the third year of that reign, received ſentence of death, and, on the 22d of January following, was executed upon Tower-hill; which many conſidered as an effect of the potent Duke of Northumberland's reſentment (*m*) [*K*]. About this time, or rather a little before, he was elected Chancellor of Cambridge

(*e*) Pat. 5 Ed. VI. p. 4.

(*f*) Sir John Hayward, in his Hiſt. of Ed. VI. from whom it has been often tranſcribed.

(*g*) Taken from King Edward's Journal.

(*h*) Pat. 5 Ed. VI. p. 4.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 4.

(*k*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 179.

(*l*) See the proceedings againſt Edward Duke of Somerſet, in the 7th Vol. of the State Trials.

(*m*) Fuller, Hayward, Strype.

cheſter, when he knew that Archbiſhop Cranmer, conſidered it as a thing neceſſary to the peace of the Church (35). The reader is left to judge, from theſe facts, whether he was a man wholly indifferent about religion, or a deep diſſembler, willing to do any thing that might either gain or preſerve power.

(35) See the account of his deprivation in Burnet and Strype.

[*K*] *Of the potent Duke of Northumberland's reſentment.*] This buſineſs of the Duke of Somerſet's death is very warily related in our old chronicles, more eſpecially thoſe written neareſt the time; yet, in one of theſe (36), we have the following account. "Sir Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerſet, was again apprehended and caſt into the Tower of London, by means of Sir John Dudley, lately made Duke of Northumberland, at this time of great authority in the realm. It was laid to the Duke of Somerſet's charge, that he purpoſed, and went about, the death of the Duke of Northumberland, being one of the Privy-Council, and therefore, by ſtatute, was guilty both of treaſon and felony. Of this he was after arraigned at Weſtminſter, and by his peers acquitted of treaſon, but condemned of felony. At this time many of the people rejoiced, being perſuaded, that the King's uncle ſhould never be put to death for felony, and thereby, thought he ſhould have eſcaped: but he was had again to the Tower, and here kept until he was brought out to his death." Sir John Hayward, according to his uſual cuſtom, charges it roundly upon the Duke of Northumberland, as if he conſpired againſt the Duke of Somerſet, and not that Duke againſt him: he relates the matter thus (37). "The Duke of Northumberland, being now inferior unto none of the nobility in title of honour, and ſuperior to all in authority and power, could not reſtrain his haughty hopes from aſpiring to an abſolute command. But, before he would directly level at his mark, the Duke of Somerſet was thought fit to be taken away, whoſe credit was ſo great with the common people, that, although it ſuffered not to bear out any bad attempt of his own, yet was it of force to croſs the evil purpoſes of others. And now, to begin the third act of this tragedy, ſpeeches were caſt, that he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King in divers countries; which albeit they were known to be falſe, inſomuch as the Miller's ſervant at Battle-bridge, in Southwark, loſt both his ears upon a pillory for ſo reporting; yet, the very naming of him to be King, either as deſired by himſelf, or by others eſteemed worthy, brought with it a diſtaſteful reliſh, apt to apprehend ſuſpicion to be true. After this, he was charged to have perſuaded divers of the nobility to chuſe him Protector at the next Parliament. The Duke being queſtioned, neither held ſilence as he might, nor conſtantly denied it, but entangled himſelf in his doubtful tale. One Whaley, a buſy-headed man, and deſirous to be ſet on work, gave firſt light to this appeachment, but

(36) Cooper's Chronicle, fo. 352.

(37) Hiſt. of Ed. VI. in the 2d Vol. of the Complete Hiſt. of England, p. 320.

the Earl of Rutland did ſtoutly avouch it. Herewith, Sir Thomas Palmer, a man neither loving the Duke of Somerſet, nor beloved of him, was brought by the Duke of Northumberland to the King, being in his garden. Here he declared, that, upon St. George's day laſt, the Duke of Somerſet, being upon a journey towards the North, in caſe Sir William Herbert, Maſter of the Horſe, had not aſſured him, that he ſhould receive no harm, would have raiſed the people; and that he had ſent the Lord Grey before, to know who would be his friends: alſo, that the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Pembroke, and other Lords, ſhould be invited to a banquet, and, if they came with a bare company, to be ſet upon by the way; if ſtrongly, their heads ſhould have been cut off at the place of their feaſting. He declared further, that Sir Ralph Vane had two thouſand men in readineſs; that Sir Thomas Arundel had aſſured the Tower; that Seymour and Hammond would wait upon him, and that all the horſe of the Gendarmerie ſhould be ſlain. To this Mr. Secretary Cecil added, that the Duke had ſent for him, and ſaid, that he ſuſpected ſome ill meaning againſt him, whereto Mr. Secretary anſwered, that, if he were not in fault, he might truſt to his innocency, if he were, he had nothing to ſay but to lament him. The Duke being advertiſed of theſe informations againſt him by ſome, who had ſome regard to honeſty, did forthwith deſy the Secretary by his letters. Then he ſent for Sir Thomas Palmer, to underſtand what he had reported of him, who denied all that he had ſaid; but, by this hot and harmonious ſtriving, he did but draw the knots more faſt." We have this account afterwards repeated, and a little diverſified, in ſpeaking of the Duke's trial, ſentence, and execution. Biſhop Burnet ſpeaks with much more tenderneſs of this unfortunate nobleman; and, though he bears pretty hard every where upon the Duke of Northumberland, yet he does not venture to charge that Duke with forging any of the circumſtances of this conſpiracy (38). To ſay the truth, the friends of Somerſet, in the very ſame breath that they charge Northumberland with bringing him by art to the block, let fall things that ſeemed to ſpeak quite the contrary: for inſtance, a certain author (39) delivers himſelf thus. "The Duke of Somerſet is trained by his enemies to ſuch fears and jealouſies as tranſport him, beyond his own good-nature, to an attempt one morning upon the Earl of Warwick, now Duke of Northumberland, a-bed, where being received with much kindneſs, his heart relented, and he came off *re infecta*. At his coming out, one of his company aſked him if he had done the deed? He anſwered, no. Then, ſaid he, you are yourſelf undone. And, indeed, it ſo fell out; for, when all other accuſations failed, this only ſtuck by him, and could

(38) Burnet's Hiſt of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 178, 179.

(39) Lloyd's State-Worthies, p. 425, 426.

Cambridge (*n*), in the room of that unfortunate Peer of whom we have been ſpeaking; but at what time he became High-Steward, which Dr. Heylyn aſſures us he was (*o*), and that theſe two offices had never been in one perſon before or ſince, is very uncertain. This great Politician had now raiſed himſelf as high as it was poſſible, in point of dignity and of power. The aſcendancy he had gained over the young King was ſo great, that he directed him entirely at his pleaſure; and he had, with ſuch dexterity, wrought moſt of the great Nobility into his intereſts, and had ſo humbled and depreſſed all who ſhewed any diſlike to him, that he ſeemed to have all things to hope, and little to fear (*p*). We ought, therefore, to attribute to this ſituation, and that vain pride which naturally triumphs in the breaſts of ambitious men, his mean and barbarous uſage of the head of his family, and his near relation, John, Baron of Dudley, whoſe eſtate, being entangled by uſurers, he, by purchaſing aſſignments of mortgages, drew by degrees entirely into his own hands, ſo as at laſt to compaſs what he for many years deſired, the poſſeſſion of the antient caſtle of Dudley; which he not only thoroughly repaired, but added alſo a moſt noble ſtructure, worthy of his wealth and greatneſs, which was called the new building, adorning all parts of the caſtle with the arms of the noble families, from which, by his mother's ſide, he was deſcended, that, in ſucceeding times, it might not be taken for an acquiſition, but the patrimony of his family (*q*). This was certainly going far enough, or rather much too far; yet he ventured ſtill farther, and, having deſpoiled his poor couſin of his caſtle and eſtates, thruſt the titles of Dudley and Somerie amongſt his other baronies, leaving his unhappy kinſman a new and ſtrange title in their ſtead; for, living, as well as he could, amongſt the great families in Staffordſhire and Warwickſhire, who pitied his misfortunes, he went there currently by the name of Lord Quondam, till, by a ſudden revolution, he became maſter of Dudley-caſtle again, and his ſon obtained, out of the forfeiture of this potent Duke, an ample fortune, free from all incumbrances, with a clear title (*r*). But to return to our Hiſtory. Many writers there are who inſinuate, that, from the time the Duke of Northumberland and his family came to have the perſon of the King, as well as the direction of the Government, in their hands, the health of that young Prince began to decline. But theſe, perhaps, are no other than calumnies, ſince the decay of the King's health may, with great probability, be attributed to his having the meaſles and ſmall-pox in a ſhort time one after the other, which could not but harraſs extremely a conſtitution naturally tender; and theſe were diſeaſes which artifice or intrigue could never procure, though they might have afforded a better colour to bad deſigns, if ſuch had been really entertained, than a lingering conſumption which followed them (*s*). It does not indeed appear, that the Duke of Northumberland had any cauſe to ſuſpect the loſs of his power while that King lived, nor did he ſeem to fear it: but, when he diſcerned his Majeſty's health to decline apace, it was very natural for him to conſider how he might render himſelf and his family ſafe. This appears plainly, from the hurry with which the marriage was concluded between the Lady Jane Grey, eldeſt daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, and his fourth ſon, Lord Guildford Dudley, which was celebrated in the month of May, 1553, that is, not

(*n*) Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 128.

(*o*) Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 161.

(*p*) Burnets Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 176.

(*q*) Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 423.

(*r*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 216.

(*s*) See the account of the King's ſickneſs at large in Burnet and Strype.

(40) Preſident de Thou's Hiſt. of his own times, tranſlated by the Reverend Dr. Wilſon, Vol. II. p. 409.

(41) Camden's Britannia, in Engliſh, 2d edition, col. 97, 98.

(42) Church-Hiſtory, p. 406.

(43) There is a full account of the conſpiracy and trial of the Duke of Somerſet in that Journal, Dec. 1, 1551.

(44) This letter is in Fuller's Church Hiſtory.

(45) When he was brought priſoner to the Tower, a woman thruſt a handkerchief in his face dipped in the Duke of Somerſet's blood.

'could not be denied, and ſo he was found guilty by 'a ſtatute of his own procurement, viz. 'That if any 'ſhould attempt to kill a Privy-Counſellor, although 'the fact were not done, yet it ſhould be felony, and 'to be puniſhed with death.' This fact of Somerſet's going with an intention to murder Northumberland in his chamber, is related more at large by a foreign author of the higheſt credit, who is known to have had his materials from the moſt knowing perſons in this kingdom, who might perhaps be more free in their communications than they would have been in penning a hiſtory, for which they muſt have been accountable themſelves if it had been publiſhed. The reader will be probably pleaſed to ſee what he ſays (40). 'Northumberland having drawn the chief power into 'his own hands, he had nothing elſe to do but to 'remove Somerſet himſelf out of the way, towards 'whom he ſhewed ſuch a contempt as drove the 'other upon the thoughts of killing Dudley, for the 'vindication of his own authority. Somerſet therefore 'went to his houſe, under pretence of a viſit, covered 'with a coat of mail under his cloaths, and carrying 'with him a party of men, whom he left in the next 'chamber; but, when he was introduced in the 'civileſt manner to Dudley, who was naked, and lying upon his bed, the good-natured man repenting, 'he would not execute his deſign, and departed without ſtriking a ſtroke.' It is the obſervation of the very learned and judicious Mr. Camden (41), that 'the 'Duke of Somerſet loſt his life for a very ſmall crime, 'and that upon a nice point, ſubtilly deviſed and managed by his enemies.' Now if Doctor Fuller may be admitted to explain this ſhort text, he will bring it home to the noble perſon whoſe article we are writing. Speaking of Somerſet's accuſation (42), he ſays, 'Here I muſt ſet John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, as a 'tranſcendent, in a form by himſelf, being a competent lawyer, ſon to a Judge, known ſoldier, and able 'ſtateſman, and acting againſt the Protector, in all 'theſe his capacities. Indeed, he was the very ſoul 'of the accuſation, being all in all, and all in every 'part thereof.' It may be preſumed, that the King was as well informed in theſe points as any writer whatever; and it appears as well from his Journal, which he kept very exactly and very ſecretly (43), as from a private letter of his to Mr Barnaby Fitzpatrick (44), that he did not judge his uncle altogether ſo innocent, or, that he was convicted without evidence. But, after all can be ſaid, the reſentment of the Duke of Northumberland was certainly ſeen in his execution if not in his condemnation; ſince the King might have been eaſily prevailed on to ſpare his uncle if he had been applied to, or rather muſt have been drawn with difficulty to conſent to the death of him he had ſo long conſidered as a parent. Here then lay the cruelty of Northumberland, which was generally remembered when his fall came, and loudly charged upon him by the people (45); and yet it may be urged, if not in juſtification, yet in excuſe, that he was not bound to regard his own life leſs than Somerſet did his, who, for his ſecurity, procured that act of Parliament on which he died, nor could it be well expected that he ſhould have more pity, or commiſeration, for his rival, in thoſe unhappy circumſtances, than Somerſet, when Protector, had for his own brother.

above

above two months before the King died (*t*). We may, however, ſuppoſe that he had, for ſome time, been contriving in his mind that plan, for the diſpoſal of the Kingdom, which he carried afterwards into execution [*L*]. In the Parliament, held a little before the King's death, the Duke of Northumberland procured a conſiderable ſupply to be granted, and, in the preamble of that act, a direct cenſure of the Duke of Somerſet's adminiſtration; and, having wiſely anſwered his purpoſes by this ſingle meaſure, diſſolved that Parliament immediately (*u*). He then applied himſelf to the King, and ſhewed him the neceſſity of ſetting the Lady Mary aſide, from the danger the Proteſtant religion would be in if ſhe ſhould ſucceed him; in which, from the piety of that young Prince, he met with no great difficulty. Biſhop Burnet ſays, he did not well underſtand how the King was prevailed upon to paſs by his ſiſter Elizabeth, who had been always much in his favour (*w*). Perhaps he might be told, that it was impoſſible to aſſign any reaſons for diſinheriting one ſiſter that might not alſo be applied for the other; ſo that there was a neceſſity of depriving both or neither. Yet, when this was done, there was another difficulty in the way. The Ducheſs of Suffolk was the next heir, and ſhe might have ſons; and, therefore, to bar theſe in favour of Lady Jane Dudley ſeemed to be unnatural as well as illegal. The Ducheſs herſelf contributed, as far as in her lay, to remove this obſtacle, by devolving her right upon her daughter, even if ſhe had male iſſue; which ſatisfied the King, who was but in the ſixteenth year of his age, and might not therefore perceive the fallacy of reſigning not only her own claim, but that of thoſe who might deſcend from her, which ſhe could not poſſibly have power to do (*x*). The King's conſent being obtained, the next point was to procure a proper inſtrument to be drawn by the Judges; in doing which, the Duke of Northumberland made uſe of threats as well as promiſes; and, when done at laſt, it was in ſuch a manner as plainly ſhewed it to be illegal in their own opinions (*y*) [*M*]. At this

(*t*) Stowe's Annals, p. 609.

(*u*) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 195. Stowe's Annals, p. 609.

(*w*) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 222.

(*x*) This appears from the inſtrument for eſtabliſhing the Lady Jane.

(*y*) See Judge Montague's relation, which is inſerted in Fuller's Church-Hiſtory.

[*L*] *Which he carried afterwards into execution.*] We are told by Sir John Hayward, that, after the creation of the Marquis of Dorſet, and the Earl of Warwick, Dukes of Suffolk, and Northumberland, and other promotions and alterations made at court (46), there followed ſomewhat of ſtill greater conſequence, which he introduces thus: 'And which was the accompliſhment of miſchief, Sir Robert Dudley, one of the Duke of Northumberland's ſons, a true heir both of his hate againſt perſons of the Nobility and of his cunning to diſſemble the ſame, was ſworn one of the ſix ordinary gentlemen. He was afterwards, for luſt and cruelty, a monſter of the Court, as apt to hate, ſo a moſt ſure executioner of his hate; yet, rather by practice than open dealing, as wanting rather courage than wit. After his entertainment into a place of ſo near ſervice, *the* King *enjoyed his health not long*.' After laying this foundation, he takes it for granted in ſeveral paſſages in the ſubſequent part of his work, that the King was poiſoned by the procurement of the Duke of Northumberland; yet the reverend Mr. Strype cenſures him for writing ſo poſitively without authorities; and not without reaſon. His very introduction is ill-grounded; for, as the King tells us himſelf, Sir Robert Dudley was ſworn one of his gentlemen in ordinary, Auguſt 15th, 1551 (47), and the promotions, of which Sir John Hayward makes this a conſequence, were in the October following. It was in the month of April, 1552, that the King had the meaſles and the ſmall-pox, and his health did not begin to decline till ſome time afterwards; ſo that there is great impropriety in ſaying, that, after his coming into a place ſo near him, the King enjoyed his health not long. All the reſt of our hiſtorians ſpeak very doubtfully of the King's death, chiefly from a great indiſcretion, which was the putting him into the hands of a woman after the Phyſicians began to doubt whether he could be ſaved by their ſkill; from which time it is certain that he did grow worſe, and ſo the Phyſicians were called in again (48). Yet there are many who will hardly take this for a teſtimony of his being poiſoned, though Sir John Hayward ſays, *ſhe was a ſchool-miſtreſs well inſtructed for the purpoſe* (49), but will rather conceive, that the Duke of Northumberland conſented to this, in hopes of ſaving the King's life; which, if he was a ſound politician, he muſt have conſidered as of greater conſequence to him than to any other man in the kingdom. But, be this as it will, there is no ſort of proof, that the Duke took ſuch early care as he might have done for his family, if he had any foreſight of the King's death: but his doing things as he did, in a hurry, ſeems to ſhew quite the contrary; and, indeed, there is a letter of his to Sir William Cecil, which looked as if he had deceived himſelf much in this particular, and entertained hopes of the King's recovery, after they were loſt by others. Yet it cannot be conceived, that, while the whole nation was alarmed by the King's ſickneſs, the Duke ſhould be wholly unconcerned as to the event, which is the reaſon of its being ſaid in the text, that he might have digeſted in his mind that ſcheme of the ſucceſſion ſome time before he mentioned it to the King; and, that looking upon it as a dangerous undertaking, and his laſt ſhift, he delayed it till the neceſſity became preſſing.

(46) Hiſtory of Edward VI. in the 2nd Vol. of the Complete Hiſt. of England, p. 320.

(47) King Edward's Journal, under that date.

(48) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 224.

(49) Hiſtory of Edward VI. in the 2d Vol. of Complete Hiſt. p. 327.

[*M*] *As plainly ſhewed it to be illegal in their own opinions.*] The full narrative of this whole important tranſaction, and of the Duke of Northumberland's behaviour therein, is thus briefly and clearly delivered by Biſhop Burnet (50). 'On the 11th of June,' ſays he, 'Montague, that was Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, and Baker and Bromley, two Judges, with the King's Attorney and Solicitor, were commanded to come to Council. There they found the King with ſome Privy-Counſellors about him. The King told them, he did now apprehend the danger the kingdom might be in, if, upon his death, his ſiſter Mary ſhould ſucceed, who might marry a ſtranger, and ſo change the laws and the religion of the realm; ſo he ordered ſome articles to be read to them, of the way in which he would have the crown to deſcend. They objected, that the Act of Succeſſion, being an act of Parliament, could not be taken away by any ſuch device: yet the King required them to take the articles, and draw a book according to them: they aſked a little time to conſider of it. So, having examined the ſtatute of the firſt year of this reign, concerning treaſons, they found that it was treaſon, not only after the King's death, but even in his life, to change the ſucceſſion. Secretary Petre, in the mean while, preſſed them to make haſte: when they came again to the Council, they declared they could not do any thing; for, it was treaſon, and all the Lords ſhould be guilty of treaſon, if they went on in it. Upon which the Duke of Northumberland, who was not then in the Council-Chamber, being advertiſed of this, came in great fury, calling Montague a traytor, and threatened all the Judges, ſo that they thought he would have beaten them. But the Judges ſtood to their opinion. They were again ſent for, and came with Goſnald added to them, on the 15th of June. The King was preſent, and he ſomewhat ſharply aſked them, why they had not prepared the book as he had ordered them? They anſwered, That whatever they did would be of no force without a Parliament. The King ſaid, he intended to

(50) Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 223.

'have

this time, indeed, the Duke, either from the hurry of his paſſions, the fear he had of what might happen from delays, or the haughtineſs ariſing from a ſeries of good fortune which had ſo long continued, began to loſe much of his former gentleneſs and affability, as he ſhewed himſelf amazingly rapacious in the grants which he obtained from a King, whoſe age, excluſively of his ſickneſs, made it indecent at leaſt, if not illegal, to accept ſuch mighty bounties, the worth of which he could never be preſumed to know, from his giving them thus laviſhly away. The Duke was no leſs careful in drawing to himſelf as much power, and diffuſing his intereſt as widely as poſſible; ſo that, whatever happened, he might not want a retreat, or find his ſchemes in danger of being broken, through an oppoſition by the diſcontented Nobility; in which ſchemes, notwithſtanding their difficulty, he ſucceeded to his wiſh, his eſtate being enlarged, and his offices multiplied, beyond any thing that had in former times been beſtowed upon any ſubject (z) [*N*]. The Letters Patent for diſpoſing of the Crown were ſigned by King Edward on the 21ſt of June (*a*), and on the 6th of July that Monarch expired, expreſſing, to the laſt, great ſatisfaction in the proviſion he had made for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion and the happineſs of his people (*b*). It is ſaid, that the Duke of Northumberland was very deſirous of concealing the King's death for ſome time; but, this being found impoſſible, he carried his daughter-in-law, the Lady Jane, from Durham-Houſe to the Tower for the greater ſecurity, and on the 10th of July proclaimed her Queen (*c*). The Council alſo wrote to Lady Mary requiring her ſubmiſſion; but they were very ſoon informed that ſhe was retired into Norfolk, where many of the Nobility, and multitudes of people, reſorted to her (*d*). It was then reſolved to ſend forces againſt her under the command of the Duke of Suffolk; but Queen Jane, as ſhe was then ſtyled, would by no means part with her father; and the Council earneſtly preſſed the Duke of Northumberland to go in perſon, to which he was little inclined, as doubting their fidelity. He ſignified as much in the ſpeech he made at

(z) See this at large in the note.

(*a*) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 222.

(*b*) Fuller's ChurchHiſtory, cent xvi. p. 425.

(*c*) Stowe's Annals, p. 610

(*d*) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 233

'have one ſhortly. Then Montague propoſed, that 'it might be delayed till the Parliament met. But 'the King ſaid, he would have it firſt done, and then 'ratified in Parliament, and, therefore, he required 'them, on their allegiance, to go about it; and ſome 'Counſellors told them, that if they refuſed to obey, 'that they were traytors. This put them in a great conſternation; and old Montague thinking it could not 'be treaſon, whatever they did in this matter while the 'King lived, and, at worſt, that a pardon under the 'Great-Seal would ſecure him, conſented to ſet about 'it, if he might have a commiſſion, requiring him to 'do it, and a pardon under the Great-Seal when it 'was done. Both theſe being granted him, he was 'ſatisfied. The other Judges being aſked, if they 'would concur, did all agree, being overcome with 'fear, except Goſnald, who ſtill refuſed to do it. 'But he alſo being ſorely threatened, both by the 'Duke of Northumberland and the Earl of Shrewſbury, conſented to it the next day. So they put the 'entail of the crown, in form of law, and brought it 'to the Lord Chancellor, to put the ſeal to it. They 'were all required to ſet their hands to it; but, both 'Goſnald and Hales refuſed. Yet the former was 'wrought on to do it, but the latter, though a moſt 'ſteady and zealous man for the Reformation, would 'upon no conſideration yield to it: after that, the 'Lord Chancellor, for his ſecurity, deſired that all the 'Counſellors might ſet their hands to it, which was 'done, on the 21ſt of June, by thirty-three of them, 'it is like, including the Judges in the number. But 'Cranmer, as he came ſeldom to Council after the 'Duke of Somerſet's fall, ſo he was that day abſent 'on deſign. Cecil, in a relation which he made one 'write of this tranſaction for clearing himſelf, afterwards ſays, that, when he had heard Goſnald and 'Hales declare how much it was againſt law, he refuſed to ſet his hand to it as a Counſellor, and 'only ſigned it as a witneſs to the King's ſubſcription. 'But Cranmer ſtill refuſed to do it, after they had all 'ſigned it, and ſaid he would never conſent to the diſinheriting of the daughters of his late maſter. Many 'conſultations were had to perſwade him to it. But 'he could not be prevailed on, till the King himſelf 'ſet on him, who uſed many arguments from the 'danger religion would otherwiſe be in, together with 'other perſwaſions; ſo that, by his reaſons, or rather 'importunities, at laſt he brought him to it."

[*N*] *Been beſtowed upon any ſubject.*] If all the inſtances that might be alledged of this, were carefully collected, they would ſwell this note very much beyond its proper bounds; and therefore, it ſhall ſuffice to alledge here, the teſtimony of the induſtrious Strype, who, though in other places he has diſtinctly conſidered them, thus ſums up the matter at once, ſpeaking of the Duke's ſtate and condition, in the year 1553 (51). 'Dudley, the great Duke of Northumberland, now 'bore all the ſway at Court, and, in effect, did what he 'liſted. This year, beſides the County Palatine of 'Durham, the honour and power of which was like 'to fall to him; the King gave him Bernard's Caſtle 'there, with very great additions of lands and lordſhips 'in that county, and in Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, and York, or any otherwhere in the Biſhoprick 'of Durham, for life. He had alſo granted to him, 'the manors of Feckenham, Bromeſgrove, King's 'Norton in Worceſterſhire, with many other lands. 'The year before, he was made Chief Steward of 'the Eaſt-riding of York, and of all the King's 'lordſhips in Holderneſs and Cottingham in the ſaid 'county. The year before that, he was conſtituted 'General Warden, or Keeper, of the Marches of 'England, towards Scotland, namely, of the Eaſt, 'Weſt, and middle, Marches; which were ſcarcely 'before put into one man's hand (except the Marquis 'of Dorſet immediately before him) and he to be appointed his deputy-warden. And his patent was 'ordered to be drawn up in the moſt large and 'comprehenſive manner, endowing him with as much 'authority, power, pre eminence, commodity, and 'liberty, as any before him had enjoyed, from Richard the ſecond's time to Henry the eighth, as 'the warrant ran. Beſides theſe things, in the North, 'he obtained, of the King, great and ſpreading demeans in Somerſetſhire, Warwick, and Worceſterſhire, and many other counties. So that, by this 'time, the Duke had prodigiouſly enriched himſelf, 'and made himſelf formidably great, by lands and 'lordſhips, honours and offices, caſtles and places 'of truſt, heaped upon him by the King, by whom 'it was not ſafe to deny him any thing he aſked. 'He had ſtrengthened his intereſt, alſo, by raiſing 'himſelf friends upon the King's coſt, as more eſpecially the Lord Clinton, and Sir John Gates, 'and his brother, Sir Andrew Dudley, Maſter of 'the Wardrobe, and taken into the order of the 'Garter; and his own ſons, John, raiſed to the 'degree of Earl of Warwick, and maſter of the 'King's horſe (52); Sir Robert Dudley made a 'Lord (53), and the King's Carver, and Guildford 'Dudley, whom the Duke was now marrying to one 'of the royal blood, *viz.* the Lady Jane, eldeſt 'daughter of the Duke of Suffolk.'

(51) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 428.

(52) This was only by his father's being created Duke of Northumberland.

(53) He was a Lord barely by courteſy, as all the reſt of the Duke's ſons were.

taking his leave, and was answered with the strongest assurances that men could give. The Earl of Arundel particularly told him, he was sorry it was not his chance to go with him, in whose presence he could find in his heart to spend his blood even at his feet (*e*). On the 14th of July the Duke, accompanied by the Marquis of Northampton, the Lord Grey, and others, marched through Bishopsgate with two thousand horse, and six thousand foot; but, as they rode through Shoreditch, he could not forbear saying to the Lord Grey, "The people press to see us, but not one says, God speed us (*f*)." His activity and courage, for which he had been so famous, seemed, from this time, to have deserted him; for, though he advanced to St. Edmund's-Bury in Suffolk, yet finding his troops diminish, the people little affected to him, and no supplies coming from London, though he had written to the Lords in the most pressing terms, he retired back again to Cambridge (*g*). In the mean time the Council thought of nothing but how to get out of the Tower, and at last effected it, under pretence of going to the Earl of Pembroke's house at Baynard's Castle, to give audience to the foreign Ambassadors. This was on the 19th of the same month, and the first thing they did, when they came there, was to send for the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, whom they accompanied to Cheapside, and there Garter King at Arms proclaimed Queen Mary. The Earl of Arundel, and Lord Paget, went the same night post to pay their duty to her (*h*). The Duke of Northumberland had advice of this on the 20th; and, about five in the afternoon the same day, caused her to be proclaimed at Cambridge, throwing up his cap and crying, "God save Queen Mary!" with how much joy and sincerity may be easily imagined (*i*). About an hour afterwards came letters from the Council to the Duke of Northumberland, by one of the Heralds, requiring him to disband his forces, upon receiving which the Duke gave leave to every man to depart, and soon after he was arrested in King's-college by Slegge, Serjeant at Arms; but other letters coming from the Council, that all men should go each his way, the Duke said to those that kept him, "Ye do me wrong to withdraw my liberty, see ye not the Council's letters, without exception, that all men should go whither they would? Whereupon they, who guarded him and the other Noblemen, set them at liberty, and so they continued for that night; and the Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Northumberland's son, was ready in the morning to have rode away, at which time the Earl of Arundel came from the Queen to the Duke into his chamber, who, when he saw him, said, "For the love of God consider, I have done nothing but by the consent of you and all the whole Council." "My Lord," replied the Earl of Arundel, "I am sent hither by the Queen's Majesty, and in her name I arrest you." "I obey it," said the Duke, "I beseech you, my Lord of Arundel, use mercy towards me, knowing the case as it is." "My Lord," answered the Earl, "you should have sought for mercy sooner. I must do according to my commandment:" and thereupon committed the charge of him, and of others, to the guard, and gentlemen that stood by (*k*). The 25th of July, the Duke, with the rest, were brought to the Tower of London, under the conduct of Henry Earl of Arundel, with a body of light horsemen (*l*). On Friday, the 18th of August, he was arraigned, a great scaffold being set up in Westminster-Hall, with John, Earl of Warwick, his son and heir, and William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, before Thomas Duke of Norfolk, High-Steward of England on that occasion. As to his behaviour at his trial, which was equally modest and decent, some particulars of it will be mentioned in the notes (*m*) [*O*]. After his condemnation he was carried back to the Tower, where he remained a close prisoner. Monday, the twenty-first of

(*e*) Stowe's Annals, p. 610, 611.

(*f*) Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 161.

(*g*) Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 238.

(*h*) Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 164.

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 611.

(*k*) Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 239. Stowe's Annals, p. 611.

(*l*) Holinshed and Speed.

(*m*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 21, 22.

[*O*] *Will be mentioned in the notes.*] The indictment having been read, containing a charge against him of high-treason, the Duke of Northumberland, with great reverence towards the Judges, protested his faith and allegiance to the Queen, whom he confessed grievously to have offended, and said he meant not to speak any thing in defence of his acts, but requested to understand the opinion of the court in two points (54):

First, Whether a man doing any act by the authority of the Prince's Council, and by warrant of the Great Seal of England, and doing nothing without the same, might be charged with treason for any thing he might do by warrant thereof.

Secondly, Whether any such persons as were equally culpable in that crime, and those by whose letters and commandments he was directed in all his doings, might be his judges, or pass upon his trial as his Peers?

To which it was answered: 'That the Great-Seal 'which he had for his warrant, was not the Seal of 'the lawful Queen of the realm, nor passed by autho-'rity, but the Seal of an usurper, and therefore could 'be no warrant to him. And that if any were as 'deeply to be touched in the case as himself, yet so 'long as no attainder was of record against them, they 'were persons able in law to pass on any trial, and not 'to be challenged but at the Prince's pleasure.' After which answer the Duke used few words, but confessed the indictment; by whose example the other prisoners arraigned with him did the like, and thereupon had judgment. The Duke, on receiving his sentence, said: 'I beseech you, my Lord, all to be humble suitors to 'the Queen's Majesty, and to grant me *four* requests: '*First*, That I may have that death which Noblemen 'have had in times past, and not the other. *Secondly*, 'That her Majesty will be gracious to my children, 'which may hereafter do good service, considering 'that they went by my commandment, who am their 'father, and not of their own free wills. *Thirdly*, 'That I may have appointed to me some learned men 'for the instruction and quiet of my conscience. And '*fourthly*, That she will send two of the Council to 'commune with me, to whom I will declare such 'matters as shall be expedient for her and the com-'monwealth. And thus I beseech you all to pray for 'me.'

(54) Stowe's Annals, p. 614.

Auguſt, was the day fixed for his execution, when a vaſt concourſe of people aſſembled upon Tower-Hill, all the uſual preparations being made, and the executioner ready; but, after waiting ſome hours, the people were ordered to depart. This delay was to afford time for his making an open ſhow of the change of his religion; ſince that very day, in the preſence of the Mayor and Aldermen, as well as ſome of the Privy-Council, he heard maſs in the Tower (*n*). The next day he was actually brought out to ſuffer death, on the ſame ſcaffold, on Tower-Hill, where he made a very long ſpeech to the people; of which there remains nothing but what relates to his religion, which he not only profeſſed to be then that of the Church of Rome, but that it had been always ſo, taking upon himſelf the odious character of a hypocrite in the ſight of God, as well as a diſſembler with men (*o*). John Fox affirms, that he had a promiſe of pardon even if his head were upon the block, if he would recant and hear maſs (*p*); and ſome have believed that he entertained ſuch a hope to the laſt, from a paſſage in his ſpeech [*P*]. However that may be, it is allowed that he behaved with becoming courage and compoſure, putting off his damaſk gown when he had done ſpeaking, and then kneeling down, ſaying, to them that were about him, "I beſeech you all to bear me witneſs that I die in the true Catholick faith;" and then ſaid the Pſalms of *Miſerere*, and *De Profundis*, his *Pater Noſter*, and ſix of the firſt verſes of the Pſalm, "*In te Domine ſperavi*," ending with this verſe, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my ſpirit." And, when he had thus ended his prayers, the Executioner aſked him forgiveneſs, to whom he ſaid, "I forgive thee with all my heart, do thy part without fear." And, bowing towards the block, he ſaid, "I have deſerved a thouſand deaths;" then laid his head on the block, and was beheaded; whoſe body, with the head, was buried in the Tower by the body of Edward Duke of Somerſet; ſo that there lie between the high altar, in St. Peter's church, two Dukes between two Queens, *viz.* Queen Anne, and Queen Catharine, all four beheaded (*q*). Such was the end of this potent Nobleman, who, with the title of a Duke, exerciſed, for ſome time, a power little inferior to that of a King, in the fifty-firſt, or at moſt in the fifty-ſecond, year of his age, as differently repreſented by our Hiſtorians [*Q*], but of whom it

(*n*) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 243. Stowe's Annals, p. 614.

(*o*) Holinſhed, Stowe, and Speed.

(*p*) Book of Martyrs, Vol. III. p. 12, 13.

(*q*) Stowe's Annals, p. 615.

[*P*] *From a paſſage in his ſpeech.*] Several authors agree in affirming that he made a long ſpeech at the time of his death, and we have reaſon to regret that only a part of it is preſerved, which is what follows; (55) 'Good people, all you that be here preſent to ſee 'me die, though my death be odious and horrible to 'the fleſh, yet I pray you judge the beſt in God's 'works, for he doth all for the beſt. And as for me 'I am a wretched ſinner, and have deſerved to die, 'and moſt juſtly am condemned to die by Law. And 'yet this act whereof I die was not altogether of me, 'but I was procured and induced thereunto by others; 'I was I ſay induced thereunto by others. Howbeit, 'God forbid that I ſhould name any man unto you, 'I will name no man unto you, and therefore I be-'ſeech you look not for it. I, for my part, forgive 'all men, and pray God alſo to forgive them, and if 'I have offended any of you here, I pray you and all 'the world to forgive me, and moſt chiefly I deſire 'forgiveneſs of the Queen's Highneſs, whom I have 'moſt grievouſly offended. And I pray you all to 'witneſs for me, that I depart in perfect love and 'charity with all the world, and that you will aſſiſt me 'with your prayers at the hour of death. ——— 'And here I do proteſt unto you, good people, moſt 'earneſtly, even from the bottom of my heart, that 'this which I have ſpoken is of myſelf, not being re-'quired nor moved thereunto by any man, nor by any 'flattery or hope of life; and I take witneſs of my Lord 'of Worceſter (*) here, mine old friend and ghoſtly 'father, that he found me in this mind and opinion 'when he came to me; but I have declared this only 'upon mine own mind and affection, and for the zeal 'and love that I bear to my natural country. I could, 'good people, rehearſe much more even by expe-'rience, that I have of this evil that hath happened 'to this realm by theſe occaſions; but you know I 'have another thing to do, whereunto I muſt prepare 'me, for the time draweth away. And now I be-'ſeech the Queen's Highneſs to forgive me mine of-'fences againſt her Majeſty, whereof I have a ſingular 'hope, foraſmuch as ſhe has already extended her 'goodneſs and clemency ſo far upon me, that whereas 'ſhe might forthwith, without judgment, or any far-'ther trial, have put me to moſt vile and cruel death, 'by hanging, drawing, and quartering, foraſmuch as 'I was in the field in arms againſt her Majeſty; her 'Highneſs nevertheleſs, of her moſt merciful goodneſs, 'ſuffered me to be brought to my judgment, and to 'have my trial by law, where I was moſt juſtly con-'demned. And her Highneſs hath now alſo ex-'tended her mercy and clemency upon me, for the 'manner and kind of my death. And therefore my 'hope is, that her Grace, of her goodneſs, will remit 'all the reſt of her indignation and diſpleaſure towards 'me, which I beſeech you all moſt heartily to pray 'for, and that it may pleaſe God long to preſerve her 'Majeſty, to reign over you in much honour and feli-'city.' I muſt confeſs it does not appear to me, that this ſpeech of the Duke implies any perſuaſion of pardon, but quite the contrary. He recapitulates thoſe inſtances of juſtice and kindneſs, which he would have the people believe, he, in his own opinion, had received from the Queen, and thence infers, that her Majeſty would retain no reſentment againſt him after he was dead, and conſequently would not proceed againſt his family, of which many were obnoxious to her juſtice, and all of them to her ſuſpicions. If, therefore, any promiſes were made to him, it is more likely that they ſhould relate to his children, and his brother, in favour of whom he might poſſibly reſolve to die as he lived, like a Courtier, as he evidently did.

(55) Ibid. p. 615.

(*) Dr. Nic. Heath.

[*Q*] *As differently repreſented by our Hiſtorians.*] We have the following character of this great man, drawn by the hand of a famous Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian (56). 'Such was the end of this great perſon, 'the firſt Earl of Warwick, and the laſt Duke of Nor-'thumberland of this name and family. By birth he 'was the eldeſt ſon of Sir Edmund Sutton, *alias* Dud-'ley, who, together with Sir Richard Empſon, were 'the chief inſtruments and promoters under Henry VII. 'for putting the penal laws in execution, to the great 'grievance and oppreſſion of all ſorts of ſubjects. For 'which, and other offences of a higher nature, they 'were both ſacrificed to the fury of the common peo-'ple, by King Henry VIII. which poſſibly might 'make him carry a vindictive mind towards that 'King's children, and prompt him to the diſinheriting 'of all his progeny. Firſt trained up (as his father had 'alſo been before him) in the ſtudy of the Common 'Laws, which made him cunning enough to pick 'holes

(56) Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England, p. 189.

it may be truly ſaid, that, though even his enemies could not deny he had many great, and ſome good, qualities, yet the beſt friends to his memory muſt confeſs, they were much overbalanced by his vices. His relict, Jane, Ducheſs of Northumberland, was a Lady of great piety and virtue, of whom therefore we ſhall give a ſhort account in a note [*R*]. His brother, Sir Andrews Dudley, Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, fell under the ſame condemnation with himſelf; but, through the clemency of Queen Mary, his life was ſpared; ſome particulars of which the reader will find at the bottom of the page [*S*]. This great Duke had alſo a numerous iſſue, *viz.* eight

'holes in any man's eſtate, to find ways by which to 'bring their lives in danger. But finding that the long 'ſword was of more eſtimation than the long robe in 'the time of that King, he put himſelf forward on all 'actions wherein honour was to be acquired, in which 'he gave ſuch teſtimony of his judgment and valour, 'that he gained much on the affections of his Prince, 'by whom he was created Viſcount L'Iſle, on the '15th of March, *anno* 1541, inſtalled Knight of the 'Garter in 1543, and made Lord Admiral of England. 'Employed in many actions againſt the Scots, he came 'off always with ſucceſs and victory, and having ſaid 'this, we have ſaid all that was accounted either good 'or commendable in the whole courſe of his life. 'Being advanced unto the title of Earl of Warwick by 'King Edward VI. he thought himſelf in a capacity 'of making Queens, as well as Richard Nevil (one of 'his predeceſſors in that title) had been for ſetting up 'and depoſing Kings; and they both periſhed under the 'ambition of thoſe proud attempts; puniſhed as Ne-'vil alſo was, in having no iſſue male remaining to 'preſerve his name. For, though he had ſix ſons, all 'of them living to be men, and all of them to be mar-'ried men, yet they went all childleſs to the grave, I 'mean, as to the having of lawful iſſue, as if the curſe 'of Jeconijah had been laid upon them. With him 'died alſo the proud title of Duke of Northumberland, 'never aſpired to by the Piercies, though men of emi-'nent nobility.' The reader may compare this with the following ſketch of his character by Biſhop Burnet than whom no man could be better acquainted with the Hiſtory of thoſe times (75). 'Thus died the am-'bitious Duke of Northumberland. He had been, in 'the former parts of his life, a great Captain, and had 'the reputation of a very wiſe man: he was generally 'ſucceſsful, and they that are ſo are always eſteemed 'wiſe. He was an extraordinary man in a lower ſize, 'but had forgot himſelf much when he was raiſed 'higher, in which his mind ſeemed more exalted than 'his fortunes. But as he was tranſported by his rage 'and revenge out of meaſure, ſo he was as ſervile and 'mean in his ſubmiſſions. Fox, it ſeems, was in-'formed, that he had hopes given him of his life, if 'he ſhould declare himſelf of the Popiſh religion, even 'though his head were laid on the block; but, which 'way ſoever he made that declaration, either to get 'his life by it, or that he had really been always what 'he now profeſſed, it argues that he regarded religion 'very little, either in his life, or at his death. But, 'whether he did any thing to haſten the King's death, 'I do not find it was at all enquired after. Only thoſe 'who conſider how much guilt diſorders all people, 'and that they have a black cloud over their minds, 'which appears either in the violence of rage or the 'abjectneſs of fear, did find ſo great a change in his de-'portment in theſe laſt paſſages of his life, from what 'was in the former parts of it, that they could not but 'think there was ſome extraordinary thing within him, 'from whence it flowed.' We may well ſuppoſe, that ſome ſhining qualities were very conſpicuous in this unfortunate Duke, ſince the greateſt enemy his family ever had, at the cloſe of his moſt virulent invective againſt his ſon, the Earl of Leiceſter, has theſe words, which falling from him are very remarkable (58). 'In his father, no doubt, there were to be ſeen many 'excellent good parts, if they had been joined with 'faith, honeſty, moderation, and loyalty. For, all the 'world knows that he was very wiſe, valiant, magna-'nimous, liberal, and aſſured friendly where he once 'promiſed, of all which virtues my Lord his ſon hath 'neither ſhow nor ſhadow.' That he was a good 'maſter, and that he had a ſervant in whom the memory of paſt favours out-lived the Duke, as well as his fortunes, will appear from the following paſſage, recorded in an old Hiſtory of our Peerage (59), and except the laſt ſentence tranſcribed by Sir William Dugdale (60): 'John Cock, Lancaſter Herald, ſome time 'ſervant to this Duke, begged of Queen Mary to bury 'the head of his old maſter in the Tower of London, 'which was granted him with the whole body, and 'performed accordingly. In remembrance whereof, 'the ſaid Lancaſter did ever after bear, for his creſt, '*a bear's head, ſilver; crowned, gold.*' It may not be amiſs to add here, that it was alſo in gratitude for this good office he was made Lancaſter Herald in 1585, when Robert, Earl of Leiceſter, ſon to this Duke, went Governor of the Low-Countries, whom he attended (61).

(57) Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 244.

(58) Leiceſter's Commonwealth p. 178.

(59) Catalogue of Nobility, by Ralph Brook, p. 149, 150.

(60) Baronage, Vol. II. p. 219.

(61) Weever's Funeral Monuments, in his Cat. of Heralds.

[*R*] *A ſhort account in a note.*] The name of this lady, was Jane Guilford daughter and heir of Sir Edward Guildford, Marſhal of Calais, Lord-Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Maſter of the Ordnance under King Henry VIII. by Eleanor, ſiſter and heireſs of Thomas Weſt, Lord la Warre. It ſeems this was a marriage of affection, their fathers having been intimate friends, and themſelves brought up together while children. The Duke married her when he was ſcarcely of age, ſo that they had lived together thirty years at the time he loſt his life, when her eſtate was truly deplorable, being, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the words, turned out of doors, all her furniture ſeized, left without fortune, without friends, and without neceſſaries, her huſband and her ſon executed, her other ſons living but by permiſſion; ſo that, conſidering her age, her quality, and the manner in which ſhe had ſpent her days, the Duke being as abſolute in his own houſe, by affection as in the ſtate by power, ſhe could not but be very miſerable. By degrees however things grew better, more eſpecially after the marriage of Queen Mary to King Philip, the Spaniſh lords and ladies of his court; employing all their intereſt in her favour, as appears from her will, written with her own hand, in which ſhe expreſſes a very grateful ſenſe of their kindneſſes. But no reaſon has been aſſigned hitherto for their behaviour towards her, though there was a very good one; for her uncle Henry Guilford had ſerved long in Spain, was knighted by King Ferdinand, and, for his gallant behaviour in war, had the arms of the kingdom of Granada granted him, as an augmentation of his paternal coat. She deceaſed at her houſe at Chelſea, in the forty-ſixth year of her age, on the 22d of January, 1554-5, and was buried with great funeral ſolemnity in the church there on the 1ſt of February following, and had a noble monument erected there, with a ſuitable inſcription to perpetuate her memory (62).

[*S*] *At the bottom of the page.*] It does not appear, at what time this gentleman received the honour of Knighthood; but we find, that, by the title of Sir Andrews Dudley, Knight, he had the manor of Whitney granted him by King Edward VI. in the year 1551 (63). A like grant of the manor of Minſter Lovel, and the hundred of Chadlington, paſſed in the month of February, 1552. In the month of October, the ſame year, upon his being recalled from the caſtle of Guiſnes, of which he was captain, he was appointed one of the four gentlemen in ordinary of his Majeſty's Privy-Chamber (64): he was alſo keeper of the palace of Weſtminſter, and, as the warrants to him plainly ſhew, Maſter of the Wardrobe (65); but the laſt and greateſt favour he received in that reign, was his being elected, April 23d, in the ſixth year of Edward VI. one of the Knights Companions of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter (66). He joined, as it was natural for him to do, with the Duke his brother, and for that offence, on the 19th of Auguſt 1553, received judgment to die

(62) Theſe particulars are taken from the Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(63) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 497.

(64) From the King's Journal.

(65) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 213, 234. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 520.

(66) Regiſter of the Order.

eight ſons and five daughters, of whom ſome went before him to the grave, others ſurvived, and lived to ſee a great change in their fortunes: we ſhall likewiſe give a ſuccinct account of them, for the reader's ſatisfaction [*T*]. It may not be amiſs to remember here, that Sir John Sutton, Baron of Dudley, was taken into the new Queen's favour, though he did not live to enjoy it long, dying in leſs than a month after the great Duke his couſin, and, by the Queen's ſpecial command, was, on the 21ſt of September 1553, buried with great pomp and ceremony at Weſtminſter, the Heralds attending at his funeral, when his ſtyle and titles were publicly proclaimed (*r*). His ſon, Edward Sutton Lord Dudley, received ſtill higher marks of her Royal beneficence, ſince, by her letters patent, ſhe reſtored to him and the heirs of his body all the manors of Horburne and Smethwick, with the advowſon of the church of Horburne in the county of Stafford; as alſo the whole priory of Dudley, and the tithes of Norfield and Sedgeley, with divers meſſuages and lands, parcel of the poſſeſſions belonging to the ſame priory, then in the poſſeſſion of the Crown by the attainder of John, Duke of Northumberland (*s*). This Lord taking to wife Catharine, the daughter of Sir John Bridges, Lord Chandos of Sudeley, one of the Ladies in ordinary attending on the Queen, ſhe granted to him, and to the heirs of their two bodies, the lordſhips of Sedgeley, Himley, and Swinford, with the parks of Etinſhall, Sedgeley, and Himley; the hays, foreſts, and chaces, of Aſhwood and Chaſpell, with all the land called Willingſworth, and divers other lands and tenements in the county of Stafford (*t*). Her Majeſty alſo granted him, though the date does not appear, the whole caſtle of Dudley, the park called the Conigree, the old park of Dudley, with divers other lands lying in Dudley, Rowley, and Sedgeley, in the county of Stafford; all which came to the crown by the forfeiture of the ſaid John, Duke of Northumberland (*u*). The Queen alſo made this Lord Governor of the caſtle of Hampnies in Picardy, for the term of his natural life (*w*). By his Lady before-mentioned, he had only one daughter, Anne, married to Thomas Wylmer, Eſq. Counſellor at Law (*x*). As to his other marriages and iſſue, the reader has ſeen them already in another place (*y*). We ſhall therefore add nothing farther here, than that this noble Peer dying

(*r*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 34.

(*s*) Pat. 1 & 2 P. & M.

(*t*) Pat. 1 & 2 P. & M.

(*u*) Pat. 21 Eliz. per inſpex.

(*w*) Pat. 1 & 2 P. & M. p. 4.

(*x*) Catalogue of Nobility, by R. B.

(*y*) In note [*B*] in the article of DUDLEY.

as a traitor, notwithſtanding which he was reprieved, and afterwards pardoned, and diſcharged out of the Tower, Octob. 18, 1554, living the remainder of his life privately, at his houſe in Tothill-ſtreet, where he deceaſed in 1559; but it does not appear that any notice was taken of him by Queen Elizabeth, ſo that, at the time of his demiſe, his fortune was but ſmall (67).

[*T*] *For the reader's ſatisfaction.*] We are here to ſpeak of the Duke of Northumberland's poſterity, and firſt of the ſons, which were eight.

I. Henry, who was killed at the ſiege of Boulogne, at the age of nineteen, married to Wynefred, daughter to the Lord Rich; upon whoſe death there is an elegy extant, by Leland (68).

II. Thomas, who died when he was two years old.

III. John, who had the title of Earl of Warwick in his father's life-time. At the coronation of Edward VI. he was made one of the Knights of the Bath: in the fifth year of that monarch's reign, he accompanied the Marquis of Northampton, who carried the Order of the Garter to the French King (69). In the ſixth of Edward VI. he was made Maſter of the Horſe, with a fee of one hundred pounds per annum (70). He had the wardſhip granted him of Sir Edward Seymour, Knight, ſon to the Protector (71). But whereas it is ſaid, by certain writers, that, when his father cauſed the Lord Paget to be deprived of the Garter (72), it was to make room for his ſon the Earl of Warwick, that is not likely to be true, becauſe this young nobleman never had it at all. He was condemned with his father, but reprieved, and releaſed out of the Tower with his uncle, and, going to his brother's houſe at Penſhurſt in Kent, died there in two days time; ſo that it is probable he was dying when he was diſcharged (73). He was, as a certain writer informs us, a nobleman of great hope, and one of the mirrors of his age for religion, learning, and military affairs (74). He deceaſed, October the 21ſt, 1554, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, leaving no iſſue by his Counteſs, the daughter of the Duke of Somerſet, who, after his death, married Sir Edward Umpton, Knight (75).

IV. and V. Ambroſe and Robert, of whom hereafter.

VI. Guilford, who, as we have ſhewn in the text, married Jane, daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, in the month of May, 1553, and, on the 12th of February following, loſt his life, together with his unfortunate lady, upon the ſcaffold (76).

VII. Henry, who married Margaret, the ſole daughter and heireſs of Thomas, Lord Audley, High-Chancellor of England, and was killed at the ſiege of St. Quintin's, in 1557. His widow married Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and from her deſcended the Howards, Earls of Suffolk (77).

VIII. Charles, who at his death was but four years old.

The daughters were five, *viz.*

1. Mary, who married Sir Henry Sidney, Knight of the Garter, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Lord Preſident of Wales, from whom deſcended the Earls of Leiceſter of that name (78).

2. Margaret, who died when ſhe was ten years old.

3. Catharine, who became the wife of Henry Haſtings, Earl of Huntington, and Lord Preſident of the North, by whom ſhe had no iſſue. She ſurvived him long, deceaſed in the month of Auguſt, 1620, and was interred by her mother in Chelſea church (79).

4. Temperance, who died at a year old (80).

5. Another Catharine, who died at ſeven years of age (81).

C.

*** [The beginning of this article continues that undue partiality which our predeceſſor had before ſhewn to the memory of Edmund Dudley. As we have already made a remark upon it, we ſhall not here add any thing farther upon the ſubject; though the weakneſs of the reaſoning, ariſing from Dudley's having been choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, might juſtly be expoſed.

Something of the ſame partiality may be traced in Dr. Campbell's elaborate and well-written account of the Life and Actions of the famous Warrior and Stateſman now before us. The dexterity for which he is applauded, and the conduct which is ſaid to be wiſe, were in fact nothing but unprincipled accommodations, for the purpoſes of intereſt and ambition, to all the changes and circumſtances of the times. In order to exalt the Duke of Northumberland, the Duke of Somerſet appears to be unjuſtly depreciated. Indeed, an unreaſonable palliation of Northumberland's tranſactions runs through ſeveral of the Notes, and is particularly apparent in Note [*K*]. However, in certain reſpects, the iniquity of the Duke, his rapacity, and particularly his barbarous uſage of his relation, John, Baron of Dudley, are properly related. We agree

(67) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(68) Publiſhed by Hearne, at the end of Roſs of Warwick's Hiſtory.

(69) MS. ſub effig. Jul. C. IX. in Bibl. Cotton.

(70) Pat. 6 E. VI. p. 5.

(71) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 111.

(72) Hiſt. of Ed. VI. in the Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 236. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 206.

(73) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 202.

(74) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 819.

(75) Brook's Catalogue of the Nobility, p. 218. Milles's Cat. of Honour, p. 819.

(76) Baronagium Angliæ, fo. 21.

(77) Milles's Cat. of Honour, p. 818.

(78) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(79) Milles's Cat. of Honour, p. 818. Memoirs before-cited.

(80) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 220.

(81) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

dying July 4, 1586, in the twenty-eighth year of Queen Elizabeth (z), his body was interred in the church of St. Margaret, Weſtminſter.

(z) F F. in officio arm. fol. 13 a.

agree with our predeceſſor in opinion, that there is no proof of Northumberland's having poiſoned King Edward the Sixth. What ſtrikes us in reading the Hiſtory of theſe times is the general want of principle that was found in public men. They ſeem to have revolted to the ruling party without heſitation and without ſhame. When the Duke of Northumberland marched out in ſupport of the cauſe of Queen Jane, he received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of fidelity from the Council; and the Earl of Arundel in particular told him, that he was ſorry that it was not his chance to go with him, in whoſe preſence he could find in his heart to ſpend his blood even at his feet. And yet, within a few days, this ſame Earl of Arundel appears to have arreſted the Duke with the moſt perfect indifference and compoſure of mind. Thoſe who are the moſt ready to extol the virtues of our anceſtors, and to ſet them far above the level of the preſent times, are not always the beſt judges of the ſubject.]

K.

DUDLEY (Lady JANE), ſee GREY (Lady JANE), or, as Heylyn ſtyles her, QUEEN JANE.

DUDLEY (AMBROSE), ſon of John Duke of Northumberland beforementioned, afterwards Baron L'Iſle, and Earl of Warwick, through the favour of Queen Elizabeth. He was born, as I conjecture, either in 1530 or 1531, and was carefully educated in his father's family, and, ſhewing an early propenſity to arms, he attended his father, then Earl of Warwick, when he went into Norfolk againſt the rebels in the year 1549 (a), and there it was, in all probability, that he deſerved the honour of knighthood, which was conferred upon him November the 17th, with the Duke of Lunenburgh, Sir John Perrot, Sir Nicholas Pelham, and Sir Thomas Ruſſel (b). We find him very high in King Edward's favour in 1552, when he aſſiſted at ſeveral tournaments, made, as ſome writers inſinuate, to amuſe the young King, while his uncle the Duke of Somerſet was under ſentence of death (c). He was then ſtyled Lord Ambroſe Dudley, and received by that title ſome marks of benevolence from the King his maſter (d). He continued all that reign, as the reader may conceive, in much credit at Court, and, being in arms at the ſame time with the Duke of Northumberland on the behalf of Lady Jane, he was attainted, received ſentence of death, and remained a cloſe priſoner till October 18, 1554 (e), when he was diſcharged out of the Tower, and pardoned for life (f). Upon the demiſe of his mother, the Ducheſs of Northumberland, in the ſucceeding year, he became poſſeſſed of the Lordſhip of Hale Owen, charged with ſome annulties to his younger brothers by the Will of that Lady (g). In 1557, in company with both his brothers, he attended the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Viſcount Montacute, the Lord Wilton, and the Earl of Lincoln, who, in the month of May, with a body of eight thouſand men, paſſed over into the Low-Countries, and joined the Spaniſh army that lay then before St. Quintin's (h). He had his ſhare in the famous victory that was gained over the French who came to the relief of the place, and was likewiſe preſent during the remaining part of the ſiege, which was reſumed after the battle (i). Having had the misfortune to loſe there his youngeſt brother, who was a perſon of great hopes, and a ſingular favourite with King Edward VI. (k), this matter was ſo repreſented to Queen Mary, that ſhe conſented to reſtore the whole family in blood, and accordingly an act paſſed this year for that purpoſe, by which Sir Ambroſe Dudley, Knight, was entirely freed from the inconveniences derived upon him by the attainder of John, Duke of Northumberland, his father (l) [A]. On the

(a) Cooper, Holinſhed, Stowe.

(b) Nom. Equit. MS. in Bibl. Cotton. Not. Claudius c. ii. p. 186.

(c) Taken from King Edward's Journal.

(d) Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 506.

(e) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 208.

(f) Cole's Ffc. Lib. ii. Not. 61. A. 13. in Bibl. Harley.

(g) See the Ducheſs's will in the Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney Papers.

(h) Holinſhed's Chron. p. 1133.

(i) Stowe's Annals, p. 631.

(l) As appears by ſeveral paſſages in the King's Journal.

(l) An. 4 & 5 Ph. & Mar. No. 12.

[A] *By the attainder of John, Duke of Northumberland, his father.*] It is highly probable, that this reſtitution in blood was obtained by the power of King Philip, on account of the good ſervices that had been performed by all the brothers at St. Quintin's, where the youngeſt, Henry, in the laſt aſſault given to the place, was killed by a ſhot, as he was ſtooping to draw his ſtocking over his knee, that it might not incommode him in ſcaling (1). This act of Parliament recites (2), that by reaſon of the attainders of John, Duke of Northumberland, the ſaid Ambroſe Dudley, and Robert Dudley, Knights, now remain out of all name and reputation, to their great diſcomfort, grief, and daily ſorrow. And, for as much as the ſaid Ambroſe and Robert, be and always, ever ſince the ſaid attainders, have been, and always hereafter intend to be, her Highneſs's true and faithful ſubjects: It may therefore pleaſe her Highneſs, &c. at their moſt humble petitions, for the true and faithful ſervice which they had done, and intended to do during their lives; and having already given good proof and trial of their fidelity, &c. it was therefore enacted, with the aſſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons in Pariament aſſembled, That the ſaid Ambroſe Dudley, and Robert Dudley, Kights, the Lady Mary Sidney, and Lady Catherine Haſtings, and every of them, and their heirs, and the heirs of every of them, from henceforth, may, and ſhall, by authority of this act, be reſtored and enabled in blood and name, and made heir and heirs, as well to the ſaid Sir John Dudley, Knight, late Duke of Northumberland, their ſaid father, as alſo to any other their aunceſtor or aunceſtors, lyneal or collateral, in ſuch manner and form, as if the ſaid late Duke their father, or they, or any of them, had never byn attainted, and as yf no ſuch attainder or attainders were, or had byn had: the corruption of bloud between the ſaid late Duke their father, and your ſaid ſubjects, or any of them, or the corruption of bloud between your ſaid ſubjects, and any other their aunceſtor, or aunceſtors, or any act of Parliament, or judgment at Common-Law, concerning the attainder of the ſaid late Duke their father, or of the ſaid Sir Ambroſe Dudley, or of the ſaid Sir Robert Dudley, or any of them, or any other thing, whereby the bloud of the ſaid late Duke their father, or of the ſaid Sir Ambroſe Dudley, or of the ſaid Sir Robert Dudley, or any of them, is, ſhould, or might be, corrupted, &c. And it was alſo enacted, that the ſaid Ambroſe Dudley, and Robert Dudley, the Lady Mary Sidney, and the Lady Catherine Haſting, and every

(1) Holinſhed's Chron. p. 1134.

(2) An. 4 & 5 Ph. & Mar. No. 12.

the accession of Queen Elizabeth, he became immediately one of the most distinguished persons at her Court, and was called, as in the days of her brother, Lord Ambrose Dudley (*m*). In the first year of her reign, he obtained a grant of the manor of Kibworth Beauchamp in the county of Leicester, to be held by the service of Pantler to the Kings and Queens of this realm at their coronation (*n*), which seemed to be a happy omen of the restitution of his family, since that office had been, by his father, and other his ancestors Earls of Warwick, enjoyed. In the first promotion, however, he had no higher preferment given him, and was also passed by in the first creation of Peers (*o*). In the second year of her reign, the Queen bestowed on him a much stronger mark of her kindness, by advancing him to the great office of Master of the Ordnance (*p*), and to shew her confidence in him the greater, he was so constituted for life. On Christmas-day, in the fourth year of her reign, he had the antient honour of his family, though with some change in the title, conferred upon him, being created, by Patent, Baron of Kingston L'Isle, in the county of Berks, in consideration of his illustrious blood, fidelity, valour, prudence, and other great merits, as the preamble of that patent recites (*q*); and the very next day was advanced to the honour of Earl of Warwick, with very singular circumstances of the Queen's esteem [*B*]. It was about this time judged necessary to send over a body of troops to Normandy, upon a promise made by the Protestants to Queen Elizabeth, that they should have a very important port put into their hands; which being considered as a matter of the highest importance, the Council recommended to her the Earl of Warwick, as the propereſt person to be entrusted with the command. Accordingly, in the Autumn of 1562, he was honoured with a commission to be the Queen's Lieutenant in Normandy, where the important town of Havre de Grace, called by our writers New Haven, was delivered to him, and he was with great solemnity sworn into his office (*r*). He behaved himself, in the course of that expedition, with the greatest courage and conduct, executed the Queen's orders with the utmost punctuality, and when he found himself shut up in the place, defended it with all the firmness and prudence imaginable; neither would he deliver it up, though warmly pressed by a great army, and attacked within by famine and pestilence, till he received the Queen's express commands, and then obtained an honourable capitulation (*s*) [*C*]. While he commanded in France, the Queen caused him to be elected Knight

(*m*) This appears from several MSS of Dr. John Dee, to whom he was a bountiful patron.

(*n*) Pat. 1 Eliz.

(*o*) Camden. Ann. Eliz. p. 33.

(*p*) Pat. 2 Eliz. P. 4.

(*q*) Pat. 4 Eliz. p. 6.

(*r*) Pat. 4 Eliz. p. 2. in dorso & Rymer.

(*s*) Holinshed's Chron. p. 1222.

every of them, and their heirs, &c. shall be enabled to demand, ask, have, hold, and enjoy, all such lands, tenements, and hereditaments, &c. which at any time hereafter shall descend, come, remain, or revert from any their auncestor or auncestors, as if the said Duke their father, or any of them had never byn attainted, and as though no such attainder of their said late father, or of them, or any of them, had ever been had or made.

[*B*] *With very singular circumstances of the Queen's esteem.*] It is no unreasonable conjecture, that the Queen had the raising of this noble person and his brother much at heart, from the very beginning of her reign; at which, though some historians affect much amazement, and have recourse to the influence of the stars, to account for what they could not comprehend (3), there seems, however, to be no great difficulty in the case. In her youth, the princess Elizabeth had conversed very intimately with Ambrose and Robert Dudley, saw them high in her brother King Edward's favour, and probably had made use of their interest in those times of prosperity. They had been also, abating the great distance in their rank, companions in adversity under Queen Mary; nor is it at all improbable, that they might render the Princess Elizabeth very acceptable service, during the latter part of that reign, when both the brothers had recovered some degree of favour. But, notwithstanding all this, the Queen proceeded slowly, and with much deliberation. The preamble to his patent for the Earldom of Warwick sets forth (4): That the Queen considering that the way to increase her oyal dignity is by advancing men to titles of honour, eminent for their abilities and valour, and, of such, the more she prefers, the brighter her crown shines: And Sir Ambrose Dudley, Knight, Baron L'Isle, being lawfully descended from the illustrious and ancient race of the Earls of Warwick, as also he is at the present eldest son of John, late Duke of Northumberland, and Earl of Warwick: She therefore being willing to restore the family, has created him Earl of Warwick, by girding him with a sword, and placing a cap of honour and circle on his head; to hold to him, and the heirs male of his body, with remainder to Sir Robert Dudley, Knight, Master of the Horse to her Majesty, otherwise called Sir Robert Dudley, Knt. brother of the said Sir Ambrose Dudley, Knight, Baron L'Isle, and now Earl of Warwick, and to the heirs male of the body of the said Sir Robert, with a grant of twenty pounds annually, out of the fee-farm rent of the city of Coventry, payable by the sheriff and citizens of the said city.

[*C*] *And then obtained an honourable capitulation.*] About this time, the first civil wars on the score of religion broke out in France, King Charles IX. being then in his minority. The Guises, who were at the head of the Papists, had the King, and the Queen his mother, in their hands, which induced the Prince of Condé, and the other chiefs of the Protestants, to desire the protection of Queen Elizabeth, which she accordingly granted. The Earl of Warwick embarked at Portsmouth, October the 17th, 1562, but was obliged by ill weather to put into Dover, whence he sailed again, and was again forced back, so that he did not arrive at Newhaven till the 29th of the same month. He found the place in the hands of Sir Adrian Poynings, who had taken possession of it on the 2d of September. While the civil war continued, the English Lord Lieutenant, gave all the assistance possible to the Protestants, but they, having made up their quarrel with the Court, declared against the English; upon which, the Lord Lieutenant obliged all the French to quit the town (5). It was not long before the place was invested by a numerous army, under the command of the Constable Montmorency, the Protestants being as active against the English as any, that they might recover the favour of the Court. The place was quickly deprived of fresh water, partly through the dryness of the season, and partly by the pains taken by the French to cut off the aqueducts, which obliged the soldiers to boil their victuals in salt water. This produced an epidemic distemper, by which numbers perished. Notwithstanding all this, the Lord-Lieutenant continued to make an obstinate defence, and frequently repulsed the French in their assaults, as is very largely related by our own historians, and is also clearly admitted by theirs (6). The Queen, having intelligence of the state that things were in, expressed with tears her commiseration for her subjects, and that she

(3) Camden. Ann. p. 109.

(4) Pat. 4 Eliz. p. 6.

(5) Holinshed's Chron. p. 1201.

(6) Stowe, Holinshed, Camden, Mezeray, P. Daniel.

Knight of the Garter, and the enſigns of the Order were ſent over to him thither (*t*). Upon his return, he was received with great kindneſs by his Sovereign, who continued to him her accuſtomed favour, and gave him, upon many occaſions, extraordinary marks of her confidence. In 1566, he was created Doctor of Laws by the Univerſity of Oxford (*u*), and, in 1568, he was added, with ſome other Noblemen, to the Lords of her Majeſty's Privy-Council, as a Commiſſioner in the great cauſe of the Queen of Scots, upon her retiring into England; and took the oath of ſecrecy impoſed upon that occaſion (*w*). In 1569, he, together with the Lord Clinton, was appointed jointly and ſeverally the Queen's Lieutenants in the North, upon that dangerous rebellion which broke out under the Earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, which, by his care and vigilance, was happily ſuppreſſed. In 1570, the Queen was pleaſed to grant him the office of Chief-Butler of England (*x*). In the beginning of the ſucceeding year, when the unfortunate Thomas Duke of Norfolk was brought to his trial before George Earl of Shrewſbury as Lord High-Steward of England, he was one of the Peers appointed, by the Queen's Commiſſion, to ſit upon the trial (*y*). In the ſame year he was ſworn one of the Members of her Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy-Council (*z*). We find him in all the great and public ſervices during this active and buſy reign, but never in any of the intrigues with which it was blemiſhed; for he was a man of great ſweetneſs of temper, and of unexceptionable character, ſo that he was beloved by all parties, and hated by none (*a*). He diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly as the zealous patron of the trade and manufactures of his country, which induced him to promote a deſign, formed by ſome Merchants of London, for opening the trade to Barbary; which, however, was not attended with ſo much good fortune as they expected; upon which that noble Lord, in 1585, procured a licence from the Queen, for the ſole tranſporting of cloths into thoſe parts for two years, that Thomas Starkey, Gerrard Gore, and other Merchants of London, who were embarked in the firſt unfortunate adventure, might repair the loſſes they had ſuſtained (*b*). In 1586, he was one of the Peers that aſſiſted at the trial of Mary Queen of Scots, and to whom, as a perſon for whom ſhe had a particular regard, that unfortunate Princeſs addreſſed herſelf when the Aſſembly broke up (*c*). In the laſt years of his life he endured great pain and miſery, from the wound received in his leg when he defended Newhaven againſt the French, and this, at laſt, brought him ſo low, that, ſubmitting to the opinion of Phyſicians and Surgeons, he conſented to an amputation, which was accordingly performed, but without ſucceſs, ſo that he departed this life ſoon after at Bedford-Houſe, Bloomſbury, February 20th, 1589, when he was about the age of threeſcore (*d*). As the long decline of his health gave him timely notice of his approaching death, he made a long and very remarkable will, ſome few paſſages of which the reader will find in the notes [*D*]. This noble perſon

(*t*) Funeral's MS. Not. 31, in Bibl. Joh. Anſtis, Arm.

(*u*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 91.

(*w*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 171.

(*x*) See the inſcription upon his monument.

(*y*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 245.

(*z*) See the inſcription upon his monument.

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies in Staffordſhire.

(*b*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 450.

(*c*) See the proceedings at the Caſtle of Fotheringay.

(*d*) Camden. Annal. p. 621.

was

ſhe might no longer expoſe ſo many brave men at once to ſickneſs and the ſword; ſhe publicly applauded their noble courage, and at the ſame time directed the Earl of Warwick to capitulate upon honourable terms. He ſent accordingly commiſſioners to treat, and on this occaſion, going himſelf upon the rampart, without armour, to ſpeak to a French officer of diſtinction, he was baſely, and againſt the rules of war, ſhot with a poiſoned bullet in the leg, which proved not only the cauſe of his loſing that limb, but afterwards his life (7). It was not long before the articles of ſurrender were adjuſted, and were in ſubſtance theſe, viz. That the town, with all the ammunition, ſhipping, and furniture, which belonged to the French King and his ſubjects, ſhould be ſurrendered: That the large tower ſhould forthwith be delivered up to Montmorency: That the priſoners taken on both ſides ſhould be exchanged without ranſom; and that the Engliſh ſhould have free liberty to depart in ſix days, if the wind ſerved, with all things that belonged to the Queen and them. The hoſtages delivered were, Sir Oliver Manners, the Earl of Rutland's brother; the captains, Leighton, Pelham, and Horſey. The laſt that ſtayed, ſays Camden, was Colonel Edward Randolph, who, out of a piety, never enough to be commended, carried upon his ſhoulders the ſick and deceaſed ſoldiers into the ſhips. Thus was Newhaven, after it had ſtood the ſiege of a ſickneſs, more violent than the enemies fire, left at laſt to the French, after the Engliſh had been maſters of it eleven months. The ſoldiers, that were brought back to England ſick of the infection, ſcattered the bad influence thereof ſo unhappily, that it ſeized on the whole kingdom in a miſerable manner, and there were carried out of the city of London alone, which then conſiſted of an hundred and twenty-one pariſhes, twenty-one thouſand five hundred and thirty-corps (8).

(7) As appears from Sir Wm. Dethick's account in the MS. preſerved in the Office of Arms cited in text.

(8) Camden. Annal. Eliz. 101.

[*D*] *The reader will find in the notes.*] Theſe paſſages are at the cloſe of the will, and are produced to ſhew the temper of mind in which he died, the great affection he had for his friends, and who thoſe friends were (9). 'Concerning all our goods, chattels, and 'moveables whatſoever, I do give and bequeath them 'to my aforeſaid beloved wife, whom I do ordain and 'make my ſole and only executrix of this my laſt will 'and teſtament, requiring her to have an honourable 'conſideration of all my ſervants, according to their 'ſpecial deſerts and times ſpent in my ſervice, as in 'part I do declare by a codicil hereunto annexed. 'And I do inſtantly intreat my very aſſured good 'Lords, the Lord Burleigh, Lord-Treaſurer of England, the Earl of Cumberland, the Earl of Huntingdon, to be overſeers of this my ſaid will, beſeeching 'them to yield their honourable and friendly furtherance unto my ſaid executrix, for the better performance of the ſame: and in teſtimony of my moſt 'dutiful and faithful heart towards her moſt excellent 'Majeſty, whoſe days I inſtantly beſeech God to 'lengthen here upon earth, to the comfort of his 'Church and this realm with much happineſs, and, 'after her pilgrimage here ended, ſhe may everlaſtingly reign with him, I do will and bequeath to her 'Highneſs my beſt jewel ſet with an emerald, moſt 'humbly beſeeching her gracious acceptation, notwithſtanding the baſeneſs thereof; and that it would 'pleaſe her Highneſs to continue her good favour towards my ſaid wife, whom I leave to continue her 'moſt faithful and devoted ſervant, recommending 'this moſt effectually as my laſt petition to her Majeſty. I do give and bequeath to my ſaid very good 'Lord, the Lord-Treaſurer, my collar of gold of the 'Order, and my george annexed thereunto. And, to 'the Earl of Cumberland, my brooche with diamonds, 'with an agate therein; and to my Lord of Hunting-

(9) Ex Regiſt. vocat. Drury, n. 75. qu. 43. in cur. præog. Cantuar.

'don,

was thrice married, first to Anne, daughter and heir of William Whormeod, Esq; Attorney-General to King Henry VIII. by his first wife Cassandra, daughter to Sir Edward Grey, Knight, which Lady died on the 26th of May, 1552, his and her only son John dying before her (*e*). He married next Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Gilbert Talboys, Knight, sister and sole heiress to George, Lord Talboys (*f*); and, after her decease, by whom he had no issue, he married Lady Anne Russell, daughter to Francis, Earl of Bedford, by whom also he had no issue (*g*). Sir William Dethick had the direction of his funeral, which was performed with great solemnity. Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, who had married his sister, was chief mourner, and his corpse was attended to the grave by the Earls of Kent, Bedford, Cumberland, and Pembroke, the Lords Dudley and St. John, Sir William Russell, Sir Henry Knevet, Sir John Harrington, Sir Fulk Grevil, Sir Drew Drury, and Sir Henry Lea (*b*). He was interred April 9th, 1590, in the midst of the chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, at Warwick, where a curious altar-monument is erected to his memory, by the pious care of his relict Anne, Countess of Warwick, with his effigies in armour, and mantle of an Earl lying thereon, his head resting on a mattress cut in marble, with his hands conjoined, as in prayer, and, at his feet, a bear couchant muzzled, all painted to the life (*i*). On this monument there is a large inscription, which, being already inserted in several books (*k*), it would be needless to transcribe; and therefore, let us conclude with observing, that he was called by the people, long before and after his decease, THE GOOD EARL OF WARWICK (*l*).

(*e*) Cole's Esc. Lib. ii. p. 14.

(*f*) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 822.

(*g*) Baronagium Angliæ, MS. fo. 21.

(*b*) Funeral's MS. Not. 31, in Bibl. Joh. Anstris, Arm.

(*i*) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney Papers.

(*k*) Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. I. p. 447, 448.

(*l*) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 822.

'don, my second best george and best garter, and a 'bason and ewer of silver, of forty pounds at the 'least: and to my dear sister, the Countess of Hunting-'don, a jewel worth five hundred marks; and to my 'niece, the Countess of Pembroke, a diamond of fifty 'pounds: and to my very good Lord, the Lord Chan-'cellor, my best george, with a chain and garter. To 'my Lord Cobham, and Lord Grey of Wilton, either 'of them a george. To Mr. Secretary Walsingham, 'my honourable good friend, a bason and ewer of 'silver of forty pounds. And to my little niece, Sid-'ney, a jewel of one hundred marks. And, to Mr. 'Vice Chamberlain, a pair of gilt livery pots of 'twenty pounds. And, to Mr. Roger Manners, my 'best foot cloth nag, and the best furniture belonging 'to the same. In witness, &c.' C.

*** [Though Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, does not make so eminent and extensive a figure in history as the rest of his family, in one respect his praise is far superior to theirs. The appellation of "Good," which he obtained from his personal character, was a title to which the other Dudleys, recorded in the Biographia, could lay very little claim. His last will places him in an amiable light, and shews that he was affectionate to his relations, kind to his domestics, and grateful to his friends.] K.

DUDLEY (ROBERT), Baron of Denbigh, and Earl of Leicester, son of John, Duke of Northumberland, and brother to Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, before-mentioned. We have no certainty at all as to the time of his birth, or distinct account of the manner of his education, excepting that he had a competent knowledge of the Latin tongue, and was thoroughly versed in the Italian (*a*). He received the honour of knighthood when he was but a youth, and came very early into the service and favour of King Edward (*b*). It was one of his father's maxims to marry his children while they were young, as the surest means of fixing their fortunes, bringing them into a settled course of life, and giving him an opportunity of procuring for them valuable grants or places of honour and profit. Accordingly, June the 4th, 1550, being the day after the marriage of his brother the Lord L'Isle to the Duke of Somerset's daughter, Sir Robert Dudley espoused Amy, daughter of Sir John Robsart (*c*), at Sheen in Surrey, the King honouring their nuptials with his presence [*A*]. He was, not long

(*a*) Upon both which he is complimented by Dr. Wilson, in his Dedication to him of a Discourse upon Usury.

(*b*) This appears from the King's Journal, and all the histories of that reign.

(*c*) See this explained in the note.

[*A*] *The King honouring their nuptials with his presence.*] There is not any article in this collection, encumbered with more difficulties than this of Queen Elizabeth's distinguished favourite, the third in descent of the same family, to the third in descent of the same royal house. Edmund Dudley, Esq; was the chief Minister of Henry VII. John, Viscount L'Isle, honoured, living and dying, with the favour of King Henry VIII.; and, by the title of Northumberland, ruling all things under Edward VI.; and this Robert, Earl of Leicester, from the very entrance of Queen Elizabeth's reign, taking in the space of nearly thirty years, in as high credit and power as a subject could be. But notwithstanding all this, and that hardly any nobleman's name occurs more frequently in our Histories, yet there are many particulars relating to his life, which are very obscure, chiefly from the different views which those persons had, by whom they were recorded, and these we shall principally endeavour to clear up, as far as the narrow bounds which the nature of such a collection prescribes will allow.

As to this marriage, King Edward enters it thus in his journal (1). 'June 4, 1550, Sir Robert Dudley, 'third son to the Earl of Warwick, married Sir John 'Robsart's daughter, after which marriage, there were 'certain gentlemen that did strive who should first 'take away a goose's head, which was hanged alive 'on two cross posts.' Authors differ as to the name of this lady. Brooke, in his first edition (2), calls her Amy, in which he agrees with some ancient authorities that I have seen; but in the second edition, following the general course of other authors, he styles her Anne (3), and indeed, in old writings it is very difficult to distinguish between *Amie* and *Anne*. She was a very considerable heiress, and descended of a noble family in Norfolk, one of her ancestors by the father's side having been a peer of the realm in the reign of Henry V. and two of them Knights of the Garter in the reign of that prince and of his son (4). So that, as we observed in the text, this match, at the time it was made, agreed perfectly with his father's maxim, and afforded Sir Robert Dudley a very good establishment for a younger brother, which he improved, by procuring grants to his father-in-law and himself.

(1) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. in the Appendix, p. 15.

(2) Cat. of Nobility, p. 130.

(3) Vincent's Errors in Brooke's Cat. p. 310.

(4) See this explained in note [*D*].

after,

after, made Master of the King's Buckhounds for life (*d*); and, on the 15th of August, 1551, he was sworn one of the Six Gentlemen of the King's Chamber in Ordinary, together with Mr. Barnaby Fitzpatrick (*e*). In the month of October he was, amongst many other persons of distinction, appointed to wait upon the Queen-Dowager of Scotland, and appears to have had a share in most of the King's diversions, who gave him, upon all occasions, very pregnant marks of his singular affection (*f*). In the first year of Queen Mary he fell into the same misfortunes with the rest of his family, was brought prisoner from the Queen's camp to London, sent to the Tower, indicted of high-treason, and, upon his pleading guilty (*g*), received sentence of death, but was pardoned for life, and set at liberty October 18th, 1554 (*h*). He was restored in blood at the same time, and by the same Act of Parliament, with his brother (*i*), but had the advantage of him in one respect, being raised to the important post of Master of the Ordnance by Queen Mary (*k*), which has been thought to give some credit to the earliest piece of secret history that is to be met with in respect to this great man, if we except what regards King Edward's death (*l*); though, perhaps, both are without foundation [*B*]. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth it very soon appeared, that the change of Sovereigns had created no alteration but in the degree of his favour. He was immediately entertained at Court as one of the new Queen's principal favourites, promoted to the office of Master of the Horse, with the fee of one hundred marks *per annum* (*m*), and named first in the commission for compounding with such as might be called to receive the honour of knighthood at the Queen's coronation, by the name of Lord Robert Dudley (*n*). On the 4th of June 1559, he was installed Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and sworn of the Council (*o*). These great preferments excited some degree of envy, the rather, because this noble person, in compliance with his Sovereign's humour, and perhaps with his own, lived at a very high rate, and, in point of magnificence, surpassed most of the Nobility, though he had not as yet any other title than what he derived from curtesy. In 1562, he obtained from the Queen the Castle and Manor of Kenilworth, together with Astel-Grove in Warwickshire, the Lordships, Manors, and Castles, of Denbigh and Chirk, of very large value (*p*). The same year he became High-Steward of the University of Cambridge, and obtained prodigious grants from the Crown, and from others, in virtue of that influence which he was known to have at Court [*C*]. All things gave way, at this time, to his ambition, influence,

(*d*) Pat. 4 Ed. V. § 6.

(*e*) See King Edward's Journal of that date.

(*f*) Strype, Holinshed, Stowe, Speed, Burnet.

(*g*) Stowe's Annals, p. 618.

(*h*) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(*i*) See DUDLEY (AMBROSE) Earl of Warwick.

(*k*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 208.

(*l*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p 425.

(*m*) Pat. 1 Eliz. P. iv. m. 12.

(*n*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 493.

(*o*) From the plate in St. George's Chapel at Windsor.

(*p*) Stowe's Annals, p. 657, 658.

[*B*] *Though perhaps both are without foundation.*] We are told, in that famous book which is ascribed to Parsons the Jesuit, that at the very close of King Edward's reign, the Duke of Northumberland wrote flattering letters to the Lady Mary, promising to assist in establishing her succession (5), which seems not a little incredible. It is not however at all unlikely, that his younger sons, Ambrose and Robert, might express an affection for her cause, and a great unwillingness to act against her, which turned afterwards highly to their advantage. But in this, as in the succeeding reign, the younger brother shewed himself the more expert courtier of the two, attaching himself wholly to King Philip after his marriage; so that we find him made choice of to carry messages between the King and Queen, riding post (6) upon such occasions, and neglecting nothing that might ingratiate him with either of these princes. This assiduity recommended him to the post he obtained under the Queen, and in all probability he had a great share in King Philip's favour, not only then, but long after, which, at the first accession of Queen Elizabeth, he employed for her service, and was for some years looked upon as a person well-affected to his Catholic Majesty, and rather a friend than an enemy to the Popish interest; yet without running any hazards in their defence, and purely by observing great civility towards them, which he afterwards excused out of gratitude for favours formerly received. But when the Papists felt the severity of the laws, and saw this noble person set himself at the head of the Puritans, they made no scruple of affirming loudly, that he was once theirs; that, if Queen Mary had lived, he would have neglected nothing to ingratiate himself with her; and that, following his father's example, he was ready to embrace, or at least to profess, any creed that might promote his own progress at Court, and lessen the greatness of those who refused to depend upon him.

(5) Leicester's Commonwealth.

(6) Strype's Memorials.

[*C*] *Which he was known to have at Court.*] The intelligent reader will observe, that, notwithstanding the revenues of the Crown were far inferior in those days to what they are now, yet such as had the favour of the Prince knew how to turn it to greater advantage than can be done at this day; as, for instance, the Earl of Leicester having obtained a licence for transporting cloths sold it immediately, to some of the Merchant-Adventurers, for the sum of six thousand two hundred sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence (7). He made such a display of his power over the Queen his mistress's mind, that even her best friends and oldest servants were glad to court his favour, as appears by a letter in a very humble style from Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh, with a present (8). By the reputation of this high influence, he obtained whatever he sought, almost from all hands. As for example, he had a patent for the stewardship of the Bishoprick of Ely, confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of that place, also the office of Chamberlain of the County Palatine of Chester. And these following were after conferred on him: the stewardship of the forest of Snoden; the stewardship of Reading; the stewardship of Abingdon; the stewardship of Harrow on the Hill, from Roger, Lord North. The stewardship of Texbury, Cleve, Swell, and Longney, with the fees of eleven pounds *per annum*, and the Bailiwick, with the fees of sixty-six shillings and eight pence. The stewardship of Clun. A patent of master of the game and liberties belonging to the Bishoprick of Coventry and Lichfield, with licence to muster his tenants, &c. with a fee of ten pounds *per annum*. A patent from the Archbishop of York, of the high stewardship of his possessions, and Master of his Game, with a fee of ten pounds. The stewardship of the Church of Norwich, with a fee of ten pounds. A grant of a rent-charge of six pounds *per annum*, from the Bishop of Winchester, for the term of his life, out of the manor of Taunton, and other lands in Somersetshire, confirmed by the Dean and Chapter. The stewardship of the lands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a rent-charge of ten pounds *per annum*, granted by the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church of Canterbury. And a patent in reversion of the stewardship of the lands of the Bishop of London, with a fee of ten pounds *per annum*, granted by Edwin, Bishop of London, and a confirmation of the same from the Dean and Chapter. The stewardship of the honour of Tickhall, with the accustomed fee; the stewardship of the city of Bristol, with the fee of four pounds; also the stewardship of the Bishoprick,

(7) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(8) Peck's Desiderata, Vol. II. Lib. vii. p. 28.

fluence, or policy; so that whatever he desired for himself, or his friends, were obtained as soon as demanded. He had a grant of Windsor-Park, in terms as ample as he could desire or the Queen could give (*q*). In his attendance on the Queen, when she visited the University of Cambridge, the highest reverence was paid him. He was lodged in Trinity-College, consulted in all things, requests made to the Queen through him, and, August 10th, 1564, he, on his knees, entreated the Queen to speak to the University in Latin, which she accordingly did (*r*). At Court, however, Thomas, Earl of Sussex shewed himself averse to his counsels, and strongly promoted the overture of a marriage between the Queen and the Archduke Charles of Austria, as much more worthy of such a Princess than any subject of her own, let his qualities be what they would. This was resented by Lord Robert, who insinuated, that foreign alliances were always fatal, that her sister Mary never knew an easy minute after her marriage with King Philip, and that her Majesty ought to consider she was herself descended of such a marriage as, by those lofty notions, was decried; so that she should not contemn an alliance with the Nobility of England, but she must, at the same time, reflect on her father's choice and her mother's family (*s*). These disputes created a kind of civil war in the very palace, both lords openly avowing their distaste to each other, and keeping their servants armed about their persons, and, whenever they went abroad, as if things were to be decided by the sword. But the Queen, taking up the matter, reconciled them, or rather prevented an open rupture (*t*). But this was done without any diminution of Lord Robert Dudley's ascendency, who continued daily to solicit and obtain new grants and offices for himself, and his dependants, which, by degrees, grew so numerous, and made so great a figure, that he was styled the "Heart of the Court" by the common people. It was thought necessary to give some colour to these extraordinary marks of royal indulgence; and therefore the Queen thought proper to propose him as a suitor to the Queen of Scots, promising that Princess all the advantages that she could expect or desire, either for herself or her subjects, in case she consented to the match (*u*). The sincerity of this was suspected at that time, when the deepest Politicians believed, that, if the Queen of Scotland had complied, it would have served only to countenance the preferring him to his Sovereign's bed. But the French faction at the Court of Queen Mary represented to her, that such a step would be highly dishonourable to a Queen-Dowager of France, and a Queen of Scotland in her own right; which induced her to reject the proposal (*w*) in a manner that, some have thought, proved as fatal to her as to another Lady, who was supposed to be sacrificed to his ambition of marrying a Queen (*x*) [*D*]. Whatever truth there might be in these suggestions,

(*q*) Pat. 3 Eliz. P. 5.

(*r*) Journal of the Queen's visit to the University of Cambridge.

(*s*) Camden, Annal. Eliz, p. 117.

(*t*) Nauton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. iv.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 102.

(*w*) Life of Mary Queen of Scots, by Sanderson.

(*x*) See this fully explained in the note.

rick, with the same fee. The stewardship of Evesham, with the fee of forty shillings; the stewardship of the honour of Grafton. He was also chosen high steward of the manor and hundred of Andover, by the bailiffs and burgesses there; also steward of the town of Great Yarmouth, and recorder of the town of Malden in Essex (9).

(9) Extract of Grants to Robert Earl of Leicester, amongst the Sidney MSS.

[*D*] *To his ambition of marrying a Queen.*] The death of this lady happened Sept. 8, 1560, at a very unlucky juncture for the Earl's reputation, because the world at that time conceived it might be much for his conveniency to be without a wife, this island then holding two Queens, young and without husbands. The manner too of this poor lady's death, which Mr. Camden says, was by a fall from a high place (10), was another untoward circumstance, which, added to the number of this favourite's enemies, filled the world with the rumour of a lamentable tragedy. The reader will perhaps expect to be gratified with some account of this, and it so falls out, that the industrious John Aubrey, Esq; speaking of Cumnor, in Berkshire, where this happened, inserts the following relation, which is very circumstantial, and carries in it strong pretences to absolute certainty. At all events it is very curious, and much clearer than any thing else that is to be met with on this subject (11). 'Robert Dudley, Earl of 'Leicester, a very goodly personage, being a great 'favourite to Queen Elizabeth, it was thought, and 'commonly reported, that had he been a bachelor or 'widower, the Queen would have made him her hus-'band. To this end, to free himself of all obstacles, 'he with fair flattering intreaties, desires his wife to 'repose herself here, at his servant Anthony Forster's 'house, who then lived in the manor-house of this 'place; and also prescribed to Sir Richard Varney (a 'prompter to this design) at his coming hither, that 'he should first attempt to poison her, and if that did 'not take effect, then by any other way whatsoever 'to dispatch her. This was proved by the report of 'Dr. Walter Bayley, some time Fellow of New-College, then living in Oxford, and Professor of Physick 'in that University; who because he would not consent to take away her life by poison, the Earl endeavoured to displace him. This man reported for certain, that there was a practice in Cumnor, among the conspirators, to have poisoned this innocent lady 'a little before she was killed, which was attempted after this manner. They seeing her sad and heavy, as one that well knew by her other handling, that 'her death was not far off, began to persuade her, that 'her present disease was melancholy and other humours, and would needs counsel her to take some 'potion; which she absolutely refusing to do, as suspecting the worst, they sent a messenger for Dr. 'Bayley, and intreated him to persuade her to take 'some little potion by his direction, and they would 'fetch the same at Oxford, meaning to have added 'something of their own for her comfort, as the Doctor upon just cause and consideration did suspect, seeing their great importunity, and the small need the 'lady had of physick, and therefore he peremptorily 'denied their request, misdoubting, as he afterwards 'reported, lest, had they poisoned her under the name 'of his potion, he might after have been hanged for 'a colour of their sin; and the Doctor remained still 'well assured, that this way taking no effect, she 'would not long escape their violence, which afterwards happened thus. Sir Richard Varney, who, 'by the Earl's order, remained that day of her death 'alone with her, with one man only; and Forster, 'who had that day forcibly sent away all her servants 'from her to Abingdon fair, about three miles distant 'from this place; they first stifling her, or else strangling her, afterwards flung her down a pair of stairs 'and broke her neck, using much violence upon her; 'but, however, though it was reported, that she by 'chance fell down stairs, but still, without hurting 'her hood that was upon her head; yet the inhabi-'tants,

(10) Annal. Eliz. p. 102.

(11) Antiquities of Berkshire, Vol. I. p. 149—154.

geſtions, very certain it is, that, on the 28th of September, 1564, the Queen created him Baron of Denbigh (*y*), and the next day Earl of Leiceſter, with all the ceremony imaginable, which, in the preamble of the patent, is ſaid to be in conſideration of his noble blood, great loyalty, eminent valour, diſtinguiſhed prudence, and other numerous virtues; as alſo on account of his being lawfully deſcended from the illuſtrious and antient Earls of Warwick (*z*). He received, before the cloſe of the year, a very conſiderable addition to his new honours, by being elected Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford (*a*). His great influence in the Court of England was not only known at home but abroad, which induced the French King, Charles IX. to ſend him, as well as the Duke of Norfolk, the Order of St. Michael, then the moſt honourable in France; and both theſe great Peers were inſtalled, with the greateſt ſolemnity poſſible, January 24th, 1565 (*b*), and a very particular relation of the whole ceremony has been carefully preſerved to poſterity (*c*). If we may truſt the reports of Camden, and other Hiſtorians, he was the principal mover in the affair of the Duke of Norfolk's ſuit to the Queen of Scots, which proved ſo fatal to them both (*d*). The Duke wanted not friends to diſſuade him from that dangerous enterprize, or to ſhew him how much hazard he might run, by exciting the hate of the Queen, through his diſcovering ſo much affection for the other; but Leiceſter infuſed bolder counſels, and made him believe, that Queen Elizabeth ſhould not have power to hinder or reſent his marriage if ſhe would (*e*). But he was fatally deceived, and, as the Lord Burleigh long before hinted to him, the purſuit of that match coſt him his head; the Earl of Leiceſter being one of thoſe Peers that ſat in judgment upon him in 1572, and condemned him to death (*f*). About this time it is ſuppoſed, and ſome writers pretend that it has been legally proved, that the Earl married Douglas, Baroneſs-Dowager of Sheffield (*g*); which, however, was carried with ſuch privacy, that it did not come to the Queen's ears, though a great deal of ſecret hiſtory was publiſhed, even in thoſe days, concerning the adventures of this unfortunate Lady [*E*]. One might be tempted to ſuppoſe, notwithſtanding the confidence with which

(*y*) Stowe's Annals, p. 658.

(*z*) Pat. 6 Eliz. p. x i. m. 13.

(*a*) Hiſt. & Ant. Oxon Li. p 236.

(*b*) Stowe's Annals, p. 659.

(*c*) Aſhmole's Order of the Garter, p. 369, 370.

(*d*) Camden. Annal. p. 171.

(*e*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(*f*) See the arraignment of that Duke in the State-Trials.

(*g*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 222.

'tants will tell you there, that ſhe was conveyed from 'her uſual chamber where ſhe lay to another, where 'the bed's head of the chamber ſtood cloſe to a privy 'poſtern door, where they in the night came and 'ſtifled her in bed, bruiſed her head very much, broke 'her neck, and at length flung her down ſtairs, thereby 'believing the world would have thought it a miſ-'chance, and ſo have blinded their villany. But be-'hold the mercy and juſtice of God in diſcovering this 'lady's murther; for, one of the two perſons, that was 'a coadjutor in this murder, was afterwards taken 'for felony in the Marches of Wales, and offering to 'publiſh the manner of the aforeſaid murder, was 'privately made away in the priſon, by the Earl's 'appointment; and Sir Richard Varney, the other, 'dying about the ſame time in London, cried miſe-'rably, and ſaid to a perſon of note, not long before 'his death, that all the devils in hell did tear him in 'pieces. Forſter, likewiſe, after this fact, being a 'man formerly addicted to hoſpitality, company, 'mirth, and muſick, was afterwards obſerved to for-'ſake all this with much melancholy and penſiveneſs; 'ſome ſay with madneſs, pined and drooped away. 'The wife alſo of Bald Butler, kinſman to the Earl, 'gave out the whole fact a little before her death. 'Neither are the following paſſages to be forgotten, 'that, as ſoon as ſhe was murdered, they made great 'haſte to bury her before the Coroner had given in 'his inqueſt; which the Earl himſelf condemned, as 'not done adviſedly, and her father, Sir John Robert-'ſett, hearing, came with all ſpeed hither, cauſed her 'corpſe to be taken up, the Coroner to ſit upon her, 'and further enquiry to be made concerning this bu-'ſineſs to the full; but it was generally thought, that 'the Earl ſtopped his mouth; and to make plain to 'the world, the great love he bare to her while alive, 'and what a grief the loſs of ſo virtuous a lady was to 'his tender heart, cauſed her body to be re-buried in 'St. Mary's church, in Oxford, with great pomp and 'ſolemnity. It is alſo remarkable, that Dr. Babing-'ton, the Earl's chaplain, preaching the funeral ſer-'mon, tript once or twice in his ſpeech, by recom-'mending to their memories that virtuous lady ſo 'pitifully ſlain.' There are ſome things in this account not very conſiſtent, which, in ſo dark an affair, is not at all ſtrange: but, with reſpect to the leaſt intelligible paſſage of all, which is her father's being ſo ſilent about a matter which opened the mouths of all the world beſides, a very probable account may be given, which is this: the inquiſition taken after the death of this Lady, was to determine who were her heirs; for, her father was long before dead, and this was a reaſon that inquiſition produced no other effect, than preſerving the family-eſtate, which was very conſiderable, to John Walpole, Eſq; anceſtor to the preſent Earl of Orford. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the Lord Robert Robſart came over from the Low Countries with King Edward III. and that he left behind him three ſons, John, Lewis, and Theodorick; or, as we wrote it in thoſe days, Tyrrey. Lewis, the ſecond brother, became Lord Bourchier by his marriage, and was a Knight of the Order of the Garter, but, dying in the life-time of his elder brother, he became his heir (12). This Sir John Robſart was alſo a Knight of the Garter, and, dying in 1450, left his eſtate to Sir John Robſart, his ſon, who had iſſue, Sir Theodorick or Sir Tyrrey Robſart, who married the daughter and heireſs of Sir Thomas Syderſton, in the County of Norfolk, by whom he had iſſue, Sir John Robſart, and a daughter Lucy, who married Edward Walpole, Eſq. of Houghton (13). Sir John Robſart left behind him an only daughter, Amy, who was the wife of Lord Robert Dudley, and by the inquiſition before-mentioned, John Walpole, Eſq. in right of his mother Lucy Robſart, aunt to this unfortunate Lady, was found to be her next heir, and came into poſſeſſion of her lands (14).

(12) Eſc. 9 H. VI. n. 52.

(13) Carta, 27 H. VIII.

(14) Viſit. de Com Norf. in offic. Arm.

[*E*] *Concerning the adventures of this unfortunate Lady.*] It may ſeem a little ſtrange, to inſert, in the notes of a ſtateſman's life, the memoirs of ſeveral ladies, and of many of his intrigues; but the misfortune is, that we have no remedy. The learned Camden, and the judicious Sir William Dugdale, have been forced to take the ſame method, which, as it is a proof of the neceſſity, ſo it amounts to a vindication of the practice. This Lady Douglas Howard was the grand-daughter of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, the daughter of William Howard, the firſt Baron of Effingham, and Knight of the Garter, and the widow of John, Lord Sheffield, of Butterwick, who died ſuddenly of an extreme rheum in his head, which the malicious people of thoſe times called *a Leiceſter cold* (15). It is beyond all doubt, that the Earl of Leiceſter had by her a ſon, Sir Robert Dudley, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, and to whom, by the name of his baſe ſon, he left the bulk of his fortune, as alſo a daughter. It likewiſe appeared by depoſitions taken long after in the Star-Chamber, upon the oath of Lady Douglas Sheffield

(15) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

which theſe ſtories are told, that they muſt be exaggerated at leaſt, if not falſe, ſince the Earl, at this juncture, obtained an Act of Parliament to enable him to erect an Hoſpital at Warwick; which he afterwards did, and plentifully endowed it, that it might bear his name, and preſerve his memory as a moſt religious perſon, the character which of all others he moſt affected, to ſucceeding times (*b*) [*F*]. Yet very great doubts have been moved upon this ſubject, ſome affirming, that, in the former part of his life, he inclined to favour the Papiſts, but, at the perſuaſion of his friend Lord North, altered his conduct, and became the patron of the Puritans (*i*). In the thirteenth of Queen Elizabeth, he procured, from the Earl of Arundel, an aſſignment of the Wardenſhip of

(*b*) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney-papers.

(*i*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 10.

Sheffield herſelf, and of ſeveral other perſons, that ſhe having been firſt contracted in Cannon-Row (16), within the liberties of Weſtminſter, about two years before, was ſolemnly wedded to him at Eſher, in the County of Surrey, by a lawful Miniſter, according to the form of matrimony by law eſtabliſhed in the Church of England, in the preſence of Sir Edward Horſey, Knight, who gave her in marriage, as alſo of Robert Sheffield, Eſq. Dr. Julio, Henry Frodſham, and five other perſons, whoſe names are there ſpecified, and that the ring, wherewith they were ſo married, was ſet with five pointed diamonds and a table diamond, which had been given to him by the then Earl of Pembroke's grandfather, upon condition, that he ſhould not beſtow it upon any but whom he did make his wife. Likewiſe, that the Duke of Norfolk was the principal mover of that marriage; but that this Earl, pretending a fear of the Queen's indignation, in caſe it ſhould come to her knowledge, made her to vow not to reveal it till he gave leave, whereupon all her ſervants were commanded ſecrecy therein. And it was alſo farther depoſed, that, within two days after the birth of this Sir Robert Dudley, which happened at Sheen, where he was chriſtened by a Miniſter ſent from Sir Henry Lea, having to his godfathers, the Earl of Warwick his uncle, and the ſame Sir Henry, and to his godmother, the Lady Dacres of the South, by their deputies; the ſaid Lady Douglas, received a letter from this Earl, which one Mrs. Eriſa (then Lady Parker) read, wherein his Lordſhip did thank God for the birth of this his ſon, who might be their comfort and ſtaff of their old age, as are the words of the letter, and ſubſcribed, your loving huſband, Robert Leiceſter. Likewiſe, that the ſaid Lady Douglas was after this ſerved in her chamber as a Counteſs, until he commanded the contrary, for fear the marriage ſhould be diſcloſed. Some of the wits in the Court of Queen Elizabeth, after the Earl's public marriage with the Counteſs Dowager of Eſſex, ſtyled theſe two Ladies, Leiceſter's two Teſtaments, calling Lady Douglas the old, and Lady Lettice the new (17). In order to ſtifle this affair, however, as much as poſſible, the Earl made ſeveral propoſitions to Lady Douglas Sheffield, to deſiſt from her pretenſions, particularly, as ſhe herſelf depoſed, in the cloſe arbour in the Queen's gardens at Greenwich, where, in the preſence of Sir John Hubbard and George Digby, he offered her ſeven hundred pounds a year, adding at the ſame time threats, that, if ſhe would not comply, he would never come near her, nor ſhould ſhe receive from him one penny of money. Being able to do nothing, either by fair means or foul, he went ſomewhat farther, ſo that the poor Lady, to ſhelter herſelf from his reſentment, was conſtrained to marry Sir Edward Stafford, a perſon of high birth, great honour, and the Queen's Embaſſador in France (18), which being, as ſhe herſelf confeſſed, an act which did the greateſt wrong poſſible to her own pretenſions, and to thoſe of her ſon, ſhe upon her oath declared, that her motive thereto was this, that, having had ſome ill potions given her, which occaſioned the loſs of her hair and nails, ſhe knew no other way to preſerve her life (19). Such is the hiſtory of the Lady Douglas, whom ſome reckon the ſecond wife of this potent Earl.

(16) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 222.

(17) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(18) Camden's Ann. p. 340.

(19) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 222.

[*F*] *Which of all others he moſt affected, to ſucceeding times.*] The ſtatute, mentioned in the text to have been paſſed in the 13th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, gave power and authority to him, his heirs, executors, and aſſigns, to eſtabliſh an Hoſpital, either in Warwick, or in Kenilworth, to have continuance for ever, with a perpetual ſucceſſion, and to be ruled, governed, and directed in all things as they ſhould appoint (20). The Earl long after, by deed-poll under his hand and ſeal, November 1ſt, 1585, reciting (21),

(20) D'Ewes's Journal of the Parliaments in the Reign of Q. Eliz. p. 147.

(21) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

'That ince the ſaid act, he had appointed a houſe in 'the town of Warwick, for the ſaid Hoſpital, and had 'placed therein one maſter, viz. Ralph Griffin, Profeſſor of Divinity, and twelve poor brethren, who, 'ever ſince the making of the ſaid act, had their 'abode and relief there, at the Earl's charge. Now 'the ſaid Earl calling to remembrance, that the good 'and charitable deeds and works of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and others his anceſtors, 'being provided and intended for the relief of the 'poor within the ſaid town of Warwick, but inſtituted 'and ordained according to the error and ſuperſtitious 'ignorance of thoſe former times, are abrogated and 'taken away. And withal, being continually mindful 'of the great mercy and goodneſs of the Almighty 'God, freely beſtowed upon him many ways, and eſpecially by the ſingular bounty and favour of his moſt 'gracious ſovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth. And in 'reſpect thereof, by the authority of the ſaid ſtatute, 'ordains, eſtabliſhes, and appoints an Hoſpital in the 'ſaid town of Warwick, to have continuance for 'ever; for the finding ſuſtentation and relief of 'poor, needy, and impotent, men, and eſpecially of 'ſuch as ſhould be hereafter wounded, maimed, or 'hurt, in the wars, in the ſervice of her Majeſty, her 'heirs and ſucceſſors; and did found and eſtabliſh the 'ſaid Hoſpital, to conſiſt of one maſter, and twelve 'poor brethren, to be called the Hoſpital of Robert, 'Earl of Leiceſter, in Warwick. And the ſaid Ralph 'Griffin, having lately been preferred by her Majeſty, 'at the earneſt ſuit of the ſaid Earl, to the Deanry of 'Lincoln, in the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, he 'therefore ordained, that Thomas Cartwright ſhould 'be, during his life, maſter of the ſaid Hoſpital, unleſs removed, or reſigning, and in that caſe, ſuch 'perſons as the Earl, or his heirs, ſhould appoint, 'ſhould be maſter. And did further ordain, that the 'twelve perſons there named, then dwelling and abiding in the ſaid Hoſpital, ſhould be the then preſent 'twelve brethren of the ſaid Hoſpital. And that, upon 'the death, reſignation, deprivation, or other lawful 'removing, of any of them, ſuch perſon or perſons, as 'by the ſaid Earl, or his heir or heirs after his death, 'ſhould be named or appointed a brother or brethren 'of the ſaid Hoſpital, ſhould be the brethren of the 'ſaid Hoſpital for ever. And if the ſaid Earl, or his 'heir or heirs, did not from time to time, within three 'months next after the ſaid twelve brethren, or any of 'them ſhould die, reſign, be deprived, or otherwiſe 'lawfully removed from the ſaid Hoſpital; then ſuch 'perſon and perſons, as from time to time, upon the 'default of the ſaid Earl, and his heirs, in form aforeſaid, ſhould be appointed, and preferred to be a 'brother, or brethren, by the Biſhop of Worceſter 'for the time being, and the recorders of Coventry 'and Warwick for the time being, or any two of 'them, under hands and ſeals, ſhould be a brother 'and brethren of the ſaid Hoſpital for ever. And he 'appointed the ſaid maſter and brethren, a Body Corporate and Politic, &c. and the lands, tenements, '&c. thereof, ſhould be for ever hereafter, ruled, governed, ordered, and directed, according to ſuch 'rules, ſtatutes, and ordinances, as were thereto annexed, or at any time thereafter ſhould be ſet forth, 'made, deviſed and eſtabliſhed by the ſaid Earl, by 'writing, or writings under his hand and ſeal; which 'writing, containing a complete body of Statutes, the 'Earl executed on the 26th of the ſame month.' It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that 'Thomas Cartwright beforementioned was the great chieftain of the Puritans, by which having obtained this preferment for himſelf, he condeſcended for ſome time to leave the church undiſturbed (22).

(22) Fuller's Worthies in Hertfordſhire, p. 27.

New Foreſt, which had been granted to his anceſtors in the ſixth of Edward III (*k*). He is reported to have had much of his father's temper, which appeared in nothing more than the pains he took to adorn his Caſtle of Kenilworth, and to render it, as his father had done Dudley-Caſtle, one of the faireſt, as well as one of the ſtrongeſt, places in England, which, if Sir William Dugdale was well informed, was a project that coſt him about ſixty thouſand pounds (*l*). There, in the month of July, 1575, he entertained the Queen his Miſtreſs for ten days, with the greateſt elegance as well as magnificence, at a boundleſs expence (*m*). Of this, none of the leaſt remarkable tranſactions of his life, ſome farther account is given at the bottom of the page [*G*]. In 1576 happened the death of Walter, Earl of Eſſex, which, as we have elſewhere ſhewn, drew upon this noble Peer many ſuſpicions, more eſpecially after his marriage with the Counteſs of Eſſex was declared (*n*); as to which the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee, in the notes, ſome particulars that were reſerved for this place [*H*]. In 1578, the Duke of Anjou preſſing the match that had been propoſed between him and Queen Elizabeth, and ſending over Monſieur Simier, a very gallant Gentleman, attended by a large train of French Nobility, the Earl of Leiceſter was doubtful whether the marriage might not take effect. The Earl, as it is ſaid by our Hiſtorians, had, ſome time before, ſounded the Queen's diſpoſition in chooſing him for a huſband, and not receiving a favourable anſwer (*o*), he abandoned all thoughts thereof, and privately married the Counteſs of Eſſex, as before related. This marriage Simier diſcovered to the Queen, apprehending his Lordſhip to be the greateſt bar of the Duke's pretenſions; and Camden relates, that ſhe was ſo enraged thereat, that ſhe commanded him not to ſtir from the Caſtle of Greenwich, deſigning to have committed him to the Tower, but was diſſuaded from it by the Earl of Suſſex (*p*). This he reſented ſo far as it was thought he had ſome intention to cauſe him to be murthered; and, one day, Simier waiting on her Majeſty in her barge, not far from Greenwich, a gun was diſcharged from a neighbouring boat, and one of the Queen's bargemen wounded through both his arms. This was ſuggeſted to be intended to diſpatch Simier; but, on enquiry, it appeared to have been wholly acſent; and it is very well worth the reading, as it ſhews the temper of the Queen, and manners of thoſe times.

(*k*) Grants to Robert Earl of Leiceſter, amongſt the Sidney MSS.

(*l*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 249.

(*m*) Holinſhed's Chron. p. 1299.

(*n*) See the article of DEVEREUX (WALTER) Earl of Eſſex.

(*o*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 37.

(*p*) Camden's Ann. p. 329.

[*G*] *At the bottom of the page.*] There was a large relation of the Queen's entertainment at this palace, written by George Gaſcoign, Eſq; out of which Sir William Dugdale tells us (23), that the Queen was ſurprized at her entrance with the ſight of a floating iſland on the large pool there, bright blazing with torches, on which were clad in ſilks the Lady of the Lake, and two nymphs waiting on her, who made a ſpeech to the Queen, in metre, of the antiquity and owners of that caſtle, which was cloſed with cornets and other muſick. Within the baſe court, was a noble bridge ſet up of twenty feet wide, and ſeventy feet long, over which the Queen paſſed; on each ſide whereof, on poſts erected, were preſents on them to her by the Gods, viz. a cage of wild fowl, by Sylvanus; divers ſorts of fruits, by Pomona; of corn, by Ceres; of wine, by Bacchus; of ſea-fiſh, by Neptune; of all habiliments of war, by Mars; and of muſical inſtruments, by Phœbus. Alſo, during the ſeveral days of her ſtay, various rare-ſhows and ſports were exerciſed, viz. in the chace, a ſavage man with ſatyrs, bear-baitings, fire-works, Italian tumblers, a country bride-ale, with tunning at the Quinting, and morrice-dancing; and, that nothing might be wanting which thoſe parts could afford, the Coventry men came and acted the ancient play, long ſince uſed in that City, called Hock's Tueſday, ſetting forth the deſtruction of the Danes in King Ethelred's time, which pleaſed the Queen ſo much, that ſhe gave them a brace of bucks, and five marks in money, to bear the charges of a feaſt. Likewiſe on the pool there was a Triton riding on a Mermaid eighteen feet long, as alſo Arion on a Dolphin, with rare muſick. The coſts and expences of theſe entertainments may be gueſſed at by the quantity of beer then drunk, which amounted to three hundred and twenty hogſheads of the ordinary ſort; and, for the greater honour thereof, Sir Thomas Cecil, ſon and heir to the Lord Burghley, Lord Treaſurer; Sir Henry Cobham, brother to the Lord Cobham; Sir Thomas Stanhope, and Sir Thomas Treſham, were then knighted, and, the next enſuing year, the Earl obtained a grant of the Queen for a weekly market at Kenelworth, on the Wedneſday, with a fair yearly on Midſummer-day (24). There is alſo, in Strype (25), a long and very circumſtantial narrative of all that paſſed at this royal viſit, by one who was pre-

(23) Warwickſhire, p. 249.

(24) Pat. 18 Eliz. p. 6.

(25) Annals, P. 391—394.

[*H*] *Some particulars that were reſerved for this place.*] In that famous book of Parſons the Jeſuit, or whoever elſe was the author of this favourite's ſecret hiſtory, beſides the account quoted in another place, there is a ſhort detail of this iniquitous tranſaction, which follows a hint of Lord Sheffield's being taken off in the ſame manner, and for the ſame reaſon that is, becauſe this great man had a mind to his wife. This relation runs thus (26). 'The like good chance 'had he in the death of my Lord of Eſſex, as I have 'ſaid before, and that at a time moſt fortunate for his 'purpoſe; for, when he was coming home from Ire-'land with intent to revenge himſelf upon my Lord 'of Leiceſter, for begetting his wife with child in his 'abſence (the child was a daughter, and brought up 'by the Lady Shandois, W. Knolles's wife), my Lord 'of Leiceſter hearing thereof, wanted not a friend or 'two to accompany the Deputy, as, among others, a 'couple of the Earl's own ſervants; Crompton, if I 'miſs not his name, yeoman of his bottles; and 'Lloyd, his Secretary, entertained afterwards by my 'Lord of Leiceſter, and ſo he died in the way of an 'extreme flux, cauſed by an Italian recipe, as all his 'friends are well aſſured; the maker whereof was a 'Surgeon, as is believed, that then was newly come 'to my Lord from Italy, a cunning man, and ſure in 'operation.' The judicious Mr. Camden, in treating expreſſly upon this ſubject, leaves it doubtful and open; but, glancing occaſionally at it elſewhere, he ſhews plainly his own belief, that this imputation was not falſe. Sir Robert Naunton goes farther, and having, in all probability, the very book we have firſt cited in his eye, proceeds thus (27). 'I am not bound to 'give credit to all vulgar relations, or to the libels of 'the times, which are commonly forced and falſified, 'ſuitable to the moods and humours of men in paſſion 'and diſcontent; but that which leads me to think 'him no good man, is, amongſt others of known 'truth, that of my Lord of Eſſex's death in Ireland, 'and the marriage of his Lady, yet living, which I 'forbear to preſs, in regard, that he is long ſince 'dead, and others living whom it may concern.'

(26) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 23.

(27) Fragmenta Regalia, cap. iii.

cidental, and the man, who had been apprehended, was ſet at liberty (q) [I]. The Duke of Anjou ſending an embaſſy, compoſed of ſome perſons of the firſt diſtinction in France, into England, in 1581, they were received by the Queen with all poſſible marks of diſtinction, and the Earl of Leiceſter was one of the Noblemen appointed to confer with them, and that engaged for their diverſion, in juſtings, barriers, and turney; but the people in general ſhewing great diſcontent at the propoſed marriage, it induced the Queen to iſſue her proclamation, under a ſevere penalty, that none of her ſubjects ſhould either ſtrike, or draw weapon, within four miles of London, or the Court (r). And the Duke thinking his preſence might contribute to his point more than the oratory of his Embaſſadors, who ſignified to him the Queen's declining the marriage, he came in perſon to prefer his ſuit; but having remained in England the ſpace of three months, and finding his application to be ineffectual, he ſet out on the ſixth of February for Sandwich (s); the Earl of Leiceſter, with a train of one hundred Gentlemen, and three hundred others of inferior ſort, attending him to Antwerp, as did alſo the Lord Hunſdon, and the Lord Charles Howard, who had each of them one hundred and fifty followers (t). The Confederates of the Low Countries, believing it might pleaſe the Queen, had ſent over their agents to the Duke in England, to deſire he would be their protector againſt the Spaniards, and the Queen promiſing him aid, he accepted of their offer, and, on his arrival at Antwerp, was, with the Earl of Leiceſter, who accompanied him, entertained with great ſtate and ſolemnity; and, having ſeen him inveſted in the government of the ſaid Provinces, the Earl, on the 19th of February, together with the Engliſh Nobility and their trains, returned to England (u). In 1584, he prevailed on the chief of the Nobility and Gentry in the kingdom to ſubſcribe an aſſociation, by which they bound themſelves to purſue unto death, whoſoever ſhould attempt any thing againſt Queen Elizabeth; and this, by ſome authors, is ſaid to be in hatred to the Queen of Scots, and that, a plot being formed to ſet her at liberty, he was for making her privately away (w). His averſion againſt that unhappy Princeſs is ſuppoſed to have riſen from a private view of conveying the Crown into the family of the Dudleys, as a certain author informs us (x), by advancing the Earl of Huntingdon to the Throne, who had a claim to the Crown as being deſcended, in a direct line, from George, Duke of Clarence (y), who had married the ſiſter of the Earl (z), and was ever after cloſely attached to his intereſts [K]. As he was now in the

(q) Holinſhed, Stowe, Speed.

(r) Stowe's Annals, p. 689.

(s) Holinſhed's Chron. p. 1130.

(t) Stowe's Annals, p. 690.

(u) Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1344.

(w) Camden's Annal's, p. 418.

(x) Heylin's Hiſt of the Preſbyterians.

(y) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(z) Obſervations on the Reign of Q. Elizabeth.

[I] *Was ſet at liberty.*] It may not be amiſs, for a reaſon which will be hereafter given, to exhibit two accounts that are yet extant of this great Peer's malice to this French gentleman, which aroſe, as the writer of his ſecret hiſtory ſays, from his having had the boldneſs to tell the Queen of the Earl's marriage, with the widow of Eſſex, which though celebrated at Wanſtead, in the preſence of the Earl of Warwick, the Lord North, Sir Francis Knolles, and others, at Mr. Stoner's houſe, by one Dr. Culpeper, a clergyman; yet the Queen heard nothing of it in ſeveral days. This it was that provoked Leiceſter firſt to attempt taking him off by poiſon (28). 'And when that failed, 'ſays this author), he appointed, that Robin Tider, 'his man, as after, upon his ale-bench he confeſſed, 'ſhould have ſlain him at the Black-Friars at Greenwich, as he went forth at the garden-gate; but miſſing alſo that purpoſe, for that he found the gentleman better provided and guarded than he expected, 'he dealt with certain Fluſhiners, and other pirates, 'to ſink him at ſea, with the Engliſh gentlemen his 'favourers, that accompanied him at his return into 'France. And though they miſſed of this practice alſo 'as not daring to ſet upon him, for fear of ſome of 'her Majeſty's ſhips, who, to break off this deſignment, 'attended by ſpecial commandment, to waft him over 'in ſafety), yet the aforeſaid Engliſh gentlemen were 'holden four hours in chace at their coming back, as 'Maſter Rowley well knoweth, being then preſent; 'and two of the chaſers, named Clark and Harris, 'confeſſed afterwards the whole deſignment.' Mr. Camden (29), much to the ſame purpoſe, 'That in the 'mean while, Simier continued amorouſly to ſolicit 'Queen Elizabeth in Anjou's behalf. And, although 'ſhe excuſed herſelf a long time, yet he brought her 'to that paſs, that Leiceſter, who from his heart was 'againſt the marriage, and others, ſpread rumours 'abroad, that, by love-potions and unlawful arts, he 'had inſinuated into the Queen's affection, and induced 'her to the love of Anjou. M. Simier, on the other 'ſide, left no means uneſſayed to remove Leiceſter out 'of his place and favour with the Queen, revealing to 'her his marriage with Eſſex's widow. The Queen 'thereupon grew into ſuch a paſſion, that ſhe com-'manded Leiceſter not to ſtir out of the Caſtle of 'Greenwich, and intended to have committed him to 'the Tower of London, which his enemies much de-'ſired. But Suſſex, though his greateſt adverſary, 'and one that earneſtly endeavoured to promote the 'marriage, diſſuaded her, as out of a ſolid judgment, 'and the innate generoſity of his noble mind, he was 'of opinion, that no man ought to be troubled for 'his lawful marriage, which hath ever been had in 'honour and eſteem. Yet glad he was, that, by this 'marriage, he was now put beſide all hopes of mar-'rying with the Queen. Nevertheleſs, Leiceſter was 'ſo incenſed thereat, that he bent himſelf to revenge 'the wrong he had received. And there wanted not 'ſome, who accuſed him, as if he had ſuborned one 'Teudor, of the Queen's guard, a bravo, to take away 'Simier's life. This is certain, the Queen com-'manded by publick proclamation, that no man ſhould 'offer any affront to Simier, his attendants, or ſer-'vants, either by word or deed. About this time it 'happened, that while the Queen, for her pleaſure, 'was rowed in her barge upon the Thames, near 'Greenwich, attended by Simier, the Earl of Lin-'coln, and Hatton, her Vice-Chamberlain, a young 'man diſcharged a piece out of a boat, and ſhot one 'of the bargemen, in the Queen's barge, through both 'his arms, who was preſently apprehended and led to 'the gallows, for a terror to him; but he ſolemnly 'proteſting, that he did it unwittingly, and thought 'no harm, was ſoon diſcharged. Neither would the 'Queen believe what ſome buzzed in her ears, that he 'was purpoſely ſet on to miſchief either her or Simier 'So far was ſhe from giving way to any ſuſpicion 'againſt her ſubjects, that ſhe was wont to ſay, *ſhe 'could believe nothing of her* people, *which* parents '*would not believe of their* children.' The reader will plainly diſcern, that, whatever we may think of ſuch things now, they were looked upon, even by wiſe men, as very credible at the time in which they are ſaid to have happened.

(28) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 37.

(29) Annal. Eliz. p. 329.

[K] *And was ever after cloſely attached to his intereſts.*] In this note, it is intended to diſcuſs the ſeveral

the very height of power and influence, ſo he ſtood expoſed, as might be naturally expected, to the ſhafts of envy; and as, excepting his father, who had the rule in a minority, there never was any ſubject in England greater than himſelf, ſo the attempt made upon his character ſurpaſſes any thing that is to be met with in antient or modern ſtory (*a*). This piece which is commonly called LEICESTER'S COMMONWEALTH, was publiſhed at leaſt, if not written, beyond the ſeas, but imported hither in great quantities; and, from the book's having leaves edged with green, and the ſuppoſed author's name, it was ſtyled "Father Parſons's Green Coat (*b*)." The drift of this book was to repreſent to the people, that the Engliſh Conſtitution was ſubverted, and a new form imperceptibly introduced, to which no name could be ſo properly given as that of a *Leiceſterian Commonwealth*; and, in order to render this notion plauſible, the Earl of Leiceſter was not only repreſented as an Atheiſt in point of Religion, a ſecret traitor to the Queen, an oppreſſor of her people, an inveterate enemy to the Nobility, a complete monſter with regard to ambition, cruelty, and luſt; but it was alſo ſuggeſted that, purſuing his father's plan, he had thrown all offices of truſt and profit into the hands of

(*a*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. iii.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 360.

veral ſuſpicions that were entertained of Leiceſter's views upon the Crown, ſome of which are thought to have been as early as the cloſe of King Edward's reign, and that the great Duke of Northumberland meant not to deprive or to depreſs the two Princeſſes farther than to bring them to certain matches which he had propoſed, and which, having once brought to bear, he would have put down his daughter-in-law, Queen Jane, with the ſame facility that he ſet her up (30). This ſcheme is ſo fine-ſpun, that one can hardly believe there is ſo much in it as a thread of truth; and yet his proclaiming Queen Mary at Cambridge, his deſiring to confer with the Queen's Counſellors, his compliance with the old religion at his death, the ſudden reſtitution of his family in the next reign, and the early favour of his ſon Robert in this, in which none of his wives had any ſhare, are circumſtances not eaſily accounted for; indeed ſo far from it, that Mr. Camden has more than once recourſe to the ſtars (31). The firſt ſcheme in this reign, was with reſpect to the Queen of Scots, whoſe title Leiceſter openly abetted, and, in conjunction with the Earl of Murray, drove on the marriage between that Queen and the Duke of Norfolk, which he is afterwards ſaid to have betrayed to Queen Elizabeth for his own ſecurity: that is to ſay, himſelf ſaid it by way of excuſe; for, that he firſt promoted, then revealed, and at length proſecuted it as a crime, are undeniable facts (32). His enemies gave this turn to the whole, that, by theſe practices, he meant to remove the Duke of Norfolk, the moſt powerful and popular nobleman in England, out of his own way, and Mary's title out of the way of the Queen. This being effectually done, there followed an Act of Parliament, in 1571, of a very ſtrange nature, of which, as it is almoſt the only thing the Hiſtorian ſpeaks of, as from his own knowledge, Camden (33) ſhall give an account to the reader. 'The iniquity 'of theſe times, and the love which the Parliament of 'England (now met at Weſtminſter) bare to their Prince 'and country, was the occaſion of a law for preventing the practices of ſeditious perſons; whereby, according to the tenor of former laws, it was provided, 'that, if any man ſhould attempt the death, or perſonal hurt, of the Queen, or raiſe war, or excite 'others to war, againſt her; or if any one ſhould give 'out, that ſhe is not the lawful Queen of this realm; 'but that any other can claim a juſter title thereto, or 'ſhould pronounce her to be an Hetetick, Schiſmatick, 'or Infidel, or ſhould uſurp the right and title of the 'kingdom during her life, or ſhould affirm, that any 'other has a right to the Crown, or that the laws and 'ſtatutes cannot limit and determine the right of the 'Crown and the ſucceſſion thereof, every ſuch perſon 'ſhould be guilty of high-treaſon. That if any one, 'during the Queen's life, ſhould, by any book, written or printed, expreſſly maintain, that any perſon 'is, or ought to be the Queen's heir and ſucceſſor, except the *natural iſſue* of her body, or ſhould publiſh, 'print, or diſperſe any books or writings to that 'effect, he, and his abettors, ſhould for the firſt offence be impriſoned for a whole year, and forfeit the 'one-half of his goods. If any ſhould offend a ſecond 'time, he ſhould incur the penalty of a Præmunire, 'that is, loſs of all his goods, and perpetual impriſonment. Some looked upon this as too ſevere, who 'thought it would tend to the eſtabliſhing the quiet 'of the nation, if an heir apparent were declared. 'But it is incredible, what jeſts thoſe, that lewdly catch 'at words, made upon that clauſe, except the *natural 'iſſue* of her body, ſince the Lawyers term thoſe children *natural*, which are begotten out of wedlock, 'whom nature alone, without the intention of honeſt matrimony, hath begotten, and thoſe they call '*lawful*, according to the tenor of the Common-Law 'of England, who are in lawful matrimony begotten 'of ſuch a one's body. So that I myſelf, being then a 'young man, have often heard people ſay, that this word 'was inſerted in the act by Leiceſter, with a deſign, 'that one time or other he might impoſe ſome *baſtard 'ſon* of his upon the Engliſh for the Queen's natural 'iſſue.' We have the ſame thing confirmed to us by various authors: but, whatever view there might be from this act, it was held, that the Earl of Leiceſter entertained a good opinion of his brother Huntington's pretenſions, which produced a very cloſe correſpondence between thoſe two Lords, who had not been always upon ſuch friendly terms (34). The nature of this title was very plauſible, and could not but ſound pleaſing enough in the ears of the people, more eſpecially ſuch as were inclined to Puritaniſm, of whom that Peer was a declared protector. In reſpect to his pretenſions, they were very clear and ſhort. Henry Haſtings, Earl of Huntingdon, who had married Lady Katharine Dudley, daughter to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, was the ſon of Francis, Earl of Huntingdon, by Katharine his wife, one of the daughters and heirs of Henry Pole, Lord Montacute, who was ſon and heir to Sir Richard Pole, Knight of the Garter, by Margaret Plantagenet, Counteſs of Saliſbury, who was the daughter and heireſs of George, Duke of Clarence, brother to King Edward IV (35). It is ſaid, that this title was commonly diſcourſed of by ſuch as favoured it, or would be thought to favour it, becauſe the power of the Earl of Leiceſter was ſuch, that nobody durſt complain of their diſcourſes; and, on the other hand, few or none thought it their buſineſs to queſtion it, for fear of being drawn within the ſtatute abovementioned, made on purpoſe to tie people's tongues upon that ſubject: in which, upon the whole, it proved of ſervice to the true heir. Some however there were, who inſinuated, that the Earl of Leiceſter meant to ſet up his brother-in-law, as his father, the Duke of Northumberland, had done his daughter-in-law; that is, till ſuch time as he could make a better title in his own family, by the marriage of his ſon to the Lady Arabella (36): and it is highly probable, that theſe crooked ſchemes of his, after the death of Mary Queen of Scots, induced the Cecils to reconcile themſelves to her ſon; and thus there was a complete turn made by Queen Elizabeth's Miniſters, ſince, in the beginning of her reign, Leiceſter was the avowed Champion of the Queen of Scots' title, and was very near ruining Lord Keeper Bacon and Secretary Cecil (37), for being ſecret favourers of the houſe of Suffolk.

(30) Leiceſter's Commonwealth p. 85.

(31) Annal. Eliz. p. 70—583.

(32) Stowe, Strype.

(33) Annal. Eliz. p. 241.

(34) Leiceſter's Commonwealth p. 87.

(35) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians, p. 277. Brook's Cat. of Nobility, p. 269.

(36) Leiceſter's Commonwealth p. 86, 87.

(37) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. ix.

his creatures and dependants; so that the Court, the Fortresses, the Navy, the Kingdom of Ireland, the Northern and Welsh Marshes, the Isle of Wight, and, in short, every thing, was in his power, and the Queen had scarcely any thing left her but a titular sovereignty (*c*). It is no wonder that a libel like this should make a very great noise, or that the Queen and her Ministers should take the alarm as they did; but it is really somewhat surprizing, that her Majesty thought the propereſt method, for removing the impression this bitter performance was sure to make upon the vulgar, should be issuing letters from the Privy-Council, in which all the facts contained therein were declared to be absolutely false, not only to their knowledge who signed them, but also of the Queen herself (*d*); which however she did, as appears from some of those letters yet extant (*e*) [*L*]. His nephew, the learned and ingenious Sir Philip Sidney, undertook to refute this invective, and actually composed an answer, which is still preserved, but, either from the multiplicity of his affairs, or from other reasons with which we are not acquainted, was never finished, or at least never published (*f*). Yet, notwithstanding all the pains that were then and afterwards taken to suppress and discredit it, this secret history gained a most unaccountable currency; nor was the mystery of the writing, printing, and publishing, any more than the name of its real author, ever certainly discovered, which, with other concurrent circumstances, has induced a suspicion, that not only the Popish exiles abroad, but some abler heads, who were jealous of Leicester's power and influence at home (*g*), had a great hand therein, or, at least, furnished the materials [*M*]. In 1585, the association, contrived by the Earl of Leicester, was approved

(*c*) This, in few words, is the scope of that treatise.

(*d*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 355.

(*e*) See a copy of such a letter in the notes.

(*f*) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(*g*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 360.

[*L*] *As appears from some of those letters yet extant.*] Amongst the papers of Dr. William Chaderton, bishop of Chester, who had been formerly the Earl of Leicester's Chaplain, there was found one of these circular letters directed to Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, the Bishop himself, and the rest of the Justices of Peace in the counties of Lancaster and Chester (38); and which, after taking notice of the industry with which libels were spread, and, describing the nature of this infamous one against the Earl of Leicester, one of her Majesty's principal Noblemen, and one of her Chief Counsellors of State, which had moved her Majesty, by letters under her own hand to the Lord-Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, of London, to declare and testify his innocence; they thought it their duty to follow her Majesty's example, which induced them to write this letter to inform them, first, that her Majesty had noted in them some slackness in the prosecution and suppression of former libels, therefore she expected, upon this second notice, that they would use greater diligence in searching out and preventing the circulation of this mischievous book; after which they proceed, first in the Queen's name, and then in their own, in the following terms:

(38) Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. I. Lib. iv. p. 46.

'That she (the Queen) verily looketh for the most 'strict and precise observation thereof, in the sharpest 'manner that may be devised, testifying in her con'science before God unto you, that her Highness not 'only knoweth, in assured certainty, the books and 'libels against the said Earl to be most malicious, 'false, and scandalous, and such as none but an in'carnate devil himself could dream to be true, but 'also thinkethe to be of the fulness of malice subtilie 'contrived to the note and discredit of her princelie 'government of this realm, as though her Majesty 'should have failed in good judgment and discretion 'in the choise of so principal a Counsellor about her, 'or be without taste, or care of all justice and con'science, in suffrynge suche heynous and monsterous 'crimes, as, by the said books and libels, be infa'mouslie imputed to pass unpunished; or finally, at the 'least, to want either good-will, ability, or courage, 'if she knew these enormities were true, to call any 'subject of her's whatsoever to render sharp account 'of them, according to the force and effect of her laws. 'All which defects (God be thanked) we, and all good 'subjects, to our unspeakable comforts, do know, 'and have found to be far off from the nature and 'vertue of her most excellent Majesty. As, of the 'other side, both her Highness, of her certain know'ledge, and we, to do his Lordship but right, of our 'synceare consciences must needs affirm these strange 'and abominable crimes to be raised of a wicked and 'venomous malice against the said Earl, of whose good 'service, sincerity of religion, and all other faithful 'dealings towards her Majesty and the realm, we 'have had long and true experience. Which things 'considered, and withal knowing it to be an usual 'trade of traiterous minds, when they would render 'the Prince's government odious, to detract and bring 'out of credit the principal persons about them, her 'Highness, taking the abuse to be offered to her own 'self, hath commanded us to notify the same unto you, 'to the end, that, knowing her good pleasure, you 'may proceed therein as in a matter highly touching 'her own estate and honour. And therefore we wish 'and require you, to have regard thereof accordingly, 'that the former negligence and remissness shewed in 'the execution of her Majesty's commandment may 'be amended by the diligence and severity that shall 'be hereafter used. Which amendment and careful'ness, in this cause chiefly, her Majesty assuredly 'looketh for, and will call for account at all your 'hands.

'And so we bid you heartily farewel. From the 'Court at Greenwich, this 26th day of June, 1585.

'Your very loving friends,

| | |
|---|---|
| 'T. Bromley, Canc. | 'J. Hunsden, |
| 'W. Burghley, | 'F. Knollys, |
| 'Geo. Shrewsbury, | 'H. Sydney, |
| 'H. Derby, | 'Chr. Hatton, |
| 'F. Bedford, | 'Fr. Walsingham, |
| 'C. Haward, | 'Wal. Myldmay.' |

[*M*] *Or at least furnished the materials.*] We are at a loss for the original title of this book; for, it has gone by many. It is very probable, however, that it was at first called "A Dialogue between a Scholar, a "Gentleman, and a Lawyer (39):" but in the body of the book the author plainly declaring, that the old English Monarchy was now changed into a Leicestrian Commonweath, the book was again printed with the title of "Leicester's Commonwealth, &c. (40)." Both these editions were printed beyond the seas, without any name of author or printer, or so much as the place of the impression, or the year; yet that it was in 1584 is plain enough from the fact mentioned in it (41). Dr. Thomas James (42), who was a very learned and knowing man, ascribed it to Robert Parsons the Jesuit. Anthony Wood says (43), that it was commonly supposed to be written by him, and adds, in a parenthesis, that he had most of his materials for the composition thereof from Sir William Cecil Lord Burleigh. Upon what foundation this report stands it is not easy to say; but this is certain, that Parsons himself denied that he was the author of it, neither is it reckoned amongst his works either by Pits or Rybadeneira. Yet whoever considers and compares the conference about the succession which Parsons published under the name of Doleman, will not easily

(39) So I collect from an old MS. of it.

(40) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 358.

(41) Such as the death of Thomas, Earl of Sussex, and the sickness of the Lord [illegible]gh, who was the Earl of Leicester's son.

(42) In the life of Father Parsons, printed at the end of the Jesuits Downfal, 1612. p. 55, 56.

(43) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 360.

approved in Parliament, and a law paſſed to carry it into execution (*b*); which, with many other penal ſtatutes, affrighted many of the Nobility; ſo that Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, and ſon to the unfortunate Duke of Norfolk, endeavoured to retire out of the kingdom, which brought him into great troubles. The Earl of Northumberland, being ſent priſoner to the Tower, deſtroyed himſelf with his own hands, and the Lord Paget ſought ſhelter beyond the ſeas; all of whom pretended to charge their misfortunes on the ſeverities with which they were proſecuted at home (*i*). At this time the affairs of the Proteſtant Low-Countries were in a perplexed ſituation, and the States thought that nothing could contribute ſo much to their recovery as prevailing upon Queen Elizabeth to ſend over ſome perſon of great diſtinction, whom they might ſet at the head of their concerns, civil and military (*k*); which propoſition, Camden ſays, ſo much flattered the ambition of this potent Earl, that he willingly conſented to paſs the ſeas upon this occaſion, being well aſſured of having ample powers granted him, and ſome ſort of authority over the Lord High-Admiral of England (*l*), which, as it was without example, could not but be highly grateful to one of his high temper, who loved command, more eſpecially over ſuch as might, in other reſpects, eſteem themſelves his equals. Accordingly, October 22d, in the ſame year, he was conſtituted Captain-General of all ſuch forces as ſerved, or thereafter ſhould ſerve, in the Low-Countries, for the relief of the inhabitants there, and was empowered to levy in England, or the dominion of Wales, five hundred able and ſufficient men, of his tenants and ſervants, to attend his perſon beyond the ſeas; and, in his paſſage thither, and returning thence, them, and every of them, to employ in his ſervice, as he ſhall think convenient; which retainers and followers, under his hand and ſeal ſignifying the ſame, were, during the time ſo employed in his ſervice, to have the Queen's protection for their bodies, lands, and goods; any law, ſtatute, or reſtraint, to the contrary thereof, in any wiſe, notwithſtanding: With a mandate to all Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, *&c.* and all other officers, to be obedient thereto (*m*). Before his departure, the Queen admoniſhed him to have a ſpecial regard to her honour, and to attempt nothing which ſhould be inconſiſtent with the employment to which he was advanced; and particularly ſhe required him to ſearch into the method of the States raiſing and falling the value of money, that ſo the ſoldiers might not receive their pay at one rate, and give it out at another; and very affectionately recommended to his care the young Noblemen of the country, and more eſpecially the ſons of the late Prince of Orange (*n*). On the eighth of December, 1585, he embarked, having with him fifty ſail of ſhips; and thoſe that accompanied, or ſoon after followed him, were the Earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Eſſex, the Lord Audley, the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Sheffield, the Lord North, and the Lord Borroughs, Sir William Ruſſel, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Robert Sidney, Sir Henry Stanley, Sir Gervaſe Cliſton (*o*), Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir William Pelham, Lord Marſhal of the Field, Sir Arthur Baſſet, Sir Walter Walter, with many other perſons of diſtinction (*p*). On the 10th he arrived at Fluſhing, with his whole train, his perſon being guarded by fifty archers, bearing bows and arrows, fifty halberds, and fifty muſqueteers, who were magnificently entertained by Sir Philip Sidney, Governor of the town for her Majeſty, by Grave Maurice, ſecond ſon to the late Prince of Orange, and by the Queen's Embaſſador and the States: and all ſorts of people expreſſed the greateſt joy on his arrival (*q*). This was carried to a very extraordinary height on both ſides; great feaſts being given, and nothing to be ſeen during the remaining part of that month but mirth and diverſions.

(*b*) D'Ewes Journal of the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth p. 324.

(*i*) Camden. Annals Eliz. p. 411.

(*k*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 352.

(*l*) Annal. Eliz. p. 458.

(*m*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 799.

(*n*) Annal. Eliz. p. 458.

(*o*) Stowe's Annals, p. 711.

(*p*) Annal. Eliz. p. 458.

(*q*) Holinſhed's Chron. p. 1424.

eaſily believe that he was not the author of this book alſo, though perhaps he might not call it Leiceſter's Commonwealth, and therefore might think himſelf at liberty to deny his writing a book under that title. As to Lord Burleigh's furniſhing the materials, when we conſider the paper ſigned by him, which the reader has ſeen in the foregoing note, it muſt appear very improbable. It may not however be amiſs to obſerve, that it is on all hands agreed, that our famous Hiſtorian, Mr. Camden, had his materials for the firſt part of the Annals of Queen Elizabeth, from that noble perſon, and many are of opinion that he actually wrote them. Now, upon examination it will be found, that a great many of the facts in Leiceſter's Commonwealth are likewiſe related, though in a ſofter and leſs peremptory ſtyle, in thoſe Annals, of which we have given in this work ſeveral inſtances; whence it may be concluded, that whoever was the author of this book was well ſupplied with intelligence, and that, notwithſtanding the declaration of the Privy Counſellors, it was not univerſally believed to be a heap of falſhoods, though undoubtedly there are abundance of falſhoods in it, and many things repreſented as indubitable facts, that are no more than exaggerated ſuggeſtions. No pains were ſpared in circulating it abroad as well as at home; for, in the year after its original publication, it was tranſlated into French under the title of "*La Vie Abominable, Ruſe, Trahiſons, Meurtres, Impoſtures, Empoiſonements, Paillardiſes, Athéiſmes, & autres tres-Iniques Converſations, duquel la uſe & uſe Journellement, le my Lord de Leceſtre Machiaveliſte, contre l'Honneur de Dieu, la Majeſté de la Reyne d'Angleterre ſa Princeſſe, &c.*" not mentioning where printed, but in 8*vo.* 1585. It has been ſeveral times reprinted in Engliſh, particularly in 1600 in 8*vo.* in 1631 in the ſame ſize, the running-title in this edition being a letter of State of a Scholar of Cambridge; in 1641 in 4*to.* and in 12*mo*, with the addition of Leiceſter's Ghoſt; and again reprinted in 1706, in 8*vo*, under the title of "Secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley Earl of Leiceſter," with a preface by Dr. Drake, who pretended it was printed from an old manuſcript. The deſign of reprinting it in 1641 was to give an ill impreſſion of the government of Charles I, and the like was ſuppoſed to be the deſign of Dr. Drake in his publication. To ſay the truth, it may be conſidered as a ſtanding libel upon all over-grown miniſters and governments by faction.

On the fifteenth of January following, all the points of ceremonial were settled for the establishment of such an administration as might be for the common benefit, and prevent all disputes. Accordingly, on the 26th of the same month, the Earl was sworn to the States, and the States to the Queen, and to obey the Earl as her Lieutenant (*r*). On the sixth of February following, they published their placard concerning his authority, which was very ample. His Excellency then entered upon the discharge of his office, and some exploits were performed against the Spaniards, which highly raised the reputation of the English troops, and the characters of the officers who commanded them (*s*). On the 23d of April, 1586, being at Utrecht, his Lordship kept the feast of St. George with prodigious magnificence, in which, as one of our Historians says, he appeared most Prince-like, invested in his robes of the Order, guarded by the principal Burghers in the town, and his own guard of fifty halberdiers, in scarlet cloaks, edged with purple and white velvet (*t*). It seems the Queen was not at all pleased with these proceedings of the States, or of her Lieutenant, and therefore sent over her Vice-Chamberlain (*u*), with letters written in so sharp a style as made both the States and the Earl very uneasy [*N*]. Upon explanations from the one, and very deep submissions from the other, the Queen was pacified, and his Excellency left to prosecute the duties of his charge (*w*). His expedition for the relief of Grave, a place of great importance, besieged by the Prince of Parma, was, at first, attended with great appearance of success; but, after he had taken the forts that impeded his passage to the place, the Dutch Governor very unexpectedly surrendered, at the persuasion, as was reported, of his mistress; for which, notwithstanding he obtained an honourable capitulation, his Excellency caused him, and two officers of note, to be put to an ignominious death (*x*). The English forces continued to render great service, the Lord Lieutenant himself driving the Spaniards out of the whole island of Betawe (*y*). The Lord Willoughby, at Bergen-op-Zoom, beat a convoy going to Antwerp, which was a thing of great consequence; and Count Maurice, assisted by Sir Philip Sidney, took Axel by surprize (*z*). His Excellency had to deal with one of the best officers which that age, or indeed any other, had produced, the Prince of Parma, who is said to have projected the taking of Utrecht when the Lord Lieutenant was there in person, and, with that view, intended to have sent in a considerable number of men, in various disguises; but it seems his plot was discovered, and disappointed (*a*). The Prince of Parma then invested Reinberch, in which there was a garrison of twelve hundred English troops, under the command of Colonel Morgan. His Excellency thought himself obliged to disengage that place, and

(*r*) Stowe's Annals, p. 712.

(*s*) Holinshed's Chron. p. 1432.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 1433.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 459.

(*w*) History of the Wars of Flanders, P. ii. p. 240.

(*x*) Strada de Bello Belgic. Lib. vii. p. 488.

(*y*) Stowe's Annals, p. 718.

(*z*) Camden. Annal. p. 461.

(*a*) Stowe's Annals, p. 733.

[*N*] *As made both the States and the Earl very uneasy*]. In order to apprehend this matter clearly, it will be necessary to see, first the power granted by the States which, over and above the powers granted him by the Queen's commission and their own, were expressed to be in their placard of the 6th of February, 1586 (44). 'The highest and supreme commandment 'and absolute authority above, and in all matters of 'warfare both by sea and land, to execute and admini-'strate the same to the resistance of the enemy, even as 'his Excellency should think most commodious to the 'preservation of those countries, and so further, to do 'all such things as appertain to the office of a general 'Captain. And furthermore, we commit the adminis-'tration and use of policy and justice over the afore-'said United Provinces and associated cities, and mem-'bers of the same, into his hands, to execute and 'administrate the same, with such power and autho-'rity as have had in times past, all the other Govern-'ors of these Low-Countries before him, and espe-'cially, as have been exercised, and lawfully ad-'ministered in the time of Charles the Fifth, *&c.* We 'therefore command all Governors of Provinces and 'Cities, all Admirals, Vice-Admirals, all Officers 'and Soldiers by sea and land; and furthermore, all 'other Counsellors, Officers, Treasurers, Receivers, 'Bailiffs, Burgomasters, Magistrates, *&c.* of what 'quality or condition soever, to honour, respect, and 'obey him, as they ought to do, *&c.*' In the Queen's letter, among other expressions, were these. 'How 'contemptuously you have carried yourself towards us, 'you shall understand by this messenger, whom we 'send to you for that purpose. We little thought, 'that one, whom we had raised out of the dust, and 'prosecuted, with such singular favour above all 'others, would, with so great contempt, have 'slighted and broken our commands, in a matter of 'so great consequence, and so highly concerning us 'and our honour. Whereof, though you have but 'small regard, contrary to what you ought by your 'allegiance, yet think not that we are so careless of 'repairing it, that we can bury so great an injury in 'silence and oblivion. We therefore command you, 'that, all excuse set apart, you do forthwith, upon 'your allegiance which you owe unto us, whatsoever 'Heneage our Vice-Chamberlain shall make known 'to you in our name, upon pain of further peril.' She also wrote to the States-General. 'That to her 'disgrace, and without her knowledge, they had con-'ferred the absolute government of the confederate 'Provinces upon Leicester her subject, though she had 'absolutely refused it herself, *&c.* she therefore ad-'vised them to turn Leicester out of that absolute au-'thority, whose commission she had limited, not that 'she thought their cause unworthy to be favoured, but 'to provide for and secure her own honour, which she 'esteemed more dear to her than life itself.' Bentivoglio (45), intimates at though this step must have been before secretly made known to the Queen, or the Earl of Leicester would not have accepted the Government, without her private consent. And Strada (46) more openly charges her Majesty with an ambitious view of seeking to add the Low-Countries to her dominions, by permitting Leicester to take upon him the sovereignty. But this is improbable. The Provinces had been twice offered her by a solemn embassy from the States; her Parliament had solicited the acceptance, and promised her supplies to support it; and the universal inclination to submit to her, in conjunction with the forces she had ready to send over, must have rendered all opposition impracticable. It has been observed, that Strada was an Italian Jesuit in the pay of Spain, and consequently the English could expect no fair representation from him, who hated them as hereticks and as enemies. Yet, he says, the Earl of Leicester was such an absolute master of his own temper, that he could as he pleased adapt it to any man's humours or designs. Agreeably to this, Mezeray calls him a subtle, dexterous courtier; and what other historians cite argues him to be a man of great abilities, though the general hatred and envy of many people suppressed his real virtues, or imputed them to artifice and design.

(44) Annal. Eliz. P. 459. Strad. de Bello Belg. Lib. vii. P. 477.

(45) Hist. of the Wars of Flanders, P. i. L. iv. p. 240.

(46) De Bello Belgic. Lib. vii. p. 477.

yet was unwilling to hazard a battle, and therefore beſieged Zutphen, which had the deſired effect; for, the Duke of Parma marched immediately to engage the allied army. Accordingly, on the 22d of September, the vanguards came to action, in which the Engliſh diſtinguiſhed themſelves, though with ſome loſs; and there it was that the famous Sir Philip Sidney received a mortal wound (*b*). The Spaniards, however, had been certainly beaten, if the Duke of Parma, with his whole army, had not advanced to their aſſiſtance. The ſiege of Zutphen was notwithſtanding continued, and ſome very brave actions were performed before it; but, however, they were not able to reduce the place (*c*) [*O*]. Upon his Excellency's return to the Hague he found the States uneaſy and diſcontented: they received him coldly, and, as their own writers ſay, with expoſtulations and complaints. He endeavoured to ſatisfy them, and, for that purpoſe, entered into a long detail of what had been effected, and of the cauſes why more was not effected, which, however, did not anſwer his purpoſe. He then attempted to diſſolve the Aſſembly; but failing in that too, he declared in anger his reſolution of returning to England (*d*). However, being afterwards brought into a better temper, he gave them to underſtand, that, though he ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution of returning home, it ſhould be ſo far from being prejudicial to them, that he would make it turn to their advantage (*e*). Whatever exterior marks of ſatisfaction this might produce, it is very certain that the States retained their diſpleaſure, which proceeded from the ſuſpicions, that, notwithſtanding the oath of fidelity he had taken, he practiſed upon the minds of the people, and laboured to poſſeſs them with an opinion, that he was better affected to the Proteſtant religion and the publick good than themſelves (*f*), the conſequences of which they clearly foreſaw, and very much feared [*P*]. His ſubſequent behaviour did not leſſen their apprehenſions;

(*b*) Camden. Annals, p. 462.

(*c*) Stowe's Annals, p. 736.

(*d*) Bentivoglio's Hiſtory of the Wars of Flanders, p. 224.

(*e*) Grotius de Reb. Belg l. v.

(*f*) Camden. Annal. p. 463.

[*O*] *They were not able to reduce the place.*] While the Earl of Leiceſter continued the ſiege, *viz.* on the 4th of October, the great fort demanded a parley; which being granted, Count Hollock, or, as we now write, Hohenloe, ſtepped out to confer with them (47); but in the midſt of the conference, as the Count was ſpeaking, he was ſhot through the mouth, and the ball took off the jewel at his ear. To revenge this treachery, the Engliſh repeated their attacks, and the ſame day made an aſſault on the leſſer fort ſword in hand. Captain Edward Stanley, was the firſt who mounted the breach, and perhaps truer courage was never ſhewn (48). He was oppoſed by the Captain of the fort, who ſtanding alone in the breach, aimed his pike at his breaſt as he was entering. On which, with great preſence of mind, laying hold of the pike, he ſtroye with all his force to pluck him from his poſt, if he refuſed to let go his hold. But, finding his ſtrength inſufficient to effect his purpoſe, he ſuffered himſelf to be raiſed up by his competitor on the rampart, and, his ſoldiers following, ſo terrified the garriſon with his unexpected preſence, that, deſerting the defence, as many as were able made their eſcape by a back gate, and fled to Zutphen, leaving their Captain priſoner. The Earl of Leiceſter knighted Stanley for his courage, preſented him with forty pounds ſterling, and ſettled a penſion on him for life. He likewiſe knighted Captain Reade, who alſo ſhewed great bravery on that occaſion: and the enemy, much terrified, abandoned the great fort the next night. But the Earl judged it not convenient for his army to continue any longer before Zutphen, till the rigour of the ſeaſon ſhould be abated, it being ſufficiently blocked up by the garriſons which lay in the towns round about it. Many perſons of eminent rank amongſt the Engliſh nation having highly diſtinguiſhed themſelves, the Earl of Leiceſter (49), in reward of their merit and for his own honour, conferred, in his camp, the dignity of a Knight Banneret on the Earl of Eſſex, and the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Audley, and the Lord North; and knighted Sir Henry Goodyere, Captain of the Guard, Sir Henry Norris, Sir John Borroughs, Sir John Winkfield, Sir Roger Williams, Sir Robert Sidney, Sir Philip Butler, Sir Henry North, Sir Thomas Denis, Sir William Knolles, Sir George Farmer, Sir George Digby, Sir ——— Steward, and Sir ——— Beauford. On the 15th of October, his Excellency, after ſecuring of Deventer, came to Arnheim to viſit his nephew Sir Philip Sidney, whom he found paſt all hopes of recovery, dying two days after to his infinite regret, and was bewailed by him with great ſorrow, ſhutting himſelf up for a whole day, as Stowe relates, who is very circumſtantial in whatever regards this noble perſon.

(47) Stowe's Annals, p. 738.

(48) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p 462. Stowe's Annals, p. 738, 739. Strado de Bello Belgic. p. 553.

(49) Stowe's Annals, p. 739, 740.

[*P*] *And very much feared.*] But, notwithſtanding theſe outward profeſſions of regard, they were jealous of him (50), and privately proceeded to ſtraiten his authority; and, in other letters to the Queen, would have inſerted a clauſe to limit his command on his return to them, had not the Lord Buckhurſt interpoſed, and laid before them the miſchief it would have produced from his Lordſhip's power with her Majeſty. Theſe proceedings were not agreeable to the majority of the people, who were firm in the intereſt of the Earl of Leiceſter, and threatened to be revenged of the States, if the Queen ſhould take any offence at their alterations (51). In Frieſland, the Clergy offered her Majeſty the ſovereignty of the Low-Countries without any reſtriction, having held two Synods on the occaſion. The Synod at Sneek preſented a petition to the Lord Buckhurſt, in which they invited her Majeſty to come to the aſſiſtance of Chriſt, who threw himſelf and his children into her arms, and implored her protection (52): and ſeveral other towns proteſted they would depend only on her Majeſty. Alſo the preachers at Amſterdam openly inveighed againſt the magiſtrates from their pulpits, and libels were ſet up againſt the States. But, as the people ſeemed determined to take up arms, the Lord Buckhurſt ſignified to them from her Majeſty, That it was her inclination to ſend back the Earl of Leiceſter, to compoſe their differences, by re-aſſuming the Government. And this expectation of his Lordſhip's preſence gave a check to their violence, and put a farther ſtop to the proceedings of the States, who had begun to introduce a new ſcheme of government. Prince Maurice was brought to profeſs all good-will and amity to his Lordſhip, and Count Hollock promiſed to receive him with all honour and friendſhip: alſo the States General, and Council of State, both publickly and privately aſſured the Lord Buckhurſt of all duty and fidelity to him. But, before the Queen was prevailed on to give conſent to his Lordſhip's return, ſhe required Lord Buckhurſt, by letter, to let the States know, ſhe expected they ſhould ſend an army into the field, on his arrival, of ten or twelve thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, and give aſſurances, that one hundred thouſand pounds, ariſing from the extraordinary contributions, ſhould be delivered, at ſuch reaſonable times as might ſerve to defray the charges of the ſaid army, into the hands of ſome perſon of the country, who ſhould be nominated by the Earl of Leiceſter to be treaſurer of the army, and to be iſſued out by his Lordſhip's direction, with the privity of the Council of State. But this not being agreeable, the Lord Buckhurſt acquainted the Queen with their ſentiments; and that on their non-compliance he had declared to them, he had no commiſſion to promiſe his Lordſhip's return. On this, they

(50) Willis's Letters to the Earl of Leiceſter and Sec. Walſingham, in Cab. P. ii. p. 9, 32, & *ſeq.*

(51) Brandt's Hiſt. Lib. xiv.

(52) Cabala, p. 9;

apprehenſions; for, when the day came for his departure, he, by a public act, gave up the care of the Provinces into the hands of the Council of State, but privately, by an act of reſtriction of the ſame date, he reſerved to himſelf an authority over all Governors of provinces, cities, and forts; and, not contented with that, deprived the Council of State, and thoſe who had the chief direction in the Provinces, of their accuſtomed juriſdiction (*g*). He experienced in his paſſage all the difficulties of the ſeaſon and the country, being obliged to embark and land ſeveral times, and to make uſe of, part of the way, a waggon. He arrived at the Court at Richmond on the 23d of November (*b*), where, notwithſtanding all that was paſt, he was well received by the Queen. Her Majeſty was at that juncture more uneaſy than ever about the Queen of Scots, apprehending herſelf to be in great danger from the practices ſet on foot for obtaining the liberty of that Princeſs, whom ſhe had now taken a reſolution to remove, and was therefore glad of the Earl of Leiceſter's preſence, in whom ſhe had ever a great confidence (*i*). When the matter came to be debated in Council, which was before his return, he was conſulted by letter; and it is ſaid that the Earl gave it as his opinion, that it would be the ſafeſt and beſt expedient to make uſe of poiſon, which was vigorouſly oppoſed by Secretary Walſingham, to whom, though a Court Divine was ſent to ſettle his conſcience as to the lawfulneſs of this method, he remained fixed in his ſentiment, that it ought to be done by form of law (*k*). Accordingly, a commiſſion was drawn, grounded upon the late Act of Parliament, in which all the Members of the Privy-Council were appointed to be her Judges, and, amongſt others, the Earl of Leiceſter; but, being abroad, he neither aſſiſted at the trial, nor at the judgment given in the Star-Chamber, neither was he preſent in Parliament: yet ſufficient care was taken to make all the world ſenſible that he approved theſe meaſures, by printing the applications to the Queen from both Houſes, in a letter directed to him; and, in this very form, together with that letter, they are ſtill to be found in one of our old Chronicles (*l*). It is no wonder, therefore, that, laying aſide all thoughts of what had diſtaſted her in his miſconduct in the Low-Countries, the Queen was wonderfully pleaſed to have him near her again upon ſuch an occaſion, more eſpecially as the ſame point upon which he had been conſulted before, came again upon the carpet; for the trial had done little for the Queen's ſatisfaction if the execution did not follow; and how that might be done with leaſt diſcredit to Queen Elizabeth, remained a point difficult to decide. The Earl of Leiceſter kept to his firſt notion, and propoſed making her away privately. Another ſcheme was offered, as little honourable though more extravagant, which was, to ſend her back to Scotland, and have her put to death upon the frontiers of both countries. The majority of the Council approved neither, but inclined rather to proſecute the legal method in the end as well as at the beginning (*m*). The Queen ſeems to have concurred with the Earl of Leiceſter, as appears from the letters written to Sir Amias Pawlet and Sir Drew Drury; which not taking effect, the other way was at laſt reſolved on, and Daviſon, by a very artful piece of management, bore all the blame (*n*). About this time he was conſtituted Lord Chief-Juſtice in Eyre of all the foreſts ſouth of Trent (*o*), and, as appears from ſeveral letters in the Cabala, was highly favoured by Queen Elizabeth [*Q*]. During his abſence from the Low-Countries the Spaniards had bribed York and Stanley, two Engliſhmen whom the Earl had appointed, the firſt Governor of a Fort near Zutphen, and the other of

(*g*) Brandt's Hiſt. of the Reformat. B. xiv.

(*b*) Stowe's Annals, p. 741.

(*i*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, c. iii.

(*k*) Camden. Annal. p. 485.

(*l*) Holinſhed's Chron. p. 1580.

(*m*) Cam. Annal. Eliz. p. 519.

(*n*) See the article of DAVISON, in this Dictionary.

(*o*) 1. Pat. 28. Eliz. p. 1.

they reſolved to provide for their own ſecurity, and accordingly eſtabliſhed new ſuperintendants on their frontiers, which was oppoſed by Lord Buckhurſt, as contrary to the twenty-fourth article of their contract, by which the nomination of them was reſerved to her Majeſty's Lieutenant: yet his oppoſition produced no effect. However, as their perils increaſed continually on them, there ſeemed no other means left to prevent their entire ruin, but the ſettlement of a preſent government, attended with a proportionable ſupply of men and money. The Lord Buckhurſt, out of a true ſenſe of thoſe difficulties which the States laboured under, and the uncertainty of his Lordſhip's return, drew up a new ſcheme for the eſtabliſhing ſuch a government in the United Provinces; which very highly offended the Earl of Leiceſter, and ſeems to be the principal motive of the averſion and hatred he ever after expreſſed towards him (53).

(53) Cabala, P. ii. p. 28—31, 33, —36.

[*Q*] *Was highly favoured by Queen Elizabeth.*] It might have been expected, that, after the indignation expreſſed againſt him by his Sovereign, for exceeding his authority in the Low Countries, he could have little hopes of obtaining new marks of favour, conſidering more eſpecially how many places of honour and profit he held already. Yet the Earl was ſo complete a Courtier, that he knew how to turn this diſagreeable accident in a little time to his ſervice. His conduct, in the affair of the Queen of Scots, was very acceptable to the temper of Queen Elizabeth. His intelligence from Spain, which he never wanted, and was never truſted either to the eye or ear of a Secretary of State, gratified her Majeſty highly, who knew by experience that it deſerved entire credit. But what proved of the higheſt ſervice of all was his opening her Majeſty's eyes in relation to the double-dealing of the Duke of Parma, who, while engaged in a treaty with England, was taking all the neceſſary meaſures to invade it. By theſe ſteps he regained the Queen's confidence entirely, and then it was ſuggeſted, that, as he had been ſo unfortunate as to incur her diſpleaſure, of which he had received very public marks, as well by letters as by the meſſage with which Vice-Chamberlain Heneage had been entruſted, it was neceſſary, for the ſatisfaction of the world in general, and of the States of Holland in particular, that this ſhould be cancelled by ſome extraordinary act of grace, by which it might be known, both at home and abroad, that he was cleared from all imputations, and ſtood on as good terms with the Queen his Miſtreſs as ever. This affords us a pregnant inſtance of his art and addreſs; and many other like inſtances might be given, ſufficient to ſhew, that, whenever he met with cloudy weather at Court, he could never be brought to believe that it was fair again, unleſs he felt the warmth as well as ſplendor of ſunſhine: and thus every return to favour coſt her Majeſty a fine for her anger, and brought him an ample reward for the humility of his ſubmiſſions (54).

(54) Leiceſter's Commonwealth



Deventer,

Deventer, to deliver thoſe places into their hands, which by the treachery of York, ſo wrought on Stanley that he complied, and the loſs thereof gave occaſion to loud exclamations and complaints againſt the Earl of Leiceſter (*q*). Whereupon the States-General, immediately aſſembling, agreed to inveſt Prince Maurice (*r*) with the full power and authority of Stadtholder and Captain-General of Holland, Zealand, and Friezeland, and to give him command over all the militia within the ſaid Provinces. And, purſuant to this determination, they obliged all their officers to receive a new commiſſion from him, and to take a new oath to the States, and diſcharged all recuſants whatſoever from the ſervice. Queen Elizabeth was diſpleaſed with theſe alterations in their government, and reſented the diminution of the Earl of Leiceſter's authority as an injury offered to herſelf, and thereupon immediately directed the Lord Buckhurſt, her kinſman, to enquire into, and complain of, the innovations introduced in the abſence of the Earl, and to ſettle all differences between them; and the States, in return, aſſured her Majeſty, that their late proceedings were but proviſional, and enforced through fear of a general revolt on the loſs of Deventer; but that, at his Lordſhip's arrival, they would readily acknowledge both him and his authority in as ample a manner as it had been granted to him at the firſt (*s*). Alſo, in their letter to the Queen, March 1, they repreſented to her, that they were infinitely ſorry her Majeſty ſhould entertain any ſiniſter conceit of their actions and proceedings, which they attributed to the practice of their enemies, and concluded with deſiring the Earl might return to his government, which they alleged was highly neceſſary to their ſafety [*R*]. The Queen yielded to this, but with ſome difficulty, ſo that his Lordſhip did not go back to his charge, as was deſired and expected, in the beginning of the ſpring, which his friends in Holland gave out afforded great advantage to the enemy. The Duke of Parma began the campaign with the ſiege of Sluys, the moſt conſiderable town in Flanders, excepting Oſtend, that remained in poſſeſſion of the States. He firſt attacked the fort of Blanchenberg, commodious for the conveying ſuccours to the beſieged by land, which made little reſiſtance, as his coming thither was unexpected, and no proviſion made to oppoſe him (*t*). His next ſtep was to raiſe a fort in the iſland of Caſante to cut off all relief by ſea. But, before he could execute his deſign, Sir Roger Willams, with five companies from Bruges, entered the town, and ſupplied it with proviſions and ammunition to hold a conſiderable time againſt him. Whilſt this town was beſieged, the Earl of Leiceſter, on the 18th of June, was made Lord Steward of the Queen's Houſehold (*u*), and, ſetting ſail from England on the 25th of the ſame month, landed in Zealand about the latter end of it. He brought with him a conſiderable ſupply both of horſe and foot. Prince Maurice and the Deputies of the States attended on him at Fluſhing to congratulate his return, and left Count Hollock to watch the motions of the enemy. When they had conferred on raiſing the ſiege, it was determined to attempt it by ſea; to which end they ſhipped five thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, with all neceſſary proviſions for the relief of the town, and, on the fleet's appearing in the channel, the Earl of Leiceſter made ſignals to the beſieged that he was come to their aſſiſtance (*w*). But, on examination, finding the channel blocked up and the paſſage ſecured, he ſaw it would be in vain to proceed that way. For three days he continued in ſuſpenſe what ſtep to take, and then weighing anchor he bent his courſe towards Oſtend, with a reſolution to ſuccour the beſieged by land. The

(*p*) Camd. Annal. Eliz p 552, 553.

(*q*) Brandt's Hiſt. of the Reformation the Low-Countries, p. 409.

(*r*) Bentivoglio's Wars of Flanders, lib. iv. p. 345.

(*s*) Cabala, P. ii. p. 14. Brandt's Hiſt. of the Reformatſon, B. xiv.

(*t*) Cabala, P. ii. P. 42.

(*u*) Stowe's Annals, P. 743.

(*w*) Bentivoglio's Wars of Flanders, P. iii. l. iv. p. 246.

[*R*] *Was highly neceſſary to their ſafety.*] While the negotiations mentioned in the text were carrying on between the Queen's Miniſter and the States, the creatures of the Lord Lieutenant in the Low-Countries were far enough from being inactive. On the contrary, they were ſo buſy, and took ſuch exceptions to every thing that was done by the States in the Earl's abſence, that at laſt they intimidated them to ſuch a degree as to be almoſt afraid of acting at all, and even to wiſh ſincerely for the return of the Lord Lieutenant, that ſome degree of weight might be reſtored to the government. In theſe practices the Earl's moſt indefatigable agents were the clergy; and how very able he was to manage a ſet of men, who, of all others, delight themſelves moſt in managing the minds of the multitude, will appear from the following letter, which certainly is a maſter-piece in its kind, though both in the matter and the ſtyle it differs not much from many of this noble perſon's epiſtles (55).

(55) Brandt's Hiſtory of the Reformation, B. xiv. p. 413.

'GENTLEMEN,

'THAT I did not return ſuch an anſwer to ſeveral of your letters as you deſired and expected was not for want of good-will towards ſerving the cauſe of God, and defending the poor people, but it was becauſe I had not yet received her Majeſty's reſolutions about what was farther neceſſary to be done for the ſervice of your country. But the Queen having given me full directions with regard to the forces ſhe will ſend to your aſſiſtance, and having laid her command upon me to return, I, therefore, poſtponing all private views and conſiderations, and abandoning all thoſe advantages which God has beſtowed on me in this kingdom, intend to haſten over, and ſatisfy the deſires of a people who have ſo often called for me, to which the zeal and good inclinations of ſome have more induced me than the demerits of others, that ſuffer themſelves to be made tools for keeping me back by ſlanders and detractions, which I ſhall nevertheleſs enter into my book of oblivion, that no harm may befal thoſe who ſeek to do me ſuch diſſervices. And I hope I ſhall never give the people any cauſe to diminiſh their good-will and affection for me. In the mean time I intreat you to go on in your duty, and to admoniſh and excite thoſe under your care to peace and unity, to the end that they may more and more deſerve all the benefits they receive. For the reſt I refer myſelf to my arrival, and ſo I recommend you, Gentlemen, to the protection of the Almighty.

Given at London, Jan. 7, O. S.

Your good friend,

R. LEICESTER.'

Earl of Leiceſter had no ſooner landed his forces, but he prepared to attack the fort of Blanchenberg, and, joining the whole garriſon of Oſtend to his army, marched directly againſt it. The loſs was of no leſs conſequence to the Duke of Parma than the gaining it would have been advantageous to the Earl; and therefore the Duke, leaving the ſiege every where well provided, led the remainder of his army to the defence of the fort againſt his Lordſhip (*x*). The Engliſh were ready to begin their batteries when the Duke of Parma came up; but on ſight of the army they deferred their hoſtilities, and after ſome conſultation retired to Oſtend, whence they returned with the ſame fleet where they had before been at anchor, not far from Sluys, and the Duke of Parma again preſented himſelf to their view, whereby they found themſelves under a neceſſity to retire once again, and never more attempted to raiſe the ſiege. The loſs of Sluys renewed the miſunderſtanding between the Earl of Leiceſter and the States, whilſt the blame of the action was thrown by each party on the miſmanagement of the other. The Earl complained of the State's negligence, in not making ſufficient preparations, and not reſtraining the firſt attempts of the Spaniards againſt the town. And the States, in return, virulently inveighed againſt his Lordſhip, and imputed the whole misfortune to his ill conduct, and the delay of the Engliſh forces. This diſſatisfaction increaſing, they refuſed to eſtabliſh him in that abſolute authority which had been conferred on him at his firſt arrival. This diminution of his power was ſo highly reſented by him, that he openly expreſſed his diſpleaſure againſt the States, and the Dutch writers charge him with having entered into indirect practices to regain it, by forming parties in his progreſs through the country, and converſing chiefly with the Miniſters and private perſons (*y*), ſo that they, and the common people, were ſo tranſported with his appearances of piety, and his zeal for their intereſts, as to approve of ſuch as he did, and loudly exclaimed againſt the proceedings of the States [*S*]. The Queen, however, being well apprized by her Miniſters at home of the ſituation of affairs in the Low-Countries, thought proper to recall him by an inſtrument dated November 9, 1587, and at the ſame time appointed Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby, Captain-General of her forces (*z*). Camden relates, that the Earl of Leiceſter, on his return, finding an accuſation was preparing againſt him by the Lord Buckhurſt, and ſome others of his enemies, for his miſconduct in the management of affairs in the Low-Countries, and that he was ſummoned to appear before the Council, privately implored the Queen's protection, and earneſtly beſought her, 'Not to receive him with diſgrace upon his return, whom, at his firſt departure, ſhe had ſent out with honour; nor bring down alive to the grave, whom her former goodneſs had raiſed from the duſt (*a*);' and that the Queen was ſo pacified with his expreſſions of humility and ſorrow, as to paſs by the diſpleaſure ſhe had con-

(*x*) Brandt's Hiſt. lib xiv.

(*y*) Bentivoglio's and Brandt's Hiſt. p. 14. 416.

(*z*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVI. p. 13.

(*a*) Annal. Eliz. P. 556.

[*S*] *And loudly exclaimed againſt the proceedings of the States.*] At his ſecond departure from the Low-Countries, the Earl of Leiceſter left the free adminiſtration of public affairs to the States, without making uſe of any ſuch precaution as he had taken when he was there before; notwithſtanding which, we are poſitively told, and therefore it muſt reſt upon the hiſtorian's (56) credit who ſays it, that he had it in his head to uſurp the government, and to ſend the Prince of Orange and Penſionary Barnevelt priſoners into England; ſo that he reckons it amongſt the many wonderful eſcapes of the inhabitants of theſe provinces, from the open tyranny of Philip II. and from the fox-like ſubtleties of William, Prince of Orange, that they were not ſubdued by the all-graſping ambition of our potent Earl of Leiceſter. It is, indeed, certain, that before he quitted that government, the Earl diſtributed, amongſt his particular friends, ſome gold medals, of which there are yet to be found in the cabinets of the curious; on the face (57), the Earl's effigies in buſt, armed, with this inſcription, ROBERTUS DUDLEUS. COM. LEYC. BELG. GUBER. i. e. Robert Earl of Leiceſter, Governor of the Low-Countries; on the reverſe a ſhepherd's dog looking back upon the flock, from which he is going; and, in the *exergue*, under the dog's legs, INVITUS DESERO, i. e. unwillingly I abandon; about the circle, NON GREGEM, SED INGRATOS, i. e. not the flock, but the ungrateful. Theſe inſinuations had ſuch an effect upon the minds of the people, that the whole nation was in confuſion, ſome Dutch garriſons affecting to adhere to the Engliſh: and, on the other hand, Sir William Ruſſell taking ſuch ſteps as gave no ſmall jealouſy to the State, which was augmented (58) by the coming of the Lord High-Admiral of England upon their coaſts juſt at that juncture. Theſe jealous ſuſpicions, at laſt, roſe ſo high, that the Dutch, well affected to their own government, according to the genius of that people, to which the Earl of Leiceſter conformed in his medals, ſtruck others, upon which were the old alluſion of the two pots ſwimming at ſea, with this inſcription, *ſi collidimur, frangimur*; i. e. if we clath we are undone. The Lord Admiral did all he could to ſettle the minds of the States and of their ſubjects; which, however, was not effected till the Queen ſent her orders to the Lord Willoughby, to reduce, by force, if that ſhould be neceſſary, ſuch places as refuſed to yield obedience to the States, which convinced them, that they had at leaſt done her Majeſty wrong, whatever foundation there might be for queſtioning the upright meaning of the Earl of Leiceſter, who in this command, ſays the hiſtorian, was the firſt Engliſhman that bore the ſwelling title of *Excellency*: and, therefore, many at home were very well pleaſed to ſee him forced to lay it down with ſo little honour (59). The nature of the ſubject, a juſt regard for truth, and a ſincere deſire the reader ſhould want no lights that are in our power to give, oblige us to obſerve, that the Earl of Leiceſter's medal is far from being any concluſive evidence of his bad intentions, ſince the words, fairly conſtrued, mean no more than that he left with reluctance thoſe whom he had conſidered in the light of a flock committed to his charge; and this, notwithſtanding ſome of them had repaid with ingratitude all the care he had taken. We muſt alſo remark, that thoſe who diſliked the Earl in England concurred with his enemies in Holland to give a ſanction to all their jealouſies and ſurmiſes, which, whatever effects they might have in thoſe times, cannot paſs for unſuſpected teſtimonies in theſe. The Earl of Leiceſter had his faults, and thoſe very great faults too; but other miniſters might not be without them, or even without a propenſity of magnifying thoſe of the Earl of Leiceſter, in order to prejudice him with their ſovereign, in whoſe confidence, while he had ſo large a ſhare, it was impoſſible that he ſhould eſcape envy, or that ſuch as envied him ſhould (contrary to the nature of that paſſion) always ſpeak truth.

(56) Camden, Annal. Eliz. p. 155.

(57) Evelyn's Diſcourſe of Medals, p. 98.

(58) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 556.

(59) Camden. Annal. Eliz. P. 555.

ceived againſt him, and to admit him into her former grace and affection. The day when it was expected he ſhould have given in his anſwer, he took his place at the Council-table; and, when the Secretary had begun to read his accuſation, he roſe up and interrupted him, complaining of being injured, and declaring that his public commiſſion was limited by private inſtructions: and, making his appeal to the Queen, he evaded the accuſation, and came off in triumph; and, by his power with her Majeſty, he ſo far prevailed, that a cenſure was paſſed upon the Lord Buckhurſt, who was confined thereupon to his houſe for ſeveral months. It is very certain, that, how much ſoever this noble perſon's employment in the Low-Countries might gratify his ambition, or perhaps his vanity, it was very far from turning in any other manner to his advantage; ſince, at his laſt going over, he took up very large ſums of money at high intereſt upon his barony of Denbigh (*b*), which, after his return, he found it impoſſible to diſcharge; upon which the Merchants who had lent the money, moſt of whom had borrowed it upon their own private credit in order to ſupply him at that juncture, finding themſelves very much diſtreſſed by this diſappointment, applied for redreſs to the Lord Treaſurer as well as to the Lord Chancellor; but it does not appear that any thing was or could be done for their relief. Whether it was in regard to this affair, or ſome other relating to the tranſactions in the Low-Countries, certain it is, that the Earl had frequent differences with the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, which at length roſe ſo high, that the Earl told his Lordſhip plainly at Council, "that he found his Lordſhip very "much inclined to croſs him upon all occaſions, and more eſpecially before the Queen; "and that he liked it ſo ill, that he could and would find ways to anger him as well;" adding ſome other ſpeeches, which the Lord Treaſurer took as a charge againſt him for acting to the Queen's prejudice; upon which, the very ſame night, he reſolved to expoſtulate the matter freely with the Earl by letter, which he ſent him the next day, and received an anſwer in the evening (*c*). This, as it ſerves to ſhew the temper of this noble Peer much better than any of the accounts we have of him extant, and as the reader may poſſibly think it a better vindication than any that have been offered of his proceedings, we have placed it at the bottom of the page [*T*]. It has before been obſerved, that the Duke of Parma, who was a great Politician as well as a great Cap-

(*b*) Strype's Annals, Vol III. p. 498, 499.

(*c*) See this at large in the notes.

[*T*] *At the bottom of the page.*] We have the circumſtances mentioned in the text, from Mr. Strype, who had taken notice of a former difference between theſe noblemen, and preſerved two excellent letters occaſioned thereby (60), but much too long to be inſerted here. As for the letter written by the Lord Treaſurer, upon this laſt quarrel, that gentleman does not give us ſo much as a line of it, though he has preſerved the Earl of Leiceſter's anſwer entire, and a very extraordinary paper it is (61).

(60) Strype's Annals, Vol. III p. 131, in the Appendix.

(61) Ib. Vol. III. p. 205, in the Appendix.

'My Lord,

'I Know not from whence my hap hath it, but it 'hath fallen out ſundry times, both contrary to my 'expectations, and much leſs by any deſert of mine, 'that I have found your Lordſhip more ready to 'thwart and croſs my endeavours than any other 'man's, eſpecially in the preſence of her Majeſty, 'and for ſuch cauſe as I have been the more earneſt 'in, when, by your Lordſhip's own allowance and 'opinion, it had been ſo reſolved on by our confe-'rence before, as fit and meet advices to be given her 'Majeſty for the beſt furtherances of her own ſer-'vices. And theſe cauſes have lately been moſt in 'queſtion; in which I myſelf, by her appointment, 'have been furtheſt employed, viz. about aſſiſtance of 'the Low-Countries. And, therefore, did, both at 'your Lordſhip's hands and other my Lords, hope 'to be aſſiſted and comforted, ſo far as my opinion 'ſhould tend to the ſervice of her Majeſty, and to 'matters being before, by your Lordſhip and others, 'debated and agreed upon. Wherefore, finding it 'to fall out otherwiſe, and to draw difference in ar-'gument, where there was good aſſent before: what 'was it? but to leave me, in her Majeſty's opinion, 'to be a man either affectionate or opinionative in 'mine own conceits; and, withal, to ſee her Majeſty's 'ſervice hindred, and to take lack through ſuch need-'leſs and unprofitable controverſies among Counſel-'lors? Albeit I know and grant among Counſellors 'there may and muſt riſe, by way of argument, di-'viſions in opinion, which is both lawful and very 'convenient, and oft doth without any cauſes of 'miſlike at all. And God forbid there ſhould be. 'But, my Lord, in theſe cauſes, we have been two 'or three times before her Majeſty; we had debated 'the matter before. And the courſe I took was no 'other than your Lordſhip did beſt like and moſt ad-'viſe. And to fall into contrary opinions before her 'Majeſty cauſed me both to take it ill, and to ſhew 'it plainly to you as I did. And for the words which 'I added withal, which your Lordſhip doth ſet down 'in your letter, that I did charge you with ſome mat-'ters towards her Majeſty; aſſuredly, my Lord, I 'uſed no ſuch words. But finding myſelf grieved 'with ſuch croſs handling, as both at this and at 'other times I have done, I told your Lordſhip, I 'ſaw your Lordſhip very ready to croſs me now-a-'days before her Majeſty. That I like it ſo ill, that 'I would and could find way to anger you as well. 'And that I had not dealt in this ſort either with you 'or any of your's, but much otherwiſe. And ſo, my 'Lord, I have done to my poor power, and with as 'much deſire to have you my aſſured friend, as any 'friend you have found in England. Which, finding 'theſe occaſions more than once falling to my lot, I can 'hardly diſſemble or bear the unkind dealing of them, 'but rather to deal as I am dealt withal, when all 'kindneſs is not only ſo little regarded but hardly re-'quited. In which conceit, my Lord, I pray you 'think I can be as others are to me. And to that 'end was my ſpeech and my meaning, and that I 'ſaid was to your Lordſhip's ſelf, and before none 'other, but moved, as your Lordſhip ſaid, in paſſion. 'And, as I have been loth to have the occaſion that 'ſhould drive me to take ſuch hard or unkind courſes 'as I ſee ſome do, and myſelf very deeply felt. Thus 'much, my Lord, I have thought good to ſet down, 'which receiving your Lordſhip's letter, even as I 'came from the Court, had no time till late this night 'to anſwer. Wherein I will not hide the conceit I 'had upon the cauſes I have ſhewed, finding myſelf 'indeed heartily moved and grieved, but plainly and 'flatly to deliver my mind, rather than to diſſemble 'as many can. Leaving to your Lordſhip to conſider 'of my doings, how you have found them, if I be 'well uſed. And ſo in very haſte, leaving the reſt till 'I ſpeak with yourſelf, I commit you to the Lord. 'From my houſe, this Monday night.

'Your Lordſhip's very friend, if you ſo regard me,

'R. LEYCESTER.'

tain,

tain, ſet on foot a negotiation with the Engliſh Court, as if it had been in his power to have concluded an abſolute peace; upon which, the Earl of Derby, and ſome other perſons of credit and diſtinction, and, amongſt the reſt, Sir James Crofts, Comptroller of the Queen's Houſehold, were ſent over, with the title of Commiſſioners, to negotiate with them, in the month of April, 1588 (*d*). A great deal of time was ſpent to very little purpoſe; and, notwithſtanding the Duke of Parma was earneſtly ſolicited, he could never be prevailed on to produce the commiſſion by which his Catholic Majeſty impowered him to treat and conclude, becauſe, in reality, he had no ſuch commiſſion to produce. Sir James Crofts, who was a plain man, and heartily deſirous that a peace between England and Spain ſhould take effect, made a journey to Bruſſels, without having any authority ſo to do, in order to confer with the Duke (*e*); in which, though the reſt of the Commiſſioners allowed that he was too forward, yet they cleared him from any ill intention as well as from doing any thing that was amiſs; yet, upon their being recalled in the month of Auguſt following, Sir James Crofts was accuſed, by the Earl of Leiceſter, for his unadviſed journey to Bruſſels, and, by an order of the Privy-Coudcil, committed to priſon (*f*). The whole nation was by this time alarmed, with the apprehenſion of the Spaniſh Armada, and, amongſt other precautions that were taken, an army was aſſembled at Tilbury, conſiſting of between ſixteen and ſeventeen thouſand men, of which the Earl of Leiceſter was made Lieutenant-General, and the Earl of Eſſex commanded the horſe (*g*). Queen Elizabeth, that ſhe might encourage her ſubjects by her preſence, went to review that army in perſon; and, upon that occaſion, made a ſhort and memorable ſpeech, which, as it contains a character of this nobleman, given by his Sovereign to her people, it is requiſite to inſert (*h*). 'I myſelf,' ſaid ſhe, 'will be your General, Judge, and Rewarder 'of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, for your forwardneſs, you 'have deſerved rewards and crowns; and we do aſſure you, on the word of a Prince, 'they ſhall be duly paid you. In the mean time, my Lieutenant-General ſhall be in 'my ſtead than whom never Prince commanded a more noble or worthy ſubject, 'not doubting, but, by your obedience to my General, by your concord in the camp, 'and your valour in the field, we ſhall ſhortly have a famous victory over thoſe ene'mies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people.' At this time, there is nothing plainer than that he ſtood as well with Queen Elizabeth as ever; and it is highly probable, that the Earl of Leiceſter, than whom no man underſtood a court better, was perſuaded of this himſelf; otherwiſe he would never have ſought an employment ſtill greater than any he had, which was that of the Queen's Lieutenant in England and Ireland; nor would he have obtained it as he did, if the Queen's favour had not been as ſtrong towards him as ever; but a ſtop was put to the paſſing the letters-patent, prepared for this purpoſe, by the Lord-Chancellor Hatton and the Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh, who are ſaid to have ſhewed the Queen, in time, what hazards ſhe might run, by intruſting ſo large, or rather ſo exorbitant, a power in the hands of a ſingle perſon (*i*). It is not at all improbable, that the danger of the Spaniſh Invaſion being by this time over made the Queen think ſo extenſive a command unneceſſary, which inclined her to liſten to the ſuggeſtions of thoſe two great Stateſmen upon this ſubject. Whether the Earl of Leiceſter conceived any diſlike at this, and thought of retiring from Court, as ſome have ſuggeſted, or whether, as it was uſual with him, he was deſirous of enjoying the pleaſures of privacy in the country at that ſeaſon; certain it is, that he ſet out about the end of Auguſt for his Caſtle of Kenelworth (*k*); but, making ſome ſtay at his houſe at Cornbury in Oxfordſhire, he there breathed his laſt, September the 4th, 1588, when he was about the age of fifty-ſix (*l*). At the time of his demiſe, he was of the Queen's Privy-Council, Lord-Steward of the Houſehold, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, High-Steward of that of Cambridge, Chief Juſtice in Eyre in the Counties beyond Trent, the Queen's Lieutenant and Captain General of the Forces in Holland, Governor and Captain-General of the United Provinces, and General of the forces raiſed in England againſt the Spaniards; Knight of the French King's Order of St. Michael, and of the moſt noble Order of the Garter (*m*). Some writers add, Earl-Marſhal of England (*n*), but without authority; for, certainly, he never enjoyed that office (*o*). As to the manner of his death, there are very different opinions, and all countenanced by ſome authority. We are told by Camden, that he died of a fever (*p*). Sir Robert Naunton (*q*), who was well acquainted with the tranſactions of thoſe times, informs us, that, though he ended not his days by ſo violent a death, or by the fatal ſentence of judicature as his father and grandfather, yet (as is ſuggeſted) by that poiſon which he had prepared for others, wherein they report him a rare artiſt [*U*]. At

(*d*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 567.

(*e*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 510.

(*f*) Tranſactions with Spain amongſt the MSS. of Lord Burleigh.

(*g*) Stowe's Annals, p. 750.

(*h*) Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Eliz. p. 395.

(*i*) Camden Annal. Eliz. p. 583.

(*k*) Strype's Annals, vol. III. p. 593.

(*l*) Stowe's Annals, p. 750.

(*m*) Annal. Eliz. p. 583.

(*n*) Stowe's Annals, p. 750.

(*o*) See Camden and Spelman's Accounts of Earl Marſhals.

(*p*) Annal. Eliz. p. 583.

(*q*) Fragm. Regal. cap. iii.

[*U*] *Wherein they report him a rare artiſt.*] It hence appears, that Sir Robert Naunton (62) did not entirely diſcredit the reports that ran upon this ſubject, which were indeed very public, and the names of the perſons frequently mentioned who were employed in theſe pernicious practices, as well as thoſe who ſuffered by them. As to the former, there was one Salvadore, a domeſtick of the Earl's, who died himſelf very ſuddenly; and Dr. Julio (63), who was very highly in his favour. As to the latter, beſides the

(62) Fragmenta Regalia, cap. iv.

(63) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

At Court an opinion prevailed, that he did not leave the world by a natural diſeaſe, but by ſome practices of a diabolical nature; concerning which, ſeveral examinations were taken before the Privy-Council (*r*), with which, perhaps, it may not be amiſs to make the reader acquainted [*W*]. That he died under a cloud, which time and emulation, the companions of great ones, brought upon him, as a certain writer ſuggeſts (*s*), one would think a little improbable; ſince Camden aſſures us, that the Queen expreſſed a very deep concern for his death: but then, the force of this aſſertion is leſſened by his adding, that ſhe ſuffered his goods to be ſold by public auction, for the diſcharge of a debt due to the Crown, in purſuance of a maxim, from which ſhe rarely departed; of remitting to none the claims upon them from her Treaſury (*t*). Whatever the diſpoſition of his Sovereign might be to him, he left the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of duty and fidelity towards her, that words could poſſibly expreſs, in his laſt will, penned by his own hand, during his laſt reſidence in Holland; which is a piece ſo ſingular, that it cannot but afford pleaſure to ſee a part of it in the notes (*u*) [*X*]. In that inſtrument, which is

(*r*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III.

(*s*) Frag. Regal. c. iii.

(*t*) Camden's Annal. Eliz. p. 584.

(*u*) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney Papers.

the Lord Sheffield and the Earl of Eſſex, who are thought to have been removed for the ſake of their wives, there are ſome others that have been publicly ſaid to travel the ſame road, by the ſame conveyance, though for other reaſons. As, for inſtance, the Cardinal Chaſtillion, who died at Canterbury in 1570 as he was going out of England, and who is ſaid to have offended this great Earl, by informing the Queen of the arts which he uſed to diſguſt ſuch foreign Princes as ſought her Majeſty in marriage. That this Prelate was highly careſſed by the Queen is beyond all doubt, and that he was poiſoned is likewiſe certain; but by whoſe contrivance is by no means clear (64). The caſe of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton may be accounted, of all others, that which bears the hardeſt upon the Earl in point of circumſtances. He is ſaid to have been poiſoned in a ſallad at Leiceſter-Houſe, being taken ill at table, and dying before he could be removed. The latter part of this ſtory is acknowledged by the Earl of Leiceſter himſelf, in a letter to Secretary Walſingham; and, as to the former, it depends upon a family tradition, that Sir Nicholas accuſed the Earl upon his death-bed. However it was, the report generally prevailed, and Camden does not ſpeak of it as a thing entirely groundleſs (65). The ſame ſtory is told of his great competitor the Earl of Suſſex, but with no great ſhow of probability or truth, much leſs of certainty, though ſaid to have been taken from his own mouth. He was, indeed, the Earl's enemy to the very laſt; for on his death-bed he is reported to have given this caution to his friends (66): 'I am 'paſſing into another world, and muſt now leave you 'to your fortunes, and to the Queen's grace and 'goodneſs; but beware of the gypſey (Leiceſter), for 'he will be too hard for you all; you know not the 'beaſt ſo well as I do.' All theſe tales would be abſolutely incredible, if the propoſal for taking off the Queen of Scots, by a doſe, was not poſitively vouched by Camden, and the Lady Sheffield's loſs of her hair and nails teſtified by herſelf upon oath. Hence it was a ſaying in thoſe days, That folks often fell without ſeeing the hand that puſhed them, and that many died who knew not their own diſeaſe.

(64) Strype, Annals, Vol. II. p. 238, 239.

(65) Annal. Eliz. p. 221.

(66) Naunton's Fragm. Regalia, c. iv.

[*W*] *To make the reader acquainted.*] We have obſerved in the text, that, upon the return of Sir James Crofts, Comptroller of the Houſhold, who was one of the Commiſſioners in the Low-Countries, he was committed for acting imprudently in the diſcharge of his truſt. After the Earl of Leiceſter's death, among other reports that flew abroad, one was, that the ſon of this gentleman had been inſtrumental in his Lordſhip's ſudden end (67). Upon this Mr. Edward Crofts, and ſeveral other perſons, were brought before the Privy-Council, when the following facts came out, as they are tranſcribed from the original minutes. Being examined concerning the Earl of Leiceſter's death, he (Edward Crofts) ſaith, that after his father, Sir James Crofts, was committed, this examinate came home to his own houſe at Charing-Croſs; and, lamenting, ſaid unto Smith and Pille's wife, that he and all his were undone except he had help. And Smith ſaid, he would do what he could; and willed this examinate to give him the names of all the Council; which he did. And Smith promiſed to tell him who were his father's enemies; and did after tell him that the Earl of Leiceſter was his great enemy. Within two or three days after, Smith, walking up and down with this examinate, made a flirt with his thumb, and bad him be of good comfort; for, the bear is tied to the ſtake, or muzzled; whether he doth not remember; and in what manner or ſort the Earl was dealt withal he doth not know. That Smith told him, that his father ſhould not remain in priſon a full month. And that this examinate ſhould be the man that ſhould obtain the warrant for his delivery, and ſo he did. All the perſons abovementioned were examined as well as Mr. Crofts, who confirmed every tittle of what he had ſaid, particularly Smith himſelf; but what puniſhment they ſuffered, or whether they ſuffered at all, is not mentioned. We learn alſo from the ſame author, that the Earl of Leiceſter was in good health on the 27th of Auguſt, when he wrote a letter to the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, in behalf of a friend of his, excuſed his going out of town without taking leave of him, and declared his intention to return ſpeedily, which is a plain proof that he did not retire from any diſcontent.

(67) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 594. Appendix, p. 269.

[*X*] *In the notes.*] There is no need of any introduction to this piece, after what is ſaid of it in the text. It begins thus (68): 'This is the laſt Will and 'Teſtament of me Robert Earl of Leiceſter, her Ma'jeſty's Lieutenant-General of all her forces in the 'Low-Countries, and Governor and Captain-General 'of all the United Provinces, written, with his own 'hand, the firſt of Auguſt, in Middleborough, 1578. 'Firſt, I take it to be the part of every true Chriſtian 'to make a true teſtimony of his faith at all times, 'and eſpecially in ſuch a caſe and ſuch a time as this 'is. And therefore I do mean here faithfully to make 'a ſhort declaration, to teſtify in what faith I do live 'and depart from this world, through the grace of 'my Lord and Saviour, to continue me in the ſame 'till the ſeparation of this life and body. And ſo I 'do acknowledge my creation and being to be had 'and continued by the Providence of our Almighty 'God, the creator of all things, both in heaven and 'earth; and do confeſs, that, above all deeds that his 'Divine Majeſty hath done for mankind, is the gift 'of his bleſſed ſon Chriſt Jeſus, to be the Redeemer 'and Saviour of his people that be faithful; by whoſe 'only merits and paſſion, I verily believe, and am 'moſt aſſured of, the forgiveneſs of all my ſins, be 'they never ſo great or infinite, and that he only is 'the ſufficient ſacrifice that hath appeaſed the wrath 'of his father, and that bleſſed Lamb which innocently 'ſuffered all torments, to bear the bitter burden due 'to us miſerable wretches, for his moſt tender com'paſſion over all that have grace to believe on him: 'All which his Grace's goodneſs and mercy I moſt 'faithfully take hold on, being ſo promiſed by him'ſelf, who is the only truth itſelf, that I am the child 'of ſalvation, and to be the inheritor of his everlaſt'ing kingdom, and to meet with him at the joyful 'day of reſurrection with all the faithful children and 'ſaints of God. In this faith I now live, and in this 'faith I truſt to change this life, with continual prayer 'to the Throne of Grace, to grant me, during this 'pilgrimage of mine, a true, humble, and penitent 'heart, for the due recognition of all my offences, 'and the willing amendment of the ſame, and to fly 'inſtantly

(68) Ex Regiſt. vocat. Leiceſter, qu. 1. in Cur. Prerog. Cantuar.

is written with amazing art, in as much as the language thereof is ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed from that of nature, he takes great care of his family, and ſhews wonderful condeſcenſions towards his wife; though, after all, the bulk of his fortune is ſecured to his ſon Robert, whom he ſtyles conſtantly his *baſe ſon*, with what meaning muſt be left to conjecture. As he died before his brother Ambroſe, Earl of Warwick, and that noble peer was univerſally beloved, he had intereſt enough to carry his brother's teſtament, or at leaſt the moſt eſſential parts thereof, into execution, which otherwiſe would have been attended, if we may gueſs from what happened in the next reign, with inſuperable difficulties (*w*). The corpſe of the Earl of Leiceſter was removed from Cornbury Park to Warwick, where it was interred in our Lady's Chapel, adjoining to the Choir of the Collegiate Church, and a very noble monument is erected to his memory, with the effigies in armour lying on his back, with the Earl's Coronet on his head, and the effigy of his Counteſs lying by him, with an inſcription in capitals, the ſubſtance of which the reader has already ſeen, as it contains little more than a recapitulation of his employments (*x*). The character beſtowed upon him by Camden (*y*) is to this effect. He was looked upon as a finiſhed courtier in every reſpect; elegant in his dreſs, liberal in his way of living, bountiful to ſoldiers and men of letters; very adroit in chuſing his time, and carrying his point; complaiſant in his temper, but inſidious towards rivals; amorous in the former part of his life, and in the latter uxorious to a ſtrange degree. As for the reſt, as he preferred an envied height of power to ſolid virtue, he furniſhed matter for a multitude of malicious detractors to deſcant upon, who, even in the zenith of his glory, failed not to proſecute him with their libels, which were mixed with abundance of untruths. To ſum up all, what was ſaid of him in public had the air of praiſe and panegyrick; but in private, and where people durſt be free, he was repreſented in quite a different light. This, without doubt, conſidering its brevity, is an admirable deſcription, and by far ſuperior to the diffuſe accounts that are to be met with in other writers; but, as it is perfectly adapted to the hiſtorian's ſubject, it may be poſſibly thought too ſuccinct to cloſe a particular article compoſed of ſuch a variety of matter; and therefore we will endeavour, with the utmoſt impartiality, to ſubjoin a more copious repreſentation of this great Stateſman

(*w*) See the next article.

(*x*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 450.

(*y*) Annal. Eliz. p. 583, 584.

'inſtantly to the ſure anchor-hold, my Lord and Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be all honour, glory, and dominion, for ever, Amen. Thus, being in perfect health and memory, and having ſet down my faith as a true Chriſtian, and being uncertain of the hour of death, I think it my part to ſettle my worldly matters in as good eſtate as I can, eſpecially being haſtily and ſuddenly ſent over, and likewiſe having very little leiſure ſince my arrival to get any time for my private buſineſs. But, firſt, my will is to commit this wretched body of mine, when it ſhall pleaſe God to ſeparate it from the ſoul, to the order of my dear friends, that ſhall be living, as my executors, and my overſeers of this my laſt Will and Teſtament, and they to take ſuch order for the burial of my body as they ſhall think meet, always requiring that it may be done with as little pomp or vain expences of the world as may be, being perſuaded that there is no more vain expence than that is; a convenient tomb or monument I wiſh there ſhould be. And, for the place where my body ſhould lie, it is hard to appoint, and I know not how convenient it is to deſire it, but I have always wiſhed, as my dear wife doth know, and ſome of my friends, that it might be at Warwick, where ſundry of my anceſtors do lie, either ſo, or elſe where the Queen's Majeſty ſhall command; for, as it was, when it had life, a moſt faithful, true, loving ſervant unto her; ſo living, and ſo dead, let the body be at her gracious determination, if it ſhall ſo pleaſe her. Touching my bequeſts, they cannot be great, by reaſon my ability and power is little; for, I have not diſſembled with the world my eſtate, but have lived always above any living I had, (for which I am heartily ſorry,) leſt that, through my many debts from time to time, ſome men have taken loſs by me. My deſire therefore is, and I do charge my executors to have due conſideration, that, if any perſon ſhall juſtly, after my deceaſe, make ſuch complaint, that they ſhall be ſatisfied as far as it ſhall be found in any equity it is due unto them, with advantage to them. Beſides, I do here appoint my moſt dear well-beloved wife, the Counteſs of Leiceſter, to be my ſole executrix of this my laſt Will and Teſtament, and do require her, for all love between us, that ſhe will not only be content to take it upon her, but alſo to ſee it faithfully and carefully performed. And, albeit there may many imperfections be found with the making of this Will, for that I am no lawyer, nor have any counſel with me to place things in ſuch form as ſome are able, yet as my true meaning is, I truſt, to expreſs, that accordingly it may be interpreted, for I mean to make it as plain as I can. And, firſt of all, before and above all perſons it is my duty to remember my moſt dear and moſt gracious Sovereign, whoſe creature under God I have been, and who hath been a moſt bountiful and princely miſtreſs unto me, as well in advancing me to many honours as in maintaining me many ways by her goodneſs and liberality. And as my beſt recompence to her moſt excellent Majeſty can be, from ſo mean a man, chiefly in prayer to God, ſo, whilſt there was any breath in this body, I never failed it even as for mine own ſoul. And, as it was my greateſt joy in my life-time to ſerve her to her contentation, ſo it is not unwelcome to me, being the will of God, to die and end this life for her ſervice. And yet, albeit I am not able to make any piece of recompence of her great goodneſs, yet will I preſume to preſent unto her a token of an humble and faithful heart, as the leaſt that ever I can ſend her, and with this prayer withal, that it may pleaſe the Almighty God, not only to make her the oldeſt Prince that ever he gave over England, but to make her the godlieſt, the virtuouſeſt, and the worthieſt in his ſight, that ever he gave over any nation. That ſhe may indeed be a bleſſed mother and nurſe to this people and Church of England, which the Almighty God grant for his Chriſt's ſake. The token I do bequeath unto her Majeſty is the jewel with three great emeralds, with a fair large table-diamond in the midſt, without a foil, and ſet about with many diamonds without foil, and a rope of fair white pearl, to the number of ſix hundred, to hang the ſaid jewel at, which pearl and jewel was once propoſed for her Majeſty, againſt a coming to Wanſtead, but it muſt now thus be diſpoſed, which I do pray you, my dear wife, ſee performed, and delivered to ſome of thoſe whom I ſhall hereafter nominate and appoint to be my overſeers for her Majeſty.'

and

and fortunate favourite in public and in private life. He is said to have inherited the parts, as his brother the Earl of Warwick was the heir of his father's virtues (z). His ambition was great, but his abilities were greater. His dexterity as a courtier appeared as soon as he entered the Court; for, he obtained, under King Edward, more than any of his brethren in point of places and donations (a), and this addreſs continued through all his different ſituations. He complimented Queen Mary upon her acceſſion (b), though he went a priſoner out of her preſence; and, notwithſtanding he met, as might be expected, with a bad reception, yet he perſevered till he obtained not only a pardon but a place. He ſecured, however, ſo good an intereſt with her ſucceſſor, that he was declared a favourite as ſoon as ſhe was declared a Queen, and maintained the firſt place in her confidence as long as he lived. As he was deſirous of the graces of his Sovereign, ſo he ſtudied that the world ſhould take notice of his ſucceſs, which appeared early in the magnificence, beyond example, with which he diſcharged the office of Conſtable, or Prince of the Revels, in the Temple (c); and in this he perſiſted through his whole life, introducing creatures of his own, to elbow out any of whom the Queen took notice without his participation, and thereby kept himſelf always ſupreme (d). But, though he loved the ſtation of a favourite, he affected alſo that of a Miniſter (e). He would be firſt in all things, and he was ſo; in the Court, in the Camp, and in the Cabinet, at the ſame time; he changed his parties often, but never his views. He affected, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time, a great reſpect for the Spaniſh and Popiſh intereſt; adviſing her to give good words to King Philip, that ſhe might have leiſure to ſettle the affairs of Religion, and of her kingdom, upon a ſolid foundation; and thus he made his court at home, and preſerved his intereſt and intelligence abroad, which he uſed to the laſt, and is ſaid to have bequeathed it as a legacy to his ſon-in-law, Eſſex (f). The Papiſts and the Puritans ſeparating from the Church about the ſame time, he went over to the latter, the former having chiefs of their own, not to be removed but by proſecutions, which therefore was the way that he took (g). He profeſſed a kindneſs for Mary Queen of Scots, but it was to pleaſe Queen Elizabeth; and when he propoſed the Aſſociation afterwards, which proved the ruin of that Princeſs, it was ſtill to pleaſe, as well as to preſerve Elizabeth (b). His religious zeal was intirely governed by, or at leaſt had a conſtant connection with, his temporal intereſts, which induced him ſometimes to take meaſures that were not at all agreeable to thoſe Prelates that were at the head of the Church, who could never be brought to conſider him as a friend to themſelves or a well-wiſher to it (i) [Y]. As great a Politician as he was, he never choſe a back game, though

(z) Fuller's Worthies, Staffordſhire.

(a) See Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. c. xxviii.

(b) Stowe's Annals, Burnet, &c.

(c) Dugdale's Orig. Juridical.

(d) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(e) Scriniа Reclusa, p. 315.

(f) Character of the Earl of Eſſex, p. 35.

(g) Heylin's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 339.

(b) Camden, Naunton, Strype.

(i) Fragmenta Regalia, cap. iii.

[Y] *Or a well-wiſher to it.*] In this note, it is propoſed to give ſome account of the diſputes this potent Earl had with his Clergy, which have been tranſmitted to poſterity, with circumſtances not much to his honour. He exerciſed his office of Chancellor of Oxford with a very high hand; and, by preferring his dependants, ſecured himſelf a great intereſt there, attended, as might be expected, with much clamour (69). He differed with Archbiſhop Grindal; and, though he was much in the confidence of the Queen, brought him at firſt into diſcredit with her, and then into diſgrace: nay, to ſuch a degree was this perſecution carried, that the poor prelate deſired to lay down his archiepiſcopal dignity, and actually cauſed the inſtrument of his reſignation to be drawn; but his enemies, believing he was near his end, did not preſs the perfecting of it, and ſo he died, with his mitre on his head, of a broken heart (70). He kept his houſe long, and was reported to be blind. A certain author, no great friend to Biſhops, and whoſe teſtimony is the more credible when he ſpeaks kindly of them, ſhall give the hiſtory of this Archbiſhop's fall, and of the ſhare the Earl had in it. His words are theſe (71). 'There was an Italian Doctor (one Julio Bargarucci) that having a 'known wife alive, yet bearing himſelf on the countenance of ſome great Lord; did marry another gentlewoman. This good Archbiſhop, not winking at 'ſo public a ſcandal, convened him for that, and 'proceeded by eccleſiaſtical cenſures againſt him. Letters were preſently written from this great Lord to 'the Archbiſhop to ſtop the proceeding, to tolerate, 'to diſpenſe, or to mitigate, the cenſure, but the 'Biſhop remained ſtill unmoved and unmovable. 'When no ſubjects in treaty could be found to prevail, 'they intreat the Sovereign to write in the Doctor's behalf; but this John Baptiſt, not only perſiſted in 'his *non licet habere eam*, but, alſo, in a reverend faſhion, required an account of her Majeſty's faith, 'in that ſhe would ſeem to write in a matter, that, if 'ſhe were truly informed, was expreſſly againſt the 'word of God. The Queen, in a gracious diſpoſition, was purpoſed to have yielded an account in 'writing; but the great Lord not only diſſuaded her 'from that, as too great an indignity, but incenſed 'her exceedingly againſt him; whereupon he was 'privately commanded to keep his houſe, where, becauſe he was ſometimes troubled with ſore eyes, his 'friends gave out he was blind. In which, if he 'reſembled Tireſias the Soothſayer, he might alſo 'have been like him in another reſpect, by foretelling the fate of his perſecutor. For, that Lord, that 'ſo perſecuted this prelate about his phyſician's two 'wives, dying twenty years ſince, left two wives behind him, that can hardly be yet agreed which was 'his lawful wife.' A certain Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian acquaints us, that Dr. Julio's divorce was not the ſingle fault of this Archbiſhop: it ſeems he would not part with Lambeth-Houſe (72), to which the Earl had a mind. But the moſt remarkable circumſtance in this buſineſs is, that the Archbiſhop's want of vigilance in ſuppreſſing Puritans was the cauſe aſſigned for oppreſſing him, by that very nobleman who was known to be their principal protector, and to whom conſequently this could not give any real offence (73). Dr. Whitgift, ſucceeding in the Archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, ſucceeded alſo in a ſhort time to the diſlike of the Earl of Leiceſter, who having provided for Mr. Cartwright, the father and chief of the Puritans, not only by making him Maſter of his Hoſpital at Warwick, but alſo by granting him an annuity of fifty pounds a year out of his own eſtate, recommended him alſo to the Archbiſhop, with whom he had had many controverſies (74). Mr. Cartwright, on his ſide, behaved very reſpectfully, and his Grace not civilly only, but kindly; for which the Earl thanked him, as if the favour had been done to himſelf, by letter, intimating at the ſame time, what good things might be expected in caſe Mr. Cartwright was again allowed to preach; but the Archbiſhop would not be drawn into that, and gave his Lordſhip his reaſons in a long epiſtle (75). The

(69) Leiceſter's Commonwealth. Strype in his Annals, life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, &c. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon.

(70) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 580.

(71) Sir John Harrington's Brief View of the State of the Church of England, p. 5, 6.

(72) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Cent. xvi. B. ix. p. 163.

(73) See Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Grindall.

(74) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Cent. xvi. B. ix. p. 102.

(75) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift.

(k) Scrinia Reclusa, p. 315.

though nobody knew better how to play it when no other road to ſucceſs was left (k). It was this deſire of ſeeming as well as being powerful, that made him induſtrious to prevent any from being called to Council, before he knew what road they would take and what length they would run. He ſought and loved men of abilities, but took care to keep them at a diſtance from Court, and in ſtations where he might be uſeful to them and they to him. Thus he ſent Sir Henry Sidney, his brother-in-law, over to Ireland; placed the Earl of Pembroke in Wales; Lord Hunſdon at Berwick; and the Earl of Huntingdon at York, with the title of Preſident of the North (l). In a word, he reduced the management of domeſtic affairs into a regular ſyſtem, ſo that there was no part of the kingdom in which he had not an influence; and, in the counties round his caſtle of Kenelworth, almoſt every thing was dependent upon him, either through hope or fear (m) [Z]. When we conſider this attentively, we ſhall be the leſs ſurprized

(l) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(m) Strype's Naunton, &c.

The Earl was then ſilent upon this ſubject, but ſoon after addreſſed himſelf to the Archbiſhop upon another, which was to demand his opinion as to the lawfulneſs of aſſiſting the Dutch, on the ſcore of religion, againſt their Sovereign the King of Spain, which he knew could not fail of bringing him into great difficulties. The Archbiſhop in his anſwer, declined giving any ſuch opinion; for which conduct of his, he advanced many reaſons; but theſe would not ſatisfy, and he was at laſt obliged to pen a reſolution of what was ſtyled the Queen's caſe of conſcience in that matter; which he did ſo wiſely, that no exceptions could be taken (76). The Archbiſhop, and the Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh, being viſitors of St. John's College in Cambridge, the Earl of Leiceſter interpoſed, by his letters, to ſtay their proceedings, which occaſioned much trouble (77). In the mean time Mr. Cartwright broke out again, and the conduct of the Puritans gave the Queen ſo much trouble, that the Earl of Leiceſter, to preſerve the Queen's favour, thought fit to leave them. Dr. Heylin gives us this account of the matter (78). 'It is worth obſerving, that the Puritans 'were then moſt buſy, as well in ſetting up their diſcipline as in publiſhing their railing and ſeditious 'pamphlets, when the Spaniards were hovering on 'the ſeas with their terrible navy. At what time they 'conceived, and that not improbably, that the Queen 'and Council would be otherwiſe buſied than to take 'notice of their practices or ſuppreſs their doings, 'or, rather, that they durſt not call them into queſtion for their words and actions for fear of alienating 'the affections of ſo great a party as they had raiſed 'to themſelves; the ſerious apprehenſions of which 'miſchievous Counſels prevailed ſo far on Leiceſter 'and Walſingham, that they did abſolutely renounce 'any further interceſſion for them, profeſſing that they 'had been horribly abuſed with their hypocriſy, which 'poſſibly might happen better for themſelves than it 'did for the Church, the Earl of Leiceſter going to 'his own place before the end of this year, and Walſingham being gathered to his fathers within two 'years after.'

(76) That anſwer is extant in Strype.

(77) Strype's Annals, and Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift.

(78) Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians, lib. vii. p. 284, 285.

[Z] *Either through hope or fear.*] In the foregoing note, we have ſhewn what a ſtroke he had in the Church, and how little able the firſt ſubject of the Queen was to bear up againſt his diſpleaſure, though conceived upon none of the juſteſt motives. As to his power paramount in the ſtate, we may form ſome idea of that, from the obſervance that was ſhewn to him when he viſited Buxton Wells, by the Earl of Shrewſbury, one of the ancienteſt peers in the kingdom, and the ſenſe which Queen Elizabeth expreſſed of that Earl's behaviour in the following letter (79), written in her own hand, which contains, perhaps, as high a teſtimony of favour, as ever was expreſſed by a Sovereign to her ſubject.

(79) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 501.

'ELIZABETH,

'OUR very good couſin: being given to underſtand from our couſin of Leiceſter, how honourably he was, not only lately, received by you our couſin, and the Counteſs, at Chatſworth, and his dier, by you both diſcharged at Buxton's, but alſo preſented with a very rare preſent; we ſhould do him great wrong, holding him in that place of favour we do, in caſe we ſhould not let you underſtand, in how thankful ſort we accept the ſame at 'both your hands, not as done unto him, but unto 'our ownſelf: reputing him as another ourſelf. And, 'therefore, you may aſſure yourſelf, that we, taking 'upon us the debt, not as his, but our own, will 'take care, accordingly, to diſcharge in ſuch honourable ſort as, ſo well deſerving creditors as ye are, 'ſhall never have cauſe to think ye have met with an 'unthankful debtor, &c.'

It was but an ill return that he made to this nobleman, if it be true, as ſome have ſuggeſted, that he countenanced the ſtories told to his prejudice out of female jealouſy by his Counteſs, and thereby brought him into ſuſpicion with the Queen his miſtreſs (80), who had confided in him formerly, as much as in any man of his quality, the Earl of Leiceſter himſelf excepted, and had been ever faithfully ſerved.

(80) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

On what account this exorbitant indulgence was ſhewn to the Lord Leiceſter, by the Queen, is not for us to decide, which, even in thoſe days, was but indifferently underſtood. However, that her Majeſty was ſuppoſed to have had thoughts of marrying him, not libels and ſecret hiſtories, but even the graveſt and moſt authentic writers, affirm; and therefore we may attribute to this the ſingular condeſcenſions of the Queen on one ſide, and the lofty behaviour of the Earl on the other. Oſborne (81), who lived near her time, and was a paſſionate admirer of this Princeſs, makes no matter of doubt of it; and, having mentioned ſome of the reaſons ſaid to be uſed to give a colour to this marriage, he proceeds thus. 'Nor 'could Leiceſter render his bed vacant to a more 'thriving end, as he is rumoured to have done, than 'to make room for the greateſt and moſt fortunate 'Princeſs the ſun ever looked upon without bluſhing, 'in relation to oppreſſion or blood: this may be allowed upon the ſcore of probability, that his Lordſhip would hardly have been ſo rampant and uncivil, 'without ſome extraordinary invitation, as to draw a 'blow, in her preſence, from another Privy-Counſellor, 'more zealous poſſibly than diſcreet; to whom, when 'the Queen ſaid, 'He had forfeited his hand,' his 'reply was, 'He hoped ſhe would ſuſpend that judg'ment till the traitor had loſt his head, who did bet'ter deſerve it:' but this accident, bordering ſo near 'the confines of her honour, did admit no further 'debate, it being no other than ſhe, in a leſs 'ſprightly humour, might have given him herſelf, 'none being more flexible to all kind of jollities than 'the minds of Princes, when unbent from public 'affairs.'

(81) Traditional Memoirs on the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, § 19.

In all public commiſſions, the Earl of Leiceſter's name was ſure to be inſerted, and in moſt of them he took care to act; for, he was an excellent patron, and ſeldom failed any one that was attached to him. He miſſed no opportunity of gratifying himſelf and his followers, and frequently obtained grants of great value, ſuch as of timber, waſte lands, encroachments upon foreſts, and licences for importing and exporting certain goods, all of which he ſold for large ſums of money (82). He valued himſelf not a little upon the court paid him by the nobility; and ſuch as held themſelves of too high rank to make ſuch kind of ſubmiſſions, he frequently found means to reach, when they leaſt expected it. Such were his deeds at Court, in quality of Queen's favourite and chief miniſter, which he thought title ſufficient to command obedience from men of all ranks, as appears from his behaviour to the Lord Chief Juſtice Anderſon, as we have ſhewn

(82) Of theſe many inſtances might be given if we had room.

prized at his great weight in Parliament, where he had always a ſtrong party in the Houſe of Commons at his devotion; and, in the Houſe of Peers, he directed things at his will, having ſometimes ſix, eight, or even ten proxies in his own hands (*n*), there being at that time no order to reſtrain ſo exorbitant a privilege. If in any thing he overſhot himſelf, it was in accepting the command in the Low-Countries, to which thoſe who were leaſt inclined to him, were moſt ready in giving their approbation (*o*), and in his abſence, brought Sir Chriſtopher Hatton into high credit, with which he was much offended (*p*). It is certain his dignity did not anſwer his expectation, but ſerved rather to hurt his fortune, and to impair his power, both which however he would have recovered if he had lived; for he perfectly underſtood the Queen's temper, and had a great aſcendency over it. In his private life he affected a wonderful regularity, was very circumſpect in his ſpeeches, and wrote as well as any man of his time (*q*). It was a ſaying of his, that a great man ought to know every thing, and be able to do every thing by himſelf, or by his inſtruments; which he made good in his practice. But with reſpect to men of ordinary rank, whom he employed and admitted to great familiarities, their favour was ſeldom of any long date; but he found ways and means to diſpoſe of them, either in diſtant employments, or otherwiſe, ſo that when he thought proper to diſpenſe with their ſervices, they might be able to do him no hurt (*r*). He carried his pretences to piety very high, though to gratify his paſſions, he fell into vices that could not be concealed; and though no man talked more of moderation and juſtice, yet he was guilty of ſome acts of oppreſſion that were both violent and mean [*AA*]. It is

(*n*) D'Ewes's Journals of Parliament, p. 314.

(*o*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 453.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 583.

(*q*) Many of theſe are preſerved in the Cabala, Strype's Annals, Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa.

(*r*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 519.

in another place (83). For all this, his Lordſhip was not always a courtier: he could ſometimes act the patriot too, and that with equal life and ſpirit, as when he declared in Parliament, that a huſband ſhould be impoſed upon the Queen, or that ſhe ſhould be obliged to nominate a ſucceſſor for the ſecurity of the State (84). But it has been doubted whether he was in earneſt in that bold declaration, or whether he made it with a view to diſcover what other great peers were of this ſentiment, and then to lead them, under colour of zeal for their country, into practices which might render them obnoxious to the reſentment of the crown (85).

(83) See the article ANDERSON (Sir EDMUND).

(84) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 123, 124.

(85) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

[*AA*] *That were both violent and mean.*] We are informed by Camden (86), that when the Lord Paget retired beyond the ſeas, he complained that he was forced to take this ſtep for his own preſervation, becauſe, through the arts of Leiceſter and Walſingham, he found the Queen's favour entirely eſtranged from him, which might poſſibly paſs for a calumny, if ſoon after, upon his being attainted in Parliament, the Earl of Leiceſter had not procured a grant to himſelf of Paget, afterwards ſtyled Eſſex-Houſe. We are told by Sir Robert Atkyns (87), that this Earl cauſed ſome of his agents to apply themſelves to the Lord Berkeley, for a ſight of his family evidences, that the Earl might be the better able to ſhew his allegiance to that noble houſe, ſome of which they took away, and then a title being ſet up by the Earl of Leiceſter, to part of Lord Berkeley's lands, he loſt them for want of thoſe evidences to ſupport his right. We have mentioned in another part of this work, the caſe of Mr. Arden, of Park-Hall in Warwickſhire (88), who was brought to an untimely end, for deſpiſing that low method of making court to this great man, to which ſome of his neighbours condeſcended, which was, by wearing his livery. Sir William Dugdale acquaints us with the injury done to one Mr. Robinſon of Warwickſhire, who by ſome ſtrange methods loſt his eſtate, which was afterwards found in this great Earl's poſſeſſion (89). But, in another place we are informed, that this Robinſon was the ſon of a gentleman killed in the Queen's ſervice at Newhaven, under the Earl of Warwick, that he was bred up in Leiceſter's ſervice, in which he ſpent a great deal of money, and thereby entangled his eſtate; that upon this, ſuits grew between him and the uſurers, who, at the bottom, were but this Lord's inſtruments, and in an attempt of theirs to get poſſeſſion, a man was killed by Robinſon, or ſome of his party in their own defence, for which he was impriſoned, tried, and convicted, but loſt only his *eſtate* (90); which, with other lands, was afterwards conveyed to the Queen in exchange, and ſo all farther diſputes prevented. But the Earl's power and influence, great as they were, met now and then with a check, and particularly in the caſe of Sir John Packington, to whom, having written to know the titles of the Biſhop and Dean of Worceſter to certain lands, the honeſt Knight fairly ſent him word, that if he meant to make any uſe of him to the prejudice of the Church, he had miſtaken his man (91). We have carried theſe memoirs to an unuſual length, for which the nature of them muſt be our excuſe, ſince the article is certainly of great importance, and would have afforded matter for many more ſheets, if we had not ſtudied brevity, as far as was conſiſtent with perſpicuity. C.

(86) Camden. Annals, Eliz. p. 411.

(87) Hiſt. of Glouceſterſhire, p. 268.

(88) See the article ARDEN (EDWARD).

(89) Warwickſhire, p. 1129.

(90) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(91) Life and Actions of Sir John Packington, MS.

*** [The Thomas, Earl of Suſſex, who is mentioned in an early part of the article as having ſhewn himſelf averſe to Leiceſter's counſels, and as having ſtrongly promoted the overture of a marriage between Queen Elizabeth and the Arch-duke, Charles of Auſtria, has not, till lately, been ſo well known as he deſerves. But we have now the ſatisfaction of being able to give an account of him from Mr. Lodge's valuable Illuſtrations of Britiſh Hiſtory. This nobleman was the eldeſt ſon of Henry Ratcliffe, the ſecond Earl of Suſſex, by Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Thomas Howard, ſecond Duke of Norfolk. "His firſt "public ſervice was in an honourable embaſſy to the "Emperor Charles the Fifth, to treat of the projected "marriage of Queen Mary to Philip, which he afterwards ratified with the latter in Spain. Upon his "return he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, "and Chief Juſtice of the Foreſts, north of Trent. "The Order of the Garter, and the office of Captain "of the Penſioners, were likewiſe conferred on him "in that reign, a little before the concluſion of which "he ſucceeded to his father's honours. Elizabeth "continued him for a while in the poſt of Lord Deputy, and recalled him to aſſume that of the Preſident of the North, a ſituation rendered infinately "difficult by the delicacy of her affairs with Scotland, "and the rebellious ſpirit of the border counties. "The latter, however, was ſubdued by his prudence "and bravery in 1569; and the aſſiduity and acuteneſs with which he ſtudied the former, will appear "from his own pen. The unfortunate affair of the "Duke of Norfolk, to whom he was moſt firmly attached, fell out in the courſe of that year, and "would have ended happily and honourably if the "Duke had followed his advice. That nobleman's "laſt requeſt was, that his beſt george, chain, and "garter, might be given to my Lord of Suſſex. He "was the prime negotiator in thoſe two famous treaties of marriage with the Arch-duke Charles, and "the Duke of Alençon, Elizabeth's real intentions in "which have been ſo frequently the ſubject of hiſtorical diſquiſition. In 1572, he retired from the "ſeverer labours of the public ſervice, in which he "had waſted his health, to the honourable office of

is wonderful, that, with these great inequalities in his behaviour, he should be able to maintain himself, and under such a reign, in the possession of absolute power, for such a number

" Lord Chamberlain, and the duties of a Cabinet " Minister; and died, at his house in Bermondsey, " June 9, 1583, leaving little to his heirs but the " bright example of a character truly noble. The " Earl of Sussex was twice married: first, to Eliz- " abeth, daughter of Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of " Southampton, by whom he had two sons, Henry " and Thomas, who died young: secondly, to Fran- " ces, daughter of Sir William Sydney, afterwards " the celebrated foundress of Sydney-Sussex College " in Cambridge; by whom, having no children, " he was succeeded by Henry, his next bro- " ther (92)."

(92) Lodge's Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners, vol. I. p. 367, 368. Note.

The character, which Mr. Lodge has drawn of the Earl of Sussex, is as follows: " This great man's con- " duct united all the sp'endid qualities of those emi- " nent persons who jointly rendered Elizabeth's court " an object of admiration to Europe, and was per- " fectly free from their faults. Wise and loyal as " Burghley, without his blind attachment to the " Monarch; vigilant as Walsingham, but disdaining " his low cunning; magnificent as Leicester, but in- " capable of hypocrisy; and brave as Raleigh, with " the piety of a primitive Christian; he seemed above " the common objects of human ambition, and wanted, " if the expression may be allowed, those dark shades " of character which make men the heroes of history. " Hence it is, probably, that our writers have be- " stowed so little attention on this admirable person, " who is but slightly mentioned in most historical " collections, unless with regard to his disputes with " Leicester, whom he hated almost to a fault." Mr. Lodge justly esteems himself peculiarly fortunate in having been the instrument of disclosing the Earl of Sussex's letters to the public. They form a very valuable part of the " Historical Illustrations," and, a small number excepted, are the only ones to be met with in print. Mr. Lodge trusts that they will acquit him of extravagance in the view he has given of the Earl's character (93).

(93) Ibid.

In this opinion we entirely concur. The Earl of Sussex's letters display both his integrity and ability in a very striking light, and they are written in a clear and manly style. Four of those letters are particularly curious; being two to the Queen, on the treaty of marriage with the Arch-duke of Austria; one to Sir William Cecil, on the state of parties in Scotland; and one to her Majesty concerning the Duke of Alençon. The letter on the affairs of Scotland is considered by Mr. Lodge as an inestimable curiosity (94). Farther light will be thrown on the Earl of Sussex's character, by transcribing the manly language in which he complains that his services were neglected, and declares his purpose of retiring to private life. It is in a letter to Sir William Cecil. " I was firste a Lieuten'te; " I was after little better than a Marshal; I had then " nothing left to me but to direct hanging matters, " (in the meane tyme all was dispos'd that was wth in " my comission,) and nowe I ame offered to be " made a Shreif's Bayly to deliver over possessions. " Blame me not, good Mr. Secretarie, though my " pen utter somewhat of that swell in my stomake, " for I see I ame kepte but for a brome, and when I " have done my office to be throwen out of the dore. " I ame the first nobel man hathe been thus used. " Trewe service deserveth honor and credite, and not " reproche and open defaming; but, seeing the one " is ever delivered to me in the stede of the other, I " must leave to serve, or lose my honor; wth, being " continewed so long in my howse, I wolde be lothe " shoolde take blemishe wth me. These matters I " knowe procede not from lacke of good and honor- " able meaning in the Q' mate towards me, nor from " lacke of dewte' and trewthe in me towards her, " which grevethe me the more; and, therefore, seing " I shall be still a camelyon, and yelde no other shewe " then as it shall please others to give the couller, I " will content my self to live a private lyfe. God " send her Mate others that meane as well as I have " done; and so I comitt you to th' Almightie (95)." From the next letter it appears that the Queen had too much wisdom to part with so faithful a counsellor and servant. The Earl of Sussex had a high regard and esteem for Lord Burghley. In one of his letters, dated June 28, 1580, he expresses himself, to that great statesman, in the following terms: " The trewe " fere of God wch yor actyons have alwayes shewed " to be in yor harte, the grete and deepe care wch you " have always had for the honor and salfty of the Q'. " Mat's moste worthy p'son; the co'tinuall troubell " wch you have of long tyme taken for the benefytyng " of the com'on-welthe; and the upryght course wch " ye have alwaye's taken, respectyng the mattr and " not the p'son, in all causes; (wch be the necessary " trusts of him that ferethe God trewly, s'rveth his " Soverayne faythfully, and lovethe his countrey " derely) have tyed me to yor L. in that knotte wch " no worldly fraylty can break; and, therfor, I wyll " never forbere to runne any fortune that may s'rve " you, and further your godly actyons. And so, my " good L. forberyng to entrobell you wth words, I " end; and wysh unto you as to my self, and better, " yf I may (96)."

(94) Illustrations of British History, vol. II. p. 1—6.

(95) Ibid. p. 35. The letter was written in 1569.

(96) Illustrations, ubi supra, p. 229.

Our predecessor, in note D, has laid too much stress upon Aubrey's Narrative, which he considers as carrying in it strong pretences to absolute certainty. But the fact is, that Aubrey's story is manifestly copied from " Leicester's Commonwealth." This will appear by the many correspondent passages. Aubrey has managed the matter so clumsily, as to retain words which betray the plagiarism; such as " fetch the fame at Oxford." Nothing in the narrative seems to be Aubrey's own, excepting the sentence that begins, " yet the inhabitants will tell you, &c.;" which has much the air of a circumstantiated idle tale. Stories of a similar nature, with regard to other events, may be met with in every county in Britain (97).

(97) From the remarks of a valuable correspondent.

In whatever manner the death of Lord Robert Dudley's Lady took place, it is certain, that, on his becoming a widower, his ambition raised him to the hopes of marrying the Queen; and that there was a general opinion, both at home and abroad, of her Majesty's inclination to the match. Indeed, it was not disclaimed by Elizabeth herself. The truth of these facts is rendered apparent from a very curious letter, written, on the 30th of November, 1560, by Mr. Jones to Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, Ambassador in France, and published by Lord Hardwicke, in his State Papers (98).

(98) Miscellaneous State Papers, vol. I. p. 163—169.

Concerning the Duke of Norfolk's suit to the Queen of Scots, there is a letter, in cypher, for the most part, from Throgmorton to the Secretary Maitland, dated July the 20th, 1569, which originally belonged to Archbishop Spotiswood, and was lately in the possession of Sir Alexander Dick, Baronet. A copy of this letter, which is not a little curious, has been transmitted to us, in a series of observations on Leicester's article, by the correspondent whom we have so often had occasion to mention with gratitude and esteem. But, upon reflection, we think that the communication will more proprerly appear when we come to the Duke of Norfolk's life.

We do not entirely agree with our ingenious predecessor in his assertion, that the Earl of Leicester's entertainment of the Queen, for ten days, was conducted with the greatest elegance as well as magnificence. Magnificence there was in it in a high degree; but of elegance, it was assuredly defective in various respects. The savage man with his satyrs, the bear-baitings, the Italian tumblers, the country bride-ale, the morrice-dancing, and the Coventry men's Hock's Tuesday's play, can scarcely be called elegant diversions. In the whole, there was ingenuity and splendour, mixed with a remainder of barbarous manners. The mythological and allegorical taste of the times, in the entertainments given to Elizabeth, is well displayed by Mr. Warton, in his history of English Poetry. " Every thing was tinctured with ancient " history and mythology.—When the Queen paraded " through a country town, almost every pageant was a " pantheon. When she paid a visit at the house of " any of her nobility, at entering the hall she was

number of years as he did, and that too in ſpite both of open and ſecret oppoſition; which fully juſtifies an obſervation that has been made upon his conduct, viz. "That "his

"ſalured by the penates, and conducted to her Privy-"Chamber by Mercury. Even the paſtry-cooks were "expert mythologiſts. At dinner, ſelect transforma-"tions of Ovid's Metamorphoſes were exhibited in "confectionary: and the ſplendid iceing of an im-"menſe hiſtoric plumb-cake, was emboſſed with a "delicious baſſo relievo of the deſtruction of Troy. "In the afternoon, when ſhe condeſcended to walk "in the garden, the lake was covered with tritons "and nereids: the pages of the family were con-"verted into wood-nymphs, who peeped from every "bower: and the footmen gamboled over the lawns "in the figure of ſatyrs.—The next morning, after "ſleeping in a room hung with tapeſtry of the voyage "of Eneas, when her Majeſty hunted in the park, "ſhe was met by Diana, who, pronouncing our royal "prude to be the brighteſt paragon of unſpotted chaſ-"tity, invited her to groves, free from the intruſions "of Acteon —When ſhe rode through the ſtreets of "the city of Norwich, Cupid, at the command of "the Mayor and Aldermen, advancing from a groupe "of gods who had left Olympus to grace the proceſ-"ſion, gave her a golden arrow, the moſt effective "weapon of his well-furniſhed quiver, which, under "the influence of ſuch irreſiſtible charms, was ſure "to wound the moſt obdurate heart. "A gift," "ſays honeſt Hollinſhed, "which her Majeſty, now "verging to her fiftieth year, received very thank-"fullie." In one of the fulſome interludes at Court, "where ſhe was preſent, the ſinging-boys of her "chapel preſented the ſtory of the three rival god-"deſſes on Mount Ida, to which her Majeſty was "ingeniouſly added as a fourth: and Paris was ar-"raigned in form for adjudging the golden apple to "Venus, which was due to the Queen alone (99)."

(99) Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, vol. III. p. 492—494.

Wicked as Leiceſter was, the inſinuations againſt him in note H, appear to be groundleſs. In our additions to the article of Walter, Earl of Eſſex, we have ſhewn that the death of that nobleman is fully accounted for without having recourſe to the ſuſpicion of poiſon. We have ſhewn, likewiſe, that the marriage of Leiceſter with the Counteſs of Eſſex did not take place in the haſty and indecent manner which is often repreſented. In fact, they were not married until two years (one day excepted) after Eſſex's deceaſe. In the concluding remark of note I, as well as in other parts of the article, Dr. Campbell ſeems to have departed from his uſual biographical character, and to have been as ready to believe things to the prejudice of the Earl of Leiceſter, as he was in the preceding lives, to palliate the conduct of the Dudleys.

The ſuppoſed title of the Earl of Huntingdon to the crown, whoſe deſcent, from the Duke of Clarence, is deſcribed in note K, was much talked of in Elizabeth's reign. It appears, ſo early as 1563, that he was rendered uneaſy on this account, and received marks of diſpleaſure from the Queen, whoſe extreme jealouſy, about her ſucceſſion, is well known. In Lord Hardwicke's State Papers, there is a curious letter relative to this ſubject, written by the Earl of Huntingdon to the Earl of Leiceſter. As it throws ſome light on Elizabeth's diſpoſition, we ſhall tranſcribe it.

"My honourable good Lord,

"I am ſorry that my preſent diſeaſe is ſuch as "there are left me but theſe two remedies, either to "ſwallow up thoſe bitter pills, lately received, or to "make you a partner of my griefs, thereby ſome-"thing to eaſe a wounded heart. At my wife's laſt "being at Court, to do her duty as became her, it "pleaſed her Majeſty to give her a privy nippe, eſ-"pecially concerning myſelf, whereby I perceive ſhe "has ſome jealous conceit of me, and, as I can ima-"gine, of late digeſted. How far I have been al-"ways from conceiting any greatneſs of myſelf, nay, "how ready I have been always to ſhun applauſes, "both by my continual low ſail, and my carriage, I "do aſſure myſelf, is beſt known to your Lordſhip, "and the reſt of my neareſt friends; if not, mine "own conſcience ſhall beſt clear me from any ſuch "folly. Alas, what could I hope to effect, in the "greateſt hopes I might imagine to have in the ob-"taining the leaſt likelihood of that height? Will a "whole Commonwealth deprive themſelves of ſo "many bleſſings preſently enjoyed, for a future hope, "uncertain, in favour of one inferior to many others, "both in degree, and any princely quality? Will "they forſake a Prince, both for excellent qualities, "and rare virtues of nature, and of great hopes of an "ineſtimable bleſſing by her princely iſſue, in reaſon "of her youth, for a poor ſubject in years, and with-"out any great hope of iſſue? No, no; I cannot be "perſuaded they would, if I ſhould be ſo fooliſhly "wicked to deſire it, or that any mind were ſo am-"bitiouſly inclined. I hope her Majeſty will be per-"ſuaded of better things in me, and caſt this conceit "behind her: and that a fooliſh book, fooliſhly writ-"ten (100), ſhall not be able to poſſeſs her princely "inclination, with ſo bad a conceit of her faithful "ſervant, who deſires not to live, but to ſee her "happy. What grief it hath congealed within my "poor heart (but ever true) let your lordſhip judge, "whoſe prince's favour was always more dear unto "me, than all other worldly faculties whatſoever. "This I am bold to make known to your Lordſhip "humbly deſiring the ſame, when you ſee your op-"portunity, to frame a new heart in her Majeſty's "princely breaſt, whoſe power, I know, is not little "in effecting of far greater matters than this; for "never ſhall there be a truer heart in any ſubject, "than I will carry to her Majeſty, ſo long as I "breathe. And ſo I reſt

"Your poor ſervant and brother,

*April*, 1563. "H. HUNTINGDON (101)."

(100) John Hales's, in which ſome conſiderable perſons were concerned.

(101) Miſcellaneous State Papers, vol. I. p. 187, 188.

From a ſimilar jealouſy, Queen Elizabeth, in 1561, had impriſoned the Lady Catherine Grey, the daughter of the Ducheſs of Suffolk, and, as ſuch, nearly related to Henry the Eighth (102).

(102) Ibid. p. 177.

With regard to Anthony Wood's aſſertion, in note L, that the author of "Leiceſter's Commonwealth" had moſt of his materials for the compoſition of it from Sir William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, we cannot help conſidering it as totally groundleſs. He was too wiſe and circumſpect a man to engage in ſuch a hazardous buſineſs. Indeed, it is utterly incredible that he ſhould connect himſelf, in the leaſt degree, with Parſons the jeſuit, or any writer of that kind; or that he ſhould furniſh materials for a libel, which he muſt know would be moſt odious to his Sovereign; that Sovereign to whom he was ſo firmly and loyally attached.

The Earl of Leiceſter's conduct in the Low Countries is ſufficiently detailed in the text, and in our general hiſtories. If any of our readers wiſh to ſee a recent and well-written account of it, they may have recourſe to Watſon's Hiſtory of Philip the Second, King of Spain. It may be obſerved, by the way, that Leiceſter appears to have had more than one project with relation to the States of Holland. The Maſter of Gray, in a letter to Mr. Archibald Douglas, dated November the 10th, 1586, writes thus: "My Lord "Leiceſter has ſent, at divers times, an offer of the "propriety of the Low Countries to the King's Ma-"jeſty (of Scotland);" and, now of late, and craves an "anſwer (103)." Sir Robert Naunton obſerves, concerning Leiceſter's exploits in Holland, that his device might have been without prejudice to the great Cæſar, *Veni*, *Vidi*, *Redivi* (104). Indeed, his character as a warrior does not appear to have been of the firſt order. In this reſpect he was greatly inferior to his father.

(103) Murdin's State Papers, p. 572.

(104) From our correſpondent.

It is juſtly remarked, that the latter, in note R, is a maſter-piece in its kind. Several of the ſtateſmen of Queen Elizabeth's reign, excelled in the propriety, freedom, and ſtrength of their ſtyle. We have before had occaſion to obſerve, that this was the caſe with regard to Walter and Robert Devereux, Earls of Eſſex; and Leiceſter may be added to the number. Indeed public men may ſometimes be more likely to excel in a vigorous

(s) Scrinia Reclusa, p. 317.

" his depth was not fathomable in those days, or his policy to be reached in these (s)." In a word, the family of Dudley, in three descents, furnished men of such capacities, as our histories scarcely record the like. The grandfather, the father, and the son, were all great men; but the last the greatest and most fortunate of the three, if any man can be so reputed, whom flattery itself would be ashamed to style good. This Earl had by his last Countess, Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knolles, Knight of the Garter, and widow of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, an only son Robert, Baron of Denbigh,

a vigorous and elegant manner of composition than mere scholars. The latter, being confined to their closets, are in danger of contracting a formality and stiffness of style: and this was particularly the state of things, when the learned by profession did not so generally mix with the world as is customary at present. But those who are engaged in the grand scenes of business, who have their talents called into exercise by frequent and striking emergencies, and who follow the dictates of their immediate feelings, provided they have had a tolerable education, acquire an ease, and a variety of expression, which the others cannot readily attain (105).

(105) Introduction to the New Annual Register for 1791, p. xx.

Without the least intention of vindicating or palliating the character of the Earl of Leicester, we cannot but hesitate in admitting the full truth of some of the circumstances related in note U. Charges of so atrocious a nature ought to be founded on stronger evidences than hearsays and surmizes. At the same time, it must be acknowledged, that there was something very suspicious and hateful in the Earl's general conduct, when it was so readily credited, by the age in which he lived, that he did not scruple to have recourse to poison on various occasions.

When we consider the universal testimony of historians to the badness of Leicester's character, it is impossible to peruse the religious expressions, and solemn professions, of his last will, without some degree of astonishment. Either he was more sincere in certain respects than is commonly imagined, or else he was one of the most abominable hypocrites that ever existed. If the language he used was solely the language of art, it is justly observed in the text, that it is scarcely to be distinguished from that of nature. The probable solution of the difficulty is, that he united piety (false in its nature, but real in its feelings,) with practical wickedness: nor have the examples of such an union been very frequent in the history of mankind.

Since the first edition of the Biographia, many of the Earl of Leicester's letters, which had hitherto existed only in manuscript, have appeared in different publications. There are five in Murdin's State Papers, one of which, dated June the 20th, 1572, was written to Lord Lincoln, then Ambassador in France, directing him to make diligent enquiry into the disposition of the Duke of Alençon, but especially to send an account of his person. The other four were addressed in the same year, to Lord Burleigh, and principally relate to Sir Henry Piercy and the State of Scotland (106).

(106) Murdin's State Papers, p. 19. p. 228—233.

In the Earl of Hardwicke's State Papers, one department (No. XVIII) consists of letters to and from Lord Leicester, in the Low Countries. This correspondence throws peculiar light on the extreme offence which Queen Elizabeth took at Leicester's accepting, without her consent, the office of Governor and Captain General of those countries; and displays the great pains that were taken by the chief statesmen of the time, to reconcile her Majesty to the conduct of her favourite. It is remarkable, that Lord Burleigh, who is usually represented as the political rival of Leicester, exerted himself with particular zeal on this occasion. His own words will best explain his behaviour. " I, in the presence of Mr. Secretary, used " some boldness with her Majesty, and protested to " her as a counsellor, I could not forbear to let her " know, that this course that she held against your " Lordship, was like to endanger her, in honour, " surety, and profit; and that, if she continued the " same, I prayed her Majesty that I might be dis- " charged of the place I held, and both afore God and " men, be free from the shame and peril that I saw " could not be avoided. I used, boldly, such bold " language in this matter, as I found her doubtful " whether to charge me with presumption, which " partly she did, or with some astonishment of my " round speech, which, truly, was no other than my " conscience did move me, even *in amaritudine* " *animæ*." Lord Hardwicke remarks, that this resolute friendly behaviour of the old Treasurer towards his rival, Leicester, during the Queen's displeasure, does him great honour, and that it is strange that Camden passes it over in silence. " But, indeed," adds his Lordship, " that historian's omissions are un- " pardonable, considering the lights he had." Concerning Leicester, Lord Hardwicke observes, that his character is strongly marked in his letters upon the subject before us. They shew him to have been passionate and vindictive, but, at the same time, to have possessed more considerable talents for business than are allowed him by Camden and other historians. One of his letters to Davison is extremely petulant, and strongly displays the haughty temper of the man. Nor did Davison deserve this treatment; for he evidently appears to have acted with great zeal in explaining and vindicating to the Queen, Leicester's motives for accepting the dignity of Governor General of the Low Countries. Among others of his letters in Lord Hardwicke's collection, are three which relate to a private treaty with Spain (107).

(107) Miscellaneous State Papers, vol. I. p. 297—323. Ibid. p. 340—356.

Mr. Lodge has recently published, in his " Illus- " trations of British History," an additional number of the Earl of Leicester's original letters. As to enter into a particular detail of them would extend our article to an undue length, it may be sufficient to refer to them in general, and to observe, that they contribute to a farther elucidation of the Earl's disposition and abilities.

Mr. Lodge's character of the Earl of Leicester is as follows: " He was distinguished by the elegance of " his manners, and the profuseness of his expences; " and affected a great degree of piety, and a strict " purity of conduct. To these plausible appear- " ances, though unpossessed of either wisdom or vir- " tue, he owed the maintenance of his power to the " last, against a strong party at Court, and even " against the Queen herself, who would gladly have " pulled him down when those motives, which, doubt- " less, produced her first favours to him, had lost " their force. The most material circumstances of " his political history, never appeared to public view; " for he was the darkest character of his time, and " delighted in deriving the success of his schemes " from the operation of remote causes, and the agency " of obscure instruments. It is highly probable that " the Queen of Scots, and the Duke of Norfolk, " were sacrificed to this crooked sort of policy; a con- " jecture which tends to wipe out somewhat, though, " alas! but little of the bloody stain, which those " enormities have left on Elizabeth's memory (108)."

(108) Ibid. vol. I. p. 302, Note.

Notwithstanding the elaborate and valuable article of our ingenious predecessor, and the farther information that may be derived concerning Leicester from subsequent writers, there still hangs a cloud on some parts of his conduct, which is probably now for ever incapable of being removed. This is particularly the case with regard to the murders ascribed to him, which rather rest upon the grounds of strong and reasonable suspicion, than the basis of direct and positive evidence. Perhaps, likewise, too indiscriminate a credit has been given to the tract, entituled, " Leicester's " Commonwealth." On the whole, however, he must stand upon record as having been a very wicked man; and it is a poor compensation for this character, to be able to say, that, upon enquiry, his abilities appear to have been of a higher nature than has commonly been apprehended.] K.

who died in his childhood, July 15, 1584, for whom an altar-monument was erected by that of his father at Warwick, with his effigies thereon, and a very pompous inſcription to his memory (*t*). As for Lettice, Counteſs of Leiceſter, ſhe ſurvived nearly forty-ſix years after the deceaſe of the Earl, by whom an ample proviſion was made for her, with the higheſt teſtimony of affection, in his will, of which ſhe was appointed executrix; and that ſhe loſt no time in proving it appears by the date, September 6, 1588, when her Lord had not been two days dead (*u*). Her Ladyſhip was, likewiſe, very expeditious in a third marriage with Sir Chriſtopher Blount, a gentleman who had great dependance upon her ſon, the Earl of Eſſex, and whoſe tender friendſhip for him afterwards coſt him his life (*w*). It does not appear, that, during the remaining part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the Counteſs-Dowager of Eſſex had any great intereſt, though her ſon ſucceeded her huſband in the Queen's favour. On the contrary, we are told, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty the Earl of Eſſex prevailed upon the Queen to admit the Counteſs his mother to her royal preſence, and this too after repeated diſappointments; neither could he afterwards prevail in the ſame ſuit, though he urged it with much warmth (*x*), We need not wonder, therefore, that her ſolicitations could avail him little in his laſt misfortunes, though it is very certain that ſhe did for him all that was in her power. But in the reign of King James ſhe had great credit at Court, at leaſt for ſome time, as will be ſeen elſewhere. The laſt years of her life were ſpent in retirement in the country, where ſhe lived hoſpitably and charitably till her deceaſe, which happened December the 25th, 1634 (*y*). She was buried with great funeral pomp, in the ſame tomb with her ſecond huſband, in the church at Warwick; and on the right hand of his monument there is a large copy of verſes, in two columns, on a tablet, to her honour, ſubſcribed Gervaſe Clifton (*z*).

(*t*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 450.

(*u*) Ex Regiſt. vocat. Leceſter, qu. 1, in Cur. Prerog. Cantuar.

(*w*) See the article DEVEREUX (ROBERT) Earl of Eſſex.

(*x*) Sidney State-papers, Vol. II. p. 93.

(*y*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 448.

(*z*) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

DUDLEY (Sir ROBERT), as he was here called, and, as he was ſtyled abroad, Earl of Warwick, and Duke of Northumberland. He was ſon of Robert Earl of Leiceſter, by the Lady Douglas Sheffield, and was born at Sheen in Surrey in 1573, where, for reaſons that we have ſeen in the former article, he was very carefully concealed, as well to prevent the Queen's knowledge of the Earl's engagements with his mother, as to hide it from the Counteſs of Eſſex, to whom he was then contracted, if not married (*a*). At the time of his birth, however, and ſome time after, he was conſidered as the Earl of Leiceſter's lawful ſon, by Ambroſe Earl of Warwick, and others of his neareſt relations; particularly by Sir Thomas Butler and his ſon, who, as the Earl affirms in his will, intended to leave his ſon Robert their eſtate. When he was about five years of age, his father, the Earl of Leiceſter, married Lettice, Counteſs-Dowager of Eſſex, openly, and thereupon his ſon Robert was no longer treated as his lawful child, but as his natural iſſue by the Lady Douglas Sheffield. Out of her hands the Earl was very deſirous of getting him, in order to put him under the care of Sir Edward Horſey, Knight, Governor of the Iſle of Wight (*b*), which ſome have imagined was with a ſiniſter view, not againſt the boy, for whom Leiceſter had ever the greateſt tenderneſs, but with a thought of bringing him upon the ſtage at ſome proper time, as his natural ſon by another Lady. At that time, however, he failed of his purpoſe; but not long after it ſeems he prevailed, and got the child into his hands. He ſent him then to ſchool at Offington in Suſſex in 1583, where he was under the care of one Owen Jones, to whom, upon a certain occaſion, the Earl expreſſed himſelf to this purpoſe (*c*): 'Owen, thou knoweſt that Robin, my boy, is my lawful ſon; and as I do, 'and have charged thee, to keep it ſecret, ſo I charge thee not to forget it; and there-'fore ſee thou be careful of him.' There he received the firſt rudiments of literature, and gave very extraordinary proofs of the wonderful pregnancy of his parts, which were not only equal, but even ſuperior, to thoſe of any of his family. After remaining four years in this private ſchool, he was removed, in 1587, to the Univerſity of Oxford, and there entered of Chriſt-Church, by the ſtyle of *Comitis filius*, i. e. an Earl's ſon, and placed under the care of Mr. Thomas Chaloner, afterwards Sir Thomas Chaloner, and tutor to Prince Henry (*d*). In about a year after he came to the Univerſity, and when he was about the age of fifteen, his father died, leaving him, after the deceaſe of his uncle Ambroſe, Earl of Warwick, his noble caſtle of Kenelworth, the lordſhips of Denbigh and Chirk, and the bulk of his eſtate, which, before he was of age, he in a great meaſure enjoyed, notwithſtanding the enmity borne him by the Counteſs-Dowager of Leiceſter. He was at this time looked upon, and very deſervedly, as one of the fineſt gentlemen in England; in his perſon tall, well-ſhaped, having a freſh and fine complexion, but red-haired; learned beyond his age, more eſpecially in the Mathematicks; and very expert in his exerciſes, and particularly in riding the great horſe, in which he was allowed to excel any man of his time (*e*). With theſe accompliſhments, and a great fortune, it is no wonder that he was every where well received, and particularly at Court, more eſpecially as he was of a frank and open diſpoſition, very generous and friendly, and, though few were ſo well verſed in books, much addicted

(*a*) See the article of DEVEREUX (WALTER) Earl of Eſſex.

(*b*) From the poſitions taken in the Star-Chamber.

(*c*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 223.

(*d*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 275.

(*e*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 225.

dicted to an active life. His genius prompted him to great exploits; and, having a particular turn to Navigation and discoveries, he resolved, soon after he was of age, to make a voyage into the South Seas at his own expence, in hopes of acquiring as great fame thereby as the famous Thomas Cavendish of Trimley, Esq; his dear and intimate acquaintance, whose sister he married. But, after a great deal of pains taken and much money spent, the government would not suffer him to proceed, looking upon it as a dangerous voyage, in which they thought it not fit to hazard the lives of the Queen's subjects (*f*). Mr. Dudley was not to be cured of his desire of going to sea even by this disappointment, and therefore fitted out a small squadron for the river Oroonoque, and the coasts adjacent, of which he took the command in person. He sailed from Southampton-road, November 6, 1594, and returned to St. Ives, in Cornwall, about the end of May, 1595, having performed all, and indeed more, than could be expected from him, considering his small strength, taking, sinking, and otherwise destroying, nine sail of Spanish ships, one of which was a man of war of six hundred tons, which he fought board and board for two days, till he had no powder left, and she afterwards sunk at sea (*g*). He wrote a particular account of this voyage at the request of the Reverend Mr. Hakluyt, which he afterwards published in his large and valuable Collection [*A*]. In the succeeding year he fitted out two ships and two pinnaces, for the South-Seas, under Captain Benjamin Wood, at his sole expence; and, attending the Earl of Essex and the Lord High-Admiral of England in their glorious expedition against the Spaniards, he, for his gallant behaviour at the taking of Cadiz, received the honour of knighthood from the first of those noble Peers (*h*). In the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Robert Dudley, being then a widower, married Alice, daughter to Sir Thomas Leigh (*i*), and settled upon her, in jointure, great part of his estate; and, gaining by this marriage some powerful friends, he began to entertain hopes of reviving the honours of his family. He considered with himself, that it was not yet too late to make proof of the legitimacy of his birth, by which he would become clearly entitled to the honour of Lord L'Isle and Earl of Leicester, as heir to his father, as also to the earldom of Warwick, by virtue of the limitations in his uncle's patent, as also to the Castle of Warwick, and several fair manors in that county and elsewhere, by force of the entail. Full of these hopes, in the year 1605, he commenced a suit in the Court of Audience of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and the plague being then at London, obtained a Commission, directed to Dr. Zachary Babington, Chancellor of the diocese of Lichfield, to examine witnesses on that head, which was accordingly done (*k*). But no sooner had Lettice, Countess of Leicester, notice of these proceedings, than she procured an information to be filed, by Sir Edward Coke, the King's Attorney-General, in the Star-Chamber, against Sir Robert Dudley, Sir Thomas Leigh, Dr. Babington, and others, for a conspiracy; and, upon the petition of Lord Sidney, an ordered issued out of that Court for bringing in all the depositions that had been taken by virtue of the Archbishop's commission, sealing them up and depositing them in the Council-chest (*l*). In order, however, to keep up some appearance of impartiality, Sir Robert Dudley was allowed to examine witnesses, as to the proof of his legitimacy,

(*f*) So it appears from his own account of it in Hakluyt.

(*g*) Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. III. p. 574.

(*h*) Camden. Annal.

(*i*) Dugdale's Warwickshire, vol. I. p. 250.

(*k*) From the proceedings in the Star-Chamber.

(*l*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 224; 18 Octob. 1603.

[*A*] *In his valuable Collection.*] It was certainly a mark of true courage, as well as of public spirit, that, as soon as he became of age, and entered into the possession of his fortune, Mr. Dudley, instead of indulging himself in the pleasures of a Court, should undertake so long and hazardous a voyage, as even the last of the two was, which he projected. The ships that he fitted out, were the Bear, of two-hundred tons, in which he commanded himself; the Bear's Whelp, Captain Monk, and two pinnaces, the one called the Frisking, and the other the Earwig. Captain Monk returned, with his vessel and two prizes, before the end of the year; of which Mr. Dudley having no knowledge, he waited for him near the Azores; but hearing no news, and finding many of his men sick, he thought it better to proceed in his undertaking, as soon as it was in his power to do it conveniently. Accordingly, having taken two prizes, he put Captain Benjamin Wood into the one, which he called the Intent, and Captain Wentworth into the other; so that, having now three sail under his command, he made the best of his way for the island of Trinidad, in the West Indies. Upon his arrival there, he detached the ship called the Intent, and her consort, to the Leeward Islands, and, with his own vessel, laboured to make what discovery he could of the great empire of Guiana; the writings and example of Sir Walter Raleigh, having been no small motives to this enterprize. All the account he gives us of the countries, the rivers, and the people, as also of the reports that prevailed amongst them of very rich countries that lay farther within land, agree perfectly well with the relations of that learned Knight, and shews plainly, that he did not magnify any thing beyond the informations that he received. Mr. Dudley heard, as well as he, of silver and gold mines, particularly one of the latter at Wakkaru, and also obtained some specimens of gold from another place. It seems he was in expectation of Sir Walter's coming thither, and was in great hopes of their making very considerable discoveries together, which induced him to stay as long as it was safe for him to do, and then he returned to Europe, as is related in the text, having barely as much provision left as would serve for his voyage (1). After gaining, by this expedition, experience sufficient to qualify him for a sea commander, he went with the Earl of Essex, and the Lord High-Admiral Howard, to Cadiz, in quality of Captain of the Nonpariel (2), and, in that warm service, shewed all the courage of an adventurous young man, and all the coolness and conduct of an old officer, as was reported of him at his return. It is probable, that the reader will be desirous of knowing what became of Captain Wood's enterprize in the South-Seas, whither he was sent with a good ship, and a pinnace, fitted out in 1595, at the expence of some thousand pounds: but the misfortune is, that no information on that subject can be had, no news being ever heard, either of the ships or men (3), which was much regretted in those days, because Mr. Benjamin Wood, was looked upon as a man of steady courage, great integrity, and of uncommon abilities as a seaman, which recommended him to the favour and friendship of this great genius.

(1) Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. III. p. 575, 576, 577.

(2) Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 148.

(3) Remarks on the several attempts made to pass the Streights of Magellan.



gitimacy,

gitimacy, in that Court; which, when he had done in as full a manner as in such a case could be expected, a sudden order was made for staying all proceedings, and locking up the examinations, of which no copies were to be taken but by the King's licence (*m*). This was such a blow to all the hopes of Sir Robert Dudley, and made it so evident that he had no favour to expect where his enemies had influence enough to preclude him from justice, that he resolved to retire abroad, in hopes that time might either lessen his misfortune, or at least mitigate the sharp sense he had of it. In order to this, he applied for a licence to travel for three years, which was very readily granted him, there being many who chose to have him out of their way; and others, who bore him good will, thought that at this juncture his withdrawing for a time might be of use to him. But, in the manner of his leaving the kingdom, there was something that shewed he inherited some of the vices as well as most of the great qualities of his family (*n*) [*B*]. He had not been long abroad, before such as meant him no good procured, notwithstanding his licence, a privy-seal, commanding his return into England, being very sensible that he would not obey it. The pretence for this was, that he had assumed, in foreign countries, the title of Earl of Warwick, which irritated some at Court extremely (*o*). It seems they formed a true notion of his circumstances and disposition; for, Sir Robert, finding himself well received at the Court of Florence, resolved to continue there, notwithstanding the letter of re-call; and this gave a handle for seizing his whole estate, which was vested in the Crown, during his natural life, by the statute of fugitives. He left behind him Lady Alice Dudley, his wife, and four daughters, for whom sufficient provision was made. In this situation things continued for some years, till some persons about Henry Prince of Wales suggested to him, that Kenelworth Castle was one of the finest and most magnificent places in the inland parts of the kingdom, and very fit for his Royal Highness's residence; upon which some overtures were made to Sir Robert Dudley abroad, as well as to Lady Alice at home, the Prince desiring to have it by way of purchase. These proposals were very readily accepted, on account, as it is

(*m*) Proceedings in the Star-Chamber.

(*n*) See this explained in the note.

(*o*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 127.

[*B*] *As well as most of the great qualities of his family.*] When Sir Robert Dudley had once settled his resolution of quitting England, he resolved to make the place of his retreat as agreeable to him as it was possible, and therefore prevailed upon a young lady, at that time esteemed one of the finest women in England, and of a family distinguished for their beauty, to bear him company in the habit of his page (4). This Lady was Mrs. Elizabeth Southwell, the daughter of Sir Robert Southwell, of Woodrising, in the county of Norfolk (5), whom, as the reader will find in the text, he afterwards espoused, in virtue of a dispensation from the Pope; whence a certain writer, who bore him no good will, has taken occasion to say, that he left England, because he could not be allowed to have two wives (6); in which, there would have been more truth, if Sir Robert Dudley had married that Lady here, as it is very certain he did not. How much soever she might be blamed in following him as she did, yet her conduct afterwards was without exception, and as she lived in honour and esteem, and had all the respect paid her that her title of a Dutchess could demand, so it is reported, that Sir Robert never altered his affections, but, to shew his high regard for her memory, caused a noble tomb to be erected to her memory in the church of St. Pancratius in Forence (7), where her body lies interred, and where he desired that he might be buried with her. As to his issue by this Lady, they will be taken notice of hereafter. It is very probable, that this marriage might prove a great bar to his return into England, and might be also a motive to the passing so extraordinary a law as that was, by which Lady Alice Dudley, was enabled to dispose of her jointure during his life. But, before we close this note, it may not be amiss to examine what the reasons were, which induced the Lords in the Star-Chamber to treat Sir Robert Dudley's cause as they did. It seems that Sir William Leighton, upon whose advice he chiefly depended, when he found what evidence might be produced to prove the marriage of Lady Douglas Sheffield with Robert Earl of Leicester, gave him advice, which, though wise and well laid in itself, yet gave an opportunity to Sir Robert's enemies, to cast out such insinuations as threw an odium upon his whole proceedings. For, when the commission mentioned in the text was brought down, and a Notary came afterwards to speed it, Sir William resolved to commence a suit in the courts at Lichfield, in the name of Sir Robert Dudley, in which one John Bushell was raised up as the adversary upon a charge, that he should have called Sir Robert a bastard three years before. Upon this, one Goffe cites him to the court, in *causa probri & convitii*, and Goffe earnestly prest him to appear thereto. It was never intended by this suit to punish Bushell, but only to prove the marriage and legitimation. Bushell appeared, and made such answer as suited best for their purpose. The thirty-six articles were exhibited, thirty of whom tended to prove the marriage and legitimation, and some of the rest the defamation. And Dr. Babington then sitting in judgment in the court, and knowing the matter to be there prosecuted unduly, against a raised adversary, upon colour of defamation, admitted a very unlawful prosecution of the libel, and ordered the defendant to make present answer; and then Frodsham, Salisbury, and Jones, were again examined as witnesses; and, after their examinations, carried back to Clarges, Goffe, and Leigh's houses, and had diet and apparel given them by directions of Sir Robert Dudley and Sir William Leighton. For these offences, and undue proceedings, which tended to call in question the Lord of Leicester, and his then Lady's marriage, and her jointure, and the estates of many of the King's subjects, they were all committed; Sir William Leighton fined three hundred pounds; Babington, one hundred marks; Goffe, forty pounds; Salisbury and Frodsham, one hundred pounds a piece; and Jones, forty pounds. All the examinations and depositions, taken in the Court of Audience by the Commissioners and at Litchfield, were suppressed and damned. The examinations and depositions in the Court, that concern the marriage between the Earl of Leicester and the Lady Douglas Sheffield, were ordered to be sealed up by the Clerk of the Court, and never to be seen or published; Jones, Salisbury, and Frodsham, to be ever after held suspected in their testimonies touching the marriage and legitimation of Sir Robert Dudley, and the rest were acquitted (8). But this sentence takes no notice of the depositions of Lady Douglas, Sir Robert Dudley's mother, of Lady Parker, and many other persons who deposed to his legitimacy; and yet this gave a colour for sealing and locking these up, which was what the friends of Lettice Countess of Leicester sought; and shews how dangerous a thing it was to leave matters of so high a nature to be determined in that Court, without the assistance of a jury, and without appeal (9). An inconvenience which, by degrees, was so much felt, and so generally understood, that it was by act of Parliament dissolved, at the common prayer of the whole nation.

(4) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 225.

(5) Athens. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 128.

(6) EnglishSpanish Pilgrim, 4to. 1630. p. 64.

(7) So his son Charles D. of N. informed Anthony Wood.

(8) E. Regist. Cammer Stellat. Pasch. A. iii. Jac. fol. 107.

(9) Compare this with the patent to Dutchess Dudley.

said,

said, of some promises that were made of having regard to his claims when a proper opportunity offered (*p*). In the mean time a commission issued for enquiring into the value of this estate, and the return thereto being very curious, the reader will find it in the notes [*C*]. The treaty beforementioned came at last to a conclusion, and deeds were executed, bearing date November 21, 1611, by which, in consideration of fourteen thousand five hundred pounds, to be paid in one year to the said Sir Robert Dudley or his assigns, the said Castle of Kenelworth, together with the manor and lands bearing the same name, the manors of Rusden, Balshall, and Long Itchington, were settled upon the same Prince and his heirs, with condition that Sir Robert should hold the Constableship of the said castle for the term of his natural life, by patent from his Royal Highness. Of this purchase-money, which was but a very inconsiderable sum in comparison of the value of the estate, but three thousand pounds were ever paid, and that to a Merchant, who broke soon after, not one penny coming to the hands of Sir Robert Dudley (*q*). Prince Henry likewise dying, his title to the castle and lands descended to his brother Charles Prince of Wales, who, in the nineteenth year of the reign of King James I, procured an Act of Parliament to enable Alice Lady Dudley, who had a jointure therein, to alienate it, notwithstanding her coverture, in consideration of the sum of four thousand pounds, to be paid her out of the Exchequer, and a yearly pension (*r*); which said sum was accordingly paid, as the pension likewise was, for some time, but grew afterwards into arrear, through the distress of that Prince's affairs after he came to the the throne (*s*). But, though Sir Robert Dudley lived in exile, and without receiving any considerable supplies from England, he still cherished some hope of his return; to facilitate which, and to ingratiate himself with King James, he drew up a scheme for improving the royal revenue (*t*), which scheme falling into the hands of some persons of great distinction, and being by them made public, this was considered as a thing of a pernicious nature, for which they were imprisoned; but, upon a discovery of the true author, they were shortly after released [*D*]. The place which

(*p*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 224.

(*q*) See the preamble to Duchess Dudley's patent.

(*r*) Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 251.

(*s*) So acknowledged in the preamble.

(*t*) Hamond L'Estrange's Life and Reign of King Charles I. p. 111.

[*C*] *The reader will find it in the notes.*] The credit of this paper will sufficiently appear from the subject of it, and the facts that are contained therein. All that is farther requisite, is to acquaint the reader, that the original is still preserved in that great treasury of British Antiquities, the Cotton Library.

The Castle of KENILWORTH, situate upon a rock.

The circuit thereof, within the walls, containeth seven acres, upon which the walks are so spacious and fair, that two or three persons together may walk upon most places thereof.

The castle, and the four gate-houses, all built of free-stone, hewn and cut, the walls, in many places, of fifteen and ten foot thickness, some more, some less, the least four foot in thickness square.

The castle and four gate-houses, all covered with lead, whereby it is subject to no other decay than the glass, through the extremity of the weather.

The rooms of great state within the same, and such as are able to receive his Majesty, the Queen, and Prince, at one time, built with as much uniformity and conveniency as any houses of later time, and with such stately cellars, all carried upon pillars and architecture of free stone, carved and wrought, as the like are not within this kingdom, and also all other houses for offices answerable.

There lieth about the same, in chaces and parks, twelve hundred pounds *per annum*; nine hundred pounds whereof are grounds for pleasure, the rest in meadow and pasture thereto adjoining, tenants and freeholders.

There joineth upon this ground a park-like ground, called the King's Wood, with fifteen coppices lying all together, containing seven hundred and eighty-nine acres within the same, which, in the Earl of Leicester's time, were stored with red deer, since which the deer strayed, but the ground in no sort blemished, having great store of timber, and other trees of much value upon the same.

There runneth through the said grounds, by the walls of the castle, a fair pool, containing one hundred and eleven acres, well stored with fish and fowl, which, at pleasure, is to be let round about the castle.

In timber and woods upon this ground, to the value as hath been offered, of twenty thousand pounds, having a convenient time to remove them, which, to his Majesty, in the survey, are but valued at eleven thousand seven hundred and twenty-two pounds; which proportion, in a like measure, is held in all the rest upon the other values to his Majesty.

The circuit of the castle, manors, parks, and chaces, lying round together, contain, at least, nineteen or twenty miles in a pleasant country, the like both for strength, state, and pleasure, not being within the realm of England.

These lands have been surveyed by Commissioners from the King, and the Lord Privy-Seal, with directions from his Lordship, to find all things under the true worth; and, upon oath of jurors, as well freeholders as customary tenants, which course being held by them, are notwithstanding surveyed and returned at thirty-eight thousand five hundred and fifty-four pounds and fifteen shillings; out of which, for Sir Robert Dudley's contempt, there is to be deducted ten thousand pounds: and, for Lady Dudley's jointure, which is without impeachment of waste, whereby she may sell all the woods, which, by the survey, amount unto eleven thousand seven hundred and twenty-two pounds.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| The total of the survey ariseth as followeth. | In land | 16431 | 9 |
| | In woods | 11722 | 2 |
| | The castle | 10401 | 4 |

His Majesty hath herein the mean profits of the castle and premises, through Sir Robert Dudley's contempt, during his life, or his Majesty's pardon, the reversion in fee being in the Lord Privy-Seal.

[*D*] *They were shortly after released.*] I have taken notice of this matter all together, though there was fourteen years difference between the framing of this proposal of Sir Robert Dudley's, and the commitment of the noble persons who published it. It was written about the year 1613, and sent to King James, being in all respects as singular and as dangerous a paper as ever fell from the pen of man; for which reason, I shall not transcribe any part of it here, but refer the reader in the margin to the paper itself (10), which Wood supposes to have remained a manuscript; and which, considering the mischief it has done, one would have wished might have been the case. His great-grandfather's book was a very unlucky precedent, and this, which I take to have been a copy of it (11), suited to the times, was a paper to the full as unlucky; for, though neither King James I, nor King Charles I, or their

(10) Rushworth's Collections Vol. I. in the Appendix, p. 12.

(11) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 128.

which Sir Robert Dudley chose for his retreat, upon his leaving his native country, was Florence, where he was very kindly received by Cosmo II. Great Duke of Tuscany, and, in process of time, was made Great Chamberlain to his Serene Highness's consort, the Archdutchess Magdalen, of Austria, sister to the Emperor Ferdinand II, with whom he was a great favourite (*u*). He discovered in that Court those great abilities for which he had been so much admired in England, contrived several methods of improving shipping, introduced new manufactures, excited the Merchants to extend their foreign commerce, and, by other services of still greater importance, obtained so high a reputation, that, at the desire of the Archdutchess, the Emperor Ferdinand, before mentioned, by his letters-patent, dated at Vienna March the 9th, 1620, created him a Duke of the Holy Roman Empire (*w*), upon which he assumed his grand-father's title of Northumberland, and ten years after got himself enrolled, by Pope Urban VIII, amongst the Roman nobility (*x*). Under the reign of the Grand Duke Ferdinand II, he became still more famous, on account of that great project which he formed, of draining a vast morass between Pisa and the sea, and raising Livorno, or Leghorn, which was then, though an ancient, yet a mean and pitiful, place, into a large and beautiful town, improving the haven by a mole, which rendered it both safe and commodious; and, having engaged his Serene Highness to declare it *scala franca*, or a free port, he, by his influence and correspondences, drew many English merchants to settle and set up houses there (*y*), which was a thing of great importance to our Italian trade, and, considered in that light, was of very great service to his native country. It was not only in the Courts of Princes that Sir Robert Dudley, by a happy application of his great talents, made himself admired, but also among the learned, to whom he was a generous patron and constant friend, and at the same time held a very high place himself in the republick of letters, as well on account of his skill in philosophy, chemistry, and physic, as his perfect acquaintance with all the branches of the Mathematicks, and the means of applying them for the service and benefit of mankind; of all which he has left abundant evidence in his excellent writings (*z*) [*E*]. In gratitude to his merit, and

(*u*) Fuller's Worthies, Surrey, p. 84.

(*w*) So recited in the preamble of the Dutchess's patent.

(*x*) Il Ceremoniale del Rome, Anno 1630.

(*y*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 127.

(*z*) See this explained in the notes.

their Ministers, made use of it, or intended to make use of it, yet it was turned to their prejudice, and the people excited to hate statesmen, as the authors of this project, who might very probably abhor it as much as they. I will give the history of it from a very able and authentic writer, the brother of that learned and worthy gentleman (12), who detected the real author of it, when it was first made the subject of public clamour. His words are these. 'It is not unworthy the notice, 'by what artifices they, that is the patriots in 1628, 'did really endeavour to make the King odious to his 'subjects, of which I shall only touch upon one grand 'imposture, fobbed about by many of these chief ring-'leading members. And this was of a paper by them 'carefully and plentifully spread abroad, to discover 'the impertinence of Parliaments, and how, by the 'subjects purses, to keep the nation in a good defence 'against the King's enemies. And this was suggested, 'that the King had not only such a design on foot, 'but by him, or his means, this plot first took birth; 'whereas it was discovered by Sir David Foulis, one 'not ignorant of state-affairs, being thereunto several 'times employed by King James, of blessed memory, 'that this paper was contrived several years before, 'viz. about 1615, by Sir Robert Dudley, then living 'at Florence, under the title of Duke of Northumber-'land. By which means it seems some men would 'not leave any stone unturned rather than fail of their 'intended ends; nor can I quit him from the same 'ignorance and malice, who long afterwards published 'it under the name of "Strafford's Plot discovered," '&c. endeavouring thereby to make him odious to 'the simple people, as if he had been the composer of 'it, and this only because a copy of it was found in 'his study.'

(12) Foulis's Hist. of Plots, B. I. p. 68.

In order to render these facts completely clear, we must not omit telling the reader who the persons were, that, Whitlocke says, were committed for the first offence (13), and against whom another writer asserts, that informations were filed by Sir Robert Heath, then Attorney-General, in the Star-Chamber (14), viz. the Earls of Bedford, Somerset, and Clare; Sir Robert Cotton, Baronet; John Selden, and Oliver St. John, Esquires. It will be likewise proper to mention, that the contrivance of fastening it upon the Earl of Strafford, was immediately after his decease, as appears from the title of the treatise expressed more at large. It ran thus: 'Strafford's Plot discovered, and the Par-'liament vindicated, in their Justice executed upon 'him by the late discovery of certain propositions de-'livered to his Majesty by the Earl of Strafford a little 'before his trial; with this inscription, Propositions 'for the bridling of Parliaments, and for the increa-'sing of his Majesty's revenue, &c.'

(13) Memorials of English Affairs, p. 14.

(14) Advertisements on Mr. Saunderson's Hist. of King Charles I. p. 94.

[*E*] *Abundant evidence in his excellent writings.*] We have already spoken of the account of his voyage to the island of Trinidad, and the mouth of the river Oroonoque, to one of the islands in which it is said he gave his own name. We have also spoken of the propositions made by him in respect to Parliaments, and the increase of the revenue, either of which might sufficiently prove him a man of quick parts and solid abilities. But the work by which he is chiefly known to the learned world, and which in truth is most worthy of his general learning and great compass of knowledge, is that which follows, viz.

*Del Arcano del Mare*, &c. *Firenze*, 1630, 1646, in two volumes in folio. This work has been always so scarce, as seldom to have found a place even in the catalogues that have been published of rare books. It is full of schemes, charts, plans, and other marks of its author's mathematical learning, but is chiefly valuable on the score of the projects that are contained therein, for the improvement of navigation, and the extending of commerce. If we consider what has been since done, the work will appear less valuable. But capable judges will allow for the time in which it was written, and in that point of view it will appear truly admirable, as the author hints at many things that were in those days totally unknown, and of which, notwithstanding, he appears to have judged very right. There are also many things that have not as yet been executed, which might turn to the advantage of any maritime power that would be at the expence to prosecute his designs. In short, it is a singular treasury of curious and important schemes, which manifestly prove the author's high capacity for the advancement of useful knowledge, no man having ever had a stronger propensity to reduce speculations to practice than he; and the success that attended his labours in this respect, ought to derive an extraordinary degree of credit, to whatever he suggests as practicable; though beyond all

and for the ſupport of his dignity, the Grand Duke beſtowed upon him a penſion of two thouſand ſequins *per annum*; which, however, went but a little way in his expences; for he affected magnificence in all things, built a noble palace for himſelf and his family at Florence (*a*), and much adorned the caſtle of Carbello, three miles from that capital, which the Grand Duke gave him for a country retreat, and where he breathed his laſt in the month of September, 1649 (*b*), in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age; leaving behind him, by Elizabeth his Dutcheſs, to whom, by the Pope's diſpenſation, he was married, a very numerous poſterity, as the reader will ſee in the notes [*F*]. As for Alice Lady Dudley, his ſecond wife, whom he left in England, ſhe, by the aſſiſtance of her friends and relations, ſecured to herſelf and her daughters the remains of that great fortune, which devolved to him in conſequence of the Earl of Leiceſter's will, and other conveyances; and being herſelf a lady of great parts, as well as diſtinguiſhed piety, ſhe had a great ſhare in the favour of King Charles I.; inſomuch, that upon her humble application to him at Oxford, ſetting forth the ſituation and ſtate of her huſband abroad, and the great loſſes ſhe had ſuſtained by reſigning her jointure, upon expectancies which had been very indifferently fulfilled; that Prince was graciouſly pleaſed, by letters-patent under the great-ſeal of England, to give her the rank, ſtyle, and title of a Dutcheſs (*c*), during the term of her natural life; as alſo the like privileges and precedences to her daughters, as if they had been Duke's daughters, with other ſignal teſtimonies of his gracious condeſcenſion and eſteem. The preamble of this patent, as it is in itſelf a thing very extraordinary, and contains many points of hiſtory relative to this family, under the ſanction of ſo high an authority, is placed at the bottom of the page [*G*]. This prudent and pious Lady, Alice Dutcheſs Dudley,

(*a*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 127.

(*b*) As appears from his ſon's letter.

(*c*) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 225.

all doubt, ſomething of the like genius muſt be required in ſuch as attempt to make uſe of any of his projects, which are delivered in a manner not very intelligible to vulgar underſtandings.

We are told by Mr. Wood (15), that our author wrote a phyſical treatiſe, entituled "Catholicon," which was well eſteemed by the faculty; but, as he had never ſeen it, he could ſay no more of it, and the very ſame reaſon muſt excuſe us. He was the author of a very famous powder, called, "Pulvis Comitis Warwicenſis, "or, the Earl of Warwick's Powder," which ſhews that Dr. Heylin was miſtaken in affirming, that he never took that title (16), by which, however, it is certain he was known in Italy before the Emperor created him a Duke. This celebrated powder is thus made, "Take of Scammony, prepared with the "fumes of Sulphur, two ounces; of diaphoretic An"timony, an ounce; of the Cryſtals of Tartar, half an "ounce; make them all together into a powder." It is directed to be made different ways, both by Schroder and Zwelfer, but this is much the readieſt, and what the ſhops are now accuſtomed to uſe. It was not at firſt received by the College, but is now become common in extemporaneous preſcriptions, eſpecially as a purge for children, to whom it is convenient to give becauſe of the ſmalineſs of the quantity requiſite for a doſe. It is a ſmart purge, and frequently given to children againſt worms, from five to fifteen grains; and, to grown perſons, from fifteen grains to half a dram. Dr. Marcus Cornacchinus (17) varied this medicine a little in the proportions of the ingredients, and then publiſhed a treatiſe upon it, in which he recommended it as a kind of univerſal remedy; but, notwithſtanding all his pains, the original receipt has been preferred. It may not perhaps be amiſs to add, ſince we are ſpeaking of his inventions, that he is believed to have been the firſt perſon who broke ſetting-dogs (18). One might inſiſt upon many other particulars, if the nature of this collection did not reſtrain us.

(15) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 127.

(16) Advertiſements on Saunderſon's Hiſt. of Charles I. p. 94.

(17) He dedicated his treatiſe with very high compliments to our author.

(18) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 128.

[*F*] *In the notes.*] This Duke of Northumberland, as he was ſtyled in Italy, had, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Southwell, a ſon, Charles, who aſſumed the title of Earl of Warwick (19), and four daughters, all honourably married in that country, viz. the eldeſt to the Prince of Piombino, of the Houſe of Arragona Appiano; the ſecond to the Marquis of Clivola, of the houſe of Maleſpina; the third to the Duke of Caſtillion del Lago, of the houſe of La Cloregnia; and the fourth to the Earl of Carpegna, brother to the Cardinal of that name. Charles, titular Duke of Northumberland, married in France, Mary Magdalen Gouffier, a relation of the Duke of Rohanet, by whom he had ſeveral children. The eldeſt, Robert, ſtyled Earl of Warwick, was page to the Elector of Bavaria; another ſon, was an eccleſiaſtick in France (20); one of his daughters, who was of the bed-chamber to the Dutcheſs of Savoy, married, for her ſecond huſband, the Marquis Palliotti, of Bologna, by whom ſhe had a daughter, whoſe name was Adelhida (21), married to Charles, Duke of Shrewſbury, who died not many years ago, and a ſon who died likewiſe in England, in a manner ſuitable to his crime, but unworthy of his birth (22). Theſe are, indeed, but very imperfect notices of the deſcents in this noble line; but they are the beſt that we have been able to obtain, and will ſerve to inform the reader of the ſtrange viciſſitudes that have happened to this great family, of which, for any thing that we know, there remains not any heir male, that is to ſay, deſcending from Edmund Dudley, father to the Duke of Northumberland. For, as to the ancient houſe of the Suttons, Barons of Dudley, though the eldeſt branch of it be likewiſe extinct as to heirs male, yet many of the younger branches ſtill flouriſh, by the ſurname of Dudley; for, Edmund Sutton, Lord Dudley, who was brother to John Dudley; had by his ſecond wife, the widow of Sir Thomas Harrington, a ſon Thomas, who left behind him three ſons, and as many daughters; and Richard Dudley, the eldeſt of theſe, left likewiſe a numerous poſterity (23). Sir William Dudley, of Clapton in Northamptonſhire, was, from the ſame ſtock, deriving himſelf from Sir John Sutton (24), the firſt Baron of Dudley of that name.

(19) So Mr. Wood was informed by his ſon.

(20) Sir Philip Skippon's Travels, p. 673.

(21) Collins's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 66.

(22) Life of Marquis Palliotti.

(23) Baronagium Angliæ, MS. fol. 21.

(24) Baronettage, Vol. II. p. 124.

[*G*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The following copy of the preamble to the letters-patent, by which Alice Lady Dudley was created a Dutcheſs, was tranſcribed from the original, in 1670, then in the hands of Lady Katharine Leveſon, and collated and compared by Sir William Dugdale, Garter King at Arms; ſo that it affords the moſt authentic evidence as well as a larger account of the principal circumſtances that are briefly mentioned in the text (25).

'Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, 'Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the 'Faith, &c. To all Archbiſhops, Dukes, Marquiſſes, 'Earls, Viſcounts, Biſhops, Barons, Knights, and all 'other our loving ſubjects, to whom theſe our letters 'ſhall come, greeting. Whereas, in or about the 'beginning of the reign of our dear father, King 'James, of famous memory, there was a ſuit com'menced in our High-Court of Star-Chamber, againſt 'Sir Robert Dudley, Knight, and others, for preten'ding himſelf to be lawful heir to the honours and 'lands of the Earldoms of Warwick and Leiceſter, as 'ſon and heir of the body of Robert, late Earl of Lei'ceſter,

(25) Pat. Car. I. 20. Maii. 13.

Dudley, lived after this honour was conferred upon her many years, admired for her many admirable qualities, and very juſtly revered for that ſingular zeal which ſhe expreſſed in doing good, a diſpoſition, which, by extraordinary care in their education, as well as by the force of her own excellent example, ſhe ſo infuſed into her five daughters, that, if all their works of piety and bounty were collected together, and properly ſet forth, they would make a very conſiderable volume, independently of any panegyrick they might be thought to deſerve; which is a reaſon ſufficient, that, excepting a ſingle inſtance, we ſhall not mention thoſe prodigious works of charity in this article, but content ourſelves with referring the reader to authors that will, in ſome meaſure, ſatisfy his curioſity (*d*). Of theſe daughters, Lady Alezia Dudley, dying a maiden, bequeathed her fortune of three thouſand pounds to be diſpoſed of to charitable uſes, at the diſcretion of her mother, who ſurvived her, which will of her's was

(*d*) Narrative of the Life and Death of Alice, Ducheſs Dudley, prefixed to her Funeral Sermon. Dugdale's Warwickſhire, and Baronettage.

'ceſter, lawfully begotten upon the Lady Douglas, his mother, wife to the ſaid late Earl of Leiceſter, and all proceedings ſtayed in the Eccleſiaſtical-Courts, in which the ſaid ſuit depended for proof of his legitimation. Yet, nevertheleſs, did the ſaid Court vouchſafe liberty, to the ſaid Sir Robert, to examine witneſſes in the ſaid Court of Star-Chamber, in order to the making good of his legitimacy, and divers witneſſes were examined there accordingly. Whereupon, by full teſtimony upon oath, partly made by the ſaid Lady Douglas herſelf, and partly by divers other perſons of quality and credit, who were preſent at the marriage with the ſaid late Earl of Leiceſter, by a lawful miniſter, according to the form of matrimony then by law eſtabliſhed in the Church of England, and the ſaid Sir Robert and his mother, owned by the ſaid late Earl of Leiceſter as his lawful wife and ſon, as by many of the ſaid depoſitions remaining upon record in our ſaid Court ſtill appear, which we have cauſed to be peruſed for our better ſatisfaction herein. But a ſpecial order being made, that the ſaid depoſitions ſhould be ſealed up, and no copies thereof taken, without leave, did cauſe him, the ſaid Sir Robert, to leave this our kingdom. Whereof his adverſaries taking advantage, procured a ſpecial Privy-Seal to be ſent unto him, commanding his return into England. Which he not obeying, becauſe his honour and lands were denied unto him, all his lands were therefore ſeized on to the King, our father's uſe. And not long afterwards Prince Henry, our dear brother deceaſed, made overture to the ſaid Sir Robert, by ſpecial inſtruments, to obtain his title by purchaſe of and in Kenilworth Caſtle, in our county of Warwick, and his manors, parks, and chaſes, belonging to the ſame; which, upon a great under-value, amounted, as we are credibly informed, to about fifty thouſand pounds, but were bought by the ſaid Prince, our brother, in conſideration of fourteen thouſand five hundred pounds; and upon his faithful engagements, and promiſe of his princely favour unto the ſaid Sir Robert, in the ſaid cauſe, to reſtore him both in honours and fortunes. And, thereupon, certain deeds were ſealed in the ninth year of the reign of our ſaid father, and fines alſo were levied, ſettling the inheritance thereof in the ſaid Prince our brother and his heirs. But the ſaid Prince our brother, departing this life, there was not above three thouſand pounds of the ſaid ſum of fourteen-thouſand five hundred pounds ever paid, if any at all, to the ſaid Sir Robert's hands; and we ourſelves, as heir to the ſaid Prince our brother, came to the poſſeſſion thereof. And it appearing to the ſaid Council, that the ſaid Alice Lady Dudley, wife of the ſaid Sir Robert, had an eſtate of inheritance of and in the ſame, deſcendable unto her poſterity, in the nineteenth year of our ſaid dear father's reign, an Act of Parliament was paſſed, to enable the ſaid Lady Alice, wife to the ſaid Sir Robert, to aliene her eſtate, which ſhe had by the ſaid Sir Robert therein, from her children by the ſaid Sir Robert, as if ſhe had been a feme-ſole, which accordingly ſhe did, in the nineteenth year of our ſaid father's reign, in conſideration of four thouſand pounds, and further payments yearly to be made by us to her, out of our Exchequer, and out of the ſaid caſtle and lands, which have not been accordingly paid unto her by us for many years, to the damage of the ſaid Lady Alice and her children, to a very great value. Which Sir Robert, ſettling himſelf in Italy, within the territories of the Great Duke of Tuſcany, from whom he had extraordinary eſteem, he was ſo much favoured by the Emperor Ferdinand the Second, as that being a perſon, not only eminent for his great learning and blood, but for ſundry rare endowments, as was well known, he had, by letters-patents from his Imperial Majeſty, the title of Duke given unto him, to be uſed by himſelf and his heirs for ever, throughout all the dominions of the ſacred empire. Which letters-patents have been peruſed by our late Earl Marſhal and Heralds. And whereas our dear father, not knowing the truth of the lawful birth of the ſaid Sir Robert, as we piouſly believe, granted away the titles of the ſaid Earldoms to others, which we now hold not fit to call in queſtion, nor ravel into our deceaſed father's actions, eſpecially they having been ſo long enjoyed by thoſe families, to whom the ſaid honours were granted, which we do not intend to alter, and yet, as we having a very deep ſenſe of the great injuries done to the ſaid Sir Robert Dudley, and the ſaid Lady Alice Dudley, and their children; and that we are of opinion, that, in juſtice and equity, the poſſeſſions, ſo taken from them, do rightly belong unto them, or full ſatisfaction for the ſame. And holding ourſelves in honour and conſcience obliged to make them reparation now, as far as our preſent ability will enable us. And alſo taking into our conſideration, the ſaid great eſtate, which ſhe the ſaid Lady Alice Dudley had in Kenilworth, and ſold at our deſire to us, and at a very great under-value, and yet not performed, or ſatisfied, to many thouſand pounds damage. And we alſo caſting our princely eye upon the faithful ſervice done unto us by Sir Richard Leveſon, Knight of the Bath, who hath married the Lady Catharine, one of the daughters of the ſaid Duke, by his ſaid wife, the ſaid Alice Dudley; and alſo, the great ſervices which Robert Holborne, Eſq. hath done to us by his learned pen, and otherwiſe; which ſaid Robert Holborne hath married the Lady Anne, one other of the daughters of the ſaid Duke, by his ſaid wife, the Lady Alice Dudley: we have conceived ourſelves bound in honour and conſcience to give the ſaid Lady Alice, and her children, ſuch honour and precedencies as is or are due to them in marriage or blood. And, therefore, we do not only give and grant unto the ſaid Lady Alice Dudley, the title of Ducheſs Dudley for her life in England, and other our realms and dominions, with ſuch precedencies as ſhe might have had, if ſhe had lived in the dominions of the ſacred Empire, as a mark of our favour unto her, and out of our prerogative royal, which we will not have drawn into diſpute; but we do alſo farther grant unto the ſaid Lady Katharine, and Lady Anne, her daughters, the places, titles, and precedencies of the ſaid Duke's daughters, as from the time of their ſaid father's creation, during their reſpective lives, not only in England, but in all other our kingdoms and dominions, as a teſtimony of our princely favour and grace unto them, conceiving ourſelves obliged to do much more for them, if it were in our power, in theſe unhappy times of diſtraction, &c.'



punctually

punctually fulfilled, and many feel the effects of it at this day (e). Lady Douglas Dudley died alſo a maid. Lady Katharine Dudley eſpouſed Sir Richard Leveſon, Knight of the Bath. Lady Frances Dudley was the wife of Sir Gilbert Kniveton, Knight; and Lady Anne Dudley married Robert Holborn, Eſq. afterwards Sir Robert Holborn, Knight, and Solicitor-General to King Charles I. (f). Alice Dutcheſs Duddeley, as ſhe herſelf ſpells, departed this life January 22, 1668-9, in the ninetieth year of her age, and lies buried in the church of Stoneley in Warwickſhire, where a noble monument is erected to her memory (g) [H], yet the effects of her wiſdom, piety, and charity, have eſtabliſhed one more laſting and better. Her only child that ſurvived her was Katharine Leveſon, relict of Sir Richard Leveſon, who died in the month of February, 1673, at Trentham in the county of Salop, and was buried in the pariſh-church of Lilſhull (b); of whoſe extenſive charities ſome notice muſt neceſſarily be taken at the bottom of the page [I], becauſe it will ſerve to complete the hiſtory of

(e) In the augmentation of ſmall vicarages.

(f) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p 225.

(g) Memorials and Characters of eminent perſons, in the Appendix, No xxx.

(b) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 228.

[H] *To her memory.*] This ſtately monument at Stonely, ſtanding on the north ſide of the chapel, was built by Alice, Dutcheſs Dudley, herſelf, in her life-time, with one below it for her daughter Lady Alezia, who died May 23, 1631 (26). It may not be amiſs, in this note, to give ſome account of the Dutcheſs's deſcent. Her grandfather was Sir Thomas Leigh, Knt. Lord Mayor of London at the time of Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion, who married Alice Barker, the niece of Sir Rowland Hill, a very rich merchant, who left her the greateſt part of his fortune. Their eldeſt ſon, Sir Rowland Leigh, ſettled at Longborough in Glouceſterſhire, and inherited a great fortune from his godfather (27). Thomas, the ſecond ſon, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and created Baronet by King James. He eſpouſed Katharine, daughter to Sir John Spencer, of Wormleighton, Knt. anceſtor to the Earls of Sunderland, and to his preſent Grace of Marlborough (28). Alice, Dutcheſs Dudley, was the third daughter of this marriage; and her nephew, Sir Thomas Leigh, for his ſteady adherence to King Charles I. in all his troubles, was created a peer of England, by the ſtyle and title of Baron Leigh, of Stonley in the county of Warwick (29), which honours are ſtill enjoyed by his deſcendant; and it may, without ſuſpicion of flattery, be ſaid, that the virtues of this noble family, their piety, probity, and charity, have conſtantly accompanied the title.

(26) Taken from the monumental inſcription in Stonely church.

(27) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 463.

(28) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 216.

(29) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 465.

[I] *At the bottom of the page.*] What we have to deliver in this note may be fully, and at the ſame time ſuccinctly, ſet forth from the caſe of this Lady, with reſpect to the manor of Balſhall in Warwickſhire, which belonging formerly to the Knights Templars was aſſigned by King Henry VIII. for the dowry of Katharine his laſt Queen, and the reverſion granted by his ſon, Edward VI, to his uncle, the Lord-Protector Somerſet. Upon his attainder, the inheritance was granted by the Crown, to John, Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland; and, upon his attainder, Queen Mary gave it to Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley: but, afterwards propoſing to receive the order of the Knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, that Lord reconveyed this manor to the Crown, which put it in the power of Queen Elizabeth to grant it, as ſhe did, by letters-patent to Sir Robert Dudley, Earl of Leiceſter, and his heirs (30); who, by his deed, dated in the twenty-firſt year of the ſame Queen's reign, ſettled this manor and Itchington, after his deceaſe, upon Ambroſe Dudley, his brother, then Earl of Warwick, and the iſſue of his body; and, for want of ſuch iſſue, upon the Lady Mary Sidney, daughter to John, Duke of Northumberland, ſiſter to both the aforeſaid Earls, and wife to Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord Preſident of Wales, for her life; and, after her deceaſe, upon Sir Philip Sidney, her firſt ſon, and the iſſue male of his body; and, for want of ſuch, upon Sir Robert Sidney, ſecond ſon to the ſaid Lady Mary, and his iſſue male (31). From this entail, Robert Sidney, Earl of Leiceſter, made his claim, he being ſon to Sir Robert Sidney, whoſe elder brother, Sir Philip, died withou iſſue, and after the death of Ambroſe Dudley, Earl of Warwick, without iſſue, he got into preſent poſſeſſion of all the great eſtate of Robert Dudley, the old Earl of Leiceſter, excepting only what his Counteſs Dowager had for her jointure, of which Balſhall and Itchington were part; and ſhe, favouring his title, granted him a leaſe of both during her life, and he held both after her deceaſe, by virtue of his pretended title, by the ſaid entail; during which he cut all the timber of Balſhall-heath and the demeſnes, to the value of many thouſand pounds. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leiceſter, revoked the deed of entail; and, by his laſt will and teſtament, dated at Middleburgh in Zealand, the firſt of Auguſt, 1587, the year before he died, he gave this eſtate to Ambroſe, Earl of Warwick, for life, and the inheritance to Sir Robert Dudley, Knight, who obtained a decree in Chancery for the whole; but, upon his retiring, the ſuit ceaſed till his death, when the Lady Katharine Leveſon, and the Lady Anne Holborn, after a long ſuit in Chancery, obtained Balſhall and Itchington, but could not get into quiet poſſeſſion thereof till a little before the reſtoration of Charles II. at which time the Lady Anne Holborn, had three parts of the eſtate, and the Lady Katharine Leveſon a fourth part: the ſaid Lady Holborn having purchaſed her ſiſter the Lady Douglas's fourth part for the ſum of one thouſand pounds; and the Lady Frances Kniveton, her other ſiſter, dying without iſſue, it was agreed ſhe ſhould have her fourth part alſo, in conſideration of the great ſums of money ſhe had expended in the law-ſuits, the Lady Katharine Leveſon having been at at no charge. Which Lady Anne Holborn, in her life-time, greatly repaired the church, which was in a very ruinous condition, and by her will endowed it with one hundred pounds *per annum*, for the maintenance of a preaching Miniſter for ever; but the Lord Viſcount Brouncker, having a legacy of fifteen hundred pounds, and doubting her eſtate would not hold out to pay her debts, charitable gifts, and legacies, it is ſuppoſed he perſuaded her, by a codicil annexed to her will, to reduce the ſalary from one hundred pounds to fifty pounds *per annum*. She gave alſo, by her will, five hundred pounds to finiſh the repairs of the church; and alſo fifty pounds *per annum*, to be paid out of the rents at Itchington, for the augmentation of the church there, and many other great legacies; for the payment of which, and of her debts, her three parts of Itchington were, by decree in Chancery, ſold to Serjeant Newdigate, and her three parts of Balſhall, to the Lady Katharine Leveſon, who, being thereby poſſeſſed of the whole, excepting what was given to the two churches, out of her pious care and charity, to the poor of Balſhall, did, by a codicil annexed to her will, bearing date on or about the twenty-firſt of February, 1670, give and deviſe all the manor and lordſhip of Balſhall, and all the rents and iſſues of her eſtate there, for twenty poor perſons, being widows, and poor women not married, of good lives and converſations, to be choſen out of the poor inhabitants of the pariſh of Balſhall; and, if there ſhould not be ſo many poor widows and poor women unmarried in the ſaid pariſh to be placed in the ſaid houſe, that then ſuch as ſhould be wanting, for the time only, of ſuch want, and no longer, ſhould be choſen out of the poor inhabitants of Itchington, in the county of Warwick; of Trentham, in the county of Stafford; and Lileſhull, in the county of Salop; there to remain for their reſpective lives, excepting for their miſcarriages they ſhould be removed, and to have the yearly ſum of eight pounds *per annum*, and alſo yearly one gown

(30) Pat. 8 Eliz. p. 8.

(31) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 968.

of this illuſtrious family; a family, at leaſt as remarkable as any that have flouriſhed in this kingdom; which has produced as great men, and as good women, as any that are mentioned in our hiſtories, and of which hitherto we have had but very imperfect accounts, which, it is preſumed, will appear a ſufficient reaſon to juſtify the care that has been taken of them in this work; a care, that, though it has rendered theſe articles very extenſive, might have carried them to a far greater length, if we had not uſed all the precaution poſſible to avoid prolixity, without prejudice of that perſpicuity, the want of which would have been deſtructive to our original deſign.

of grey cloth, with the letters K. L. in blue cloth, to be ſet upon the breaſt thereof, to be worn continually by them; and if they, or any of them, ſhould refuſe to wear the ſaid gowns, with the letters aforeſaid, then to be put out, and others elected in their rooms. That, immediately after the erecting and finiſhing of the ſaid houſe, there ſhould be a Miniſter of God's word provided, who ſhould twice every day read the ſcripture, and pray, either in the church of Balſhall, or houſe, hoſpital, or alms-houſe, with the ſaid poor perſons, and inſtruct them for the good of their ſouls; for which he ſhould be allowed twenty pounds *per annum*; and that he ſhould alſo teach and inſtruct twenty of the pooreſt boys of the inhabitants of Balſhall pariſh, until they ſhall be fit to be apprentices, not taking any thing from their parents. According to this deviſe, an hoſpital was built, and, in the firſt of Queen Anne (32), it was enacted, that the ſaid houſe ſhould be made an hoſpital, and incorporated, and named, and called the hoſpital of the Lady Katharine Leveſon; that there ſhould be, for ever thereafter, eleven Governors, which ſhould be incorporated and made one body politic, to have perpetual ſucceſſion, and a common ſeal, to be capable of purchaſing lands, of ſuing and being ſued, of making leaſes, of chooſing officers and ſervants, and to have the power to enlarge the number of the alms-women, and the buildings, as to them ſhall ſeem meet and convenient. As alſo, that they ſhould take care conſtantly to have the ſum of one thouſand pounds out at intereſt, to anſwer and ſatisfy for any accident of fire, or otherwiſe relating to the ſaid hoſpital; and that, in all meetings relating to the good government thereof, there ſhould not be leſs than ſix Governors, and the majority of thoſe preſent to be binding. Since which Act of Parliament, their ſtock increaſing, they have enlarged the ſaid hoſpital, and placed therein twenty-ſeven old women; and, in the year 1721, made an order, that the ſame ſhould be farther enlarged; at which ſeaſon it was expected, that in due time a new pile of building might be erected, and the number of perſons enlarged to thirty-four, with an allowance of twelve pounds *per annum*. This pious and charitable lady has an inſcription erected to her memory in the chapel of our lady at Warwick, with which, in reſpect to the hiſtorical particulars contained therein, we will conclude this article (33). 'To the memory of Lady Katharine, 'late wife of Sir Richard Leveſon, of Trentham, in the 'county of Stafford, Knight of the Bath, one of the 'daughters and co-heirs of Sir Robert Dudley, 'Knight, which honourable Lady taking notice that 'theſe tombs of her noble anceſtors being much blemiſhed by conſuming time, but more by the rude 'hands of impious people, were in danger of utter 'ruin, by the decay of this chapel, if not timely prevented, did in her life-time give fifty pounds for 'its ſpeedy repair: and, by her laſt will and teſtament, bearing date the 18th of December, 1673, 'bequeath forty pounds *per annum*, iſſuing out of her 'manor of Foxley, in the county of Northampton, 'for its perpetual ſupport, and preſervation of theſe 'monuments in their proper ſtate, the ſurpluſage to 'be for the poor brethren of her grand-father's hoſpital in this borough, appointing William Dugdale, 'of Blythe-Hall, in this county, Eſquire, who repreſented to her the neceſſity of this good work, and 'his heirs, together, with the Mayor of Warwick 'for the time being, to be her truſtees therein.' C.

(32) Account of Modern Charities, p. 95.

(33) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 441.

**** [A particular account of the impriſonments occaſioned by Sir Robert Dudley's diſcourſe on bridling the impertinency of parliaments, and eſpecially ſo far as Sir Robert Cotton was involved in the matter, will be found in that gentleman's article. Little here is neceſſary to be added, excepting an obſervation or two of Mr. Walpole (now Earl of Orford) on the ſubject. "There is great reaſon," ſays that author, "to "preſume that this attack on parliaments was not "made without the connivance of the Court, at leaſt "was not diſagreeable to it, the Attorney-General "receiving orders, in the middle of the proſecution, "to diſmiſs the cauſe, on pretence that his Majeſty "was willing to extend his royal lenity to his ſubjects "on the birth of a Prince, of whom the Queen was "juſt delivered." A remarkable incident, "was the "Earl of Somerſet's being involved in this trial, that "haughty and fallen favourite, generally ſuppoſed to "have dragged out the remainder of his life in infamy "and obſcurity, but who here appears engaged in "ſtate-intrigues, with ſome of the greateſt Lords at "that period (34)."

(34) Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. II. p. 173, 174.

Our predeceſſor has expreſſed himſelf, in note D, with too much apprehenſion and timidity concerning Sir Robert Dudley's diſcourſe. However dangerous it might be thought when it was firſt written, or when it was afterwards brought into public view, the tranſcribing any part of it could have excited no alarm in the preſent century. Ruſhworth has done no miſchief by inſerting it in his collection; and, were any one now to give himſelf the trouble of reading it, the reſult would probably be more of contempt than indignation. The period of exhorting our Princes to rule without parliaments, and of danger from any ſuch exhortations, has long been at an end.

Sir Robert Dudley's medical preſcriptions muſt, we ſuppoſe, be ſuperſeded in modern practice. It is ſaid, indeed, in note E, that his famous powder is in common uſe as a purge for children. That this is not the caſe I cannot affirm from ſpecific knowledge; but I much doubt whether the application of the remedy has been continued to our own time.

The preamble to the patent, by which Alice, Lady Dudley was created a Dutcheſs, is curious, as it ſhews how difficult it was in that age to obtain juſtice on many occaſions. It is obſervable in this patent, that the marriage of Lady Douglas Sheffield to Robert Earl of Leiceſter is aſſerted in the ſtrongeſt terms. Whether the language of preambles to patents is abſolutely to be depended upon may be juſtly queſtioned; ſince it is not improbable that ſuch language may be accommodated to the particular gratification of the family that is ennobled. After all that has been advanced on the ſubject, we cannot help greatly doubting the legitimacy of Sir Robert Dudley's birth. If ever the Earl of Leiceſter was ſerious and ſolemn in his aſſertions, it was when he made his laſt will; and yet he there calls him his *baſe* ſon. Neither has the very extraordinary circumſtance of Lady Douglas's marriage with Sir Edward Stafford been ſufficiently conſidered. It is ſaid, indeed, that ſhe did it becauſe ſome ill portions had been given her, and that ſhe knew no other way to preſerve her life. But the fact does not ſtand upon evidence that is unqueſtionable; beſides which, what are we to think of a woman, who, from any apprehenſions, could thus openly marry another, ſhe herſelf being already legally married? What, alſo, are we to think of the conduct of Sir Edward Stafford, who is repreſented as having been a man of great honour as well as high birth? It is not eaſy to ſuppoſe that he would have united himſelf in marriage with Lady Douglas, unleſs he had been convinced that ſhe was a ſingle woman. If it be true, likewiſe, that ſhe afterwards gave public teſtimony of her having been married to the Earl of Leiceſter, did ſhe not thereby ſubject herſelf to the danger of a proſecution for bigamy? The Star-Chamber, it appears, conſidered the depoſitions, which had been made in the Eccleſiaſtical Court at Litchfield, as deſerving of little

credit, and as the result of a combination (35). We do not mention these hints as decisive upon the affair, but as difficulties which have suggested themselves to our minds. The current of our historians strongly runs another way. Mr. Walpole says that Sir Robert Dudley was probably the legitimate son of the great Earl of Leicester; and Lord Hardwicke asserts, without hesitation, that Lady Douglas was privately married to the Earl. It may be deemed, perhaps, as a presumptive evidence of the fact, that, on her marriage with Sir Edward Stafford, that gentleman was imprisoned. She was a woman of extraordinary character, and, by her accomplishments, well fitted for the French Court, where she resided with her husband. It appears that she made him, if not a very good wife, a very agreeable companion. Lord Hardwicke is of opinion, that this country, by its injustice, lost the service of an able man in Sir Robert Dudley (36).

(35) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. ii. p. 222, 223.

(36) Miscellaneous State Papers, Vol. I. p. 196.

Mr. Walpole's sentiments of Sir Robert Dudley are extremely favourable. He regards him as having been a great honour to this country, and says that the only uncommendable performance of his life was his discourse to correct the exhorbitances of parliaments. Nevertheless, concludes Mr. Walpole, "Considering "how enterprizing and dangerous a Minister he "might have made, and what variety of talents were "called forth by his mistortunes, it seems to have "been happy both for the Duke and his country, that "he was unjustly deprived of the honours to which "his birth gave him pretensions (37).

(37) Royal and noble Authors, ubi supra.

There are some passages in Mr. Lodge's "Illustrations of British History," concerning Sir Robert Dudley. In a letter from Rowland Whyte to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated May 13, 1605, the writer says, "The great cause in the Star-Chamber between my "Lady Leicester and Sir Robert Dudley was ended "and censured upon Friday last; the matter of "marriage was not handled at all, only the practice "was proved in the proceedings. The depositions "to be suppressed and cancelled; the witnesses sus-"pected and disgraced; the bill and answer to be "sealed with the seal of that Court, and so put by "till the Court call for them." In another letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, written by P. Sanford, on the 7th of June, we read as follows: "In the Star-Cham-"ber the Lords were lately moved to alter the order "made against Sir Robert Dudley, especially in two "points; the one, that, whereas his witnesses were "censured as suspected, how they should be set down "only as "subject to suspicion;" the other, that, "whereas the Earl of Leicester's lands were said to be "reverted to the crown, it should be only "supposed "to be reverted." These things, because they "seemed much to prejudicate the legitimation, were "far pressed; but the order was entered as it was "first set down, upon the speeches especially of the "Earl of Salisbury, the Lord Treasurer (Lord Buck-"hurst), and Chief Justice (Sir John Popham); the "Earl of North holding hardly for the contrary." Mr. Lodge has remarked, that it is strange that neither Dugdale, in the diffuse account of the Dudleys given in his History of Warwickshire, nor Collins, in his Memoirs of that Family, prefixed to the Sidney Papers, should mention Sir Robert Dudley's connection with Mrs. Elizabeth Southwell (38). Dugdale, however, has mentioned the fact in his Baronage, though with some of the cautious timidity of a peerage writer; for he only speaks of it as having been credibly reported (39)]. K.

(38) Illustrations of British Hist. Vol. III. p. 289, 291, 292, 296.

(39) Baronage, Tom. ii. p. 225.

DUGARD (WILLIAM), a very eminent schoolmaster in the XVIIth century, was the son of Henry Dugard, a Clergyman, and born at Bromsgrove in Worcestershire in the year 1606. He had his education chiefly under Mr. Henry Bright, Master of the royal school adjoining to Worcester Cathedral, and prebendary of that church, by whose good instructions he made a great progress in all kinds of classical learning. At the age of sixteen, on the 13th of September, 1622, he was admitted into Sidney-college in Cambridge, and put under the tuition of his uncle, Richard Dugard, Bachelor of Divinity (*a*). In the year 1626, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and that of Master in 1630 (*b*). Soon after, he was appointed Master of Stamford-school, in Lincolnshire; whence, on the 27th of July, 1647, he was elected, 'with one 'mutual consent and agreement,' Master of the free-school in Colchester (*c*); which he very much improved, not only in the number of scholars, but also in divers useful and necessary repairs and amendments about the house (*d*). He resigned it the 17th of January, 1642-3 (*e*); and on the 10th of May, 1644, was chosen Head Master of Merchant-Tailors school in London. As he was a very diligent, exact, and excellently learned man in all grammatical learning, that school greatly flourished under his care and influence (*f*). But for shewing, as was thought, too great an affection to the royal cause [*A*], and especially for being concerned in printing Cl. Salmasius's Defence of King Charles I. [*B*], he was deprived of his school on the 20th of February, 1649-

(*a*) This account is taken from the Admission-book of Sidney-College, and was communicated by the late Master, Dr. J. Adams.

(*b*) From the Grace-book of that college.

(*c*) From the Assembly-books of that town.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid. and Hist. of Colch.

(*f*) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Additions, edit. 1720, Vol. I. B. i. p. 170, 203.

[*A*] *But for shewing, as was thought, too great an affection to the royal cause.*] That he was very well affected to King Charles I. and to the royal interest, appears from a curious register he kept of his school (1), wherein the following verses of his are entered.

(1) Now extant in Sion-College Library.

On the beheading of King Charles I.

Μάρλυς ὑπερ Σείων καλοκάγαθε νόμων ὄχ' ἄριστος
Σκηπτέχων ΚΑΡΟΛΟΣ μιαιφόνων χερσὶν ἔπιπτεν.

i. e. 'Charles, the best of Kings, is fallen by the hands 'of cruel, or wicked, men: a martyr for the laws of 'God, and those of his country,'

And on the burial of Oliver Cromwell's mother in Westminster-Abbey.

Μήτηρ τῆ τίκτυ καλαράτε ἐνθάδε κεῖται,
Ὃς δύο μὲν βασιλεῖς τε καὶ ὅλεσε τρεῖς βασιλείας.

i. e. 'Here lieth the mother of a cursed son, who has 'been the ruin of two Kings and of three kingdoms.'

However, it was not for these verses, as Mr. Strype at first imagined (2), that he was dismissed the school, but for being concerned in printing the book mentioned above; and also Εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ (*).

(2) Ubi supra, p. 170.

(*) Wagstaffe's Vindicat. p. 51.

[*B*] *Especially for being concerned in printing Claudius Salmasius's Defence of King Charles* I.] Of this, Mr. Dugard has left the following memorandum in the Register-book above mentioned. *Ad Februarii* 20, 1649. *Atque hæc sunt nomina discipulorum quos ego* Gulielmus Dugard, *in Scholam liberam dignissimæ Societatis* Mercatorum Scissorum *admisi a Maij* 10, 1644, *ad Februarij* 20, 1649. *Quo tempore a Concilio Novi Status ab Archididascalatus officio summotus, & in carcerem* Novæ Portæ *conjectus sum; ob hanc præcipue causam, quod* Claudii Salmasii *librum (qui inscribitur* Defensio Regia pro Carolo primo ad serenissimum Regem Carolum secundum legitimum Hæredem & Successorem) *typis mandandum curaveram: Typographeo insuper integro spoliatus, ad valorem mille Librarum minimum: Nihil jam reliquum habens, unde victum quæram uxori & sex liberis. Quos Dei misericordiis, & benignissimi Patris*

1649-50, and imprisoned in Newgate; his wife, and six children, turned out of doors; and a printing-press of his, which he valued at a thousand pounds, seized (*g*). Being soon after released, he opened, on the 15th of April, 1650, a private school on Peter's Hill, London. But, on the 25th of September, the same year, he was restored to his former station, by means of the same Council of State, who had caused him to be removed (*b*). There he continued with great success and credit till about the middle of the year 1661, when he was dismissed, for breaking some orders of the Company of Merchant-Tailors, having been publicly warned and admonished of it before (*i*). He presented a remonstrance to them upon that occasion, but to no purpose (*k*). Whereupon he opened a private school in Coleman-street, July 4, 1661, and, by the 25th of March following, had gathered an hundred and ninety-three scholars; so great was his reputation, and the fame of his abilities (*l*). But he lived a very little while after; for he died in the year 1662. He gave, by will, several books to Sion-College Library (*m*). Besides the qualifications of his mind, which made him be highly valued and esteemed; he was also an excellent scholar, and particularly a good orator and poet (*n*). He published some few books for the use of his schools [*C*].

(*g*) Ibid. p. 203. This was done by the then Council of State.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 170.

(*k*) Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, p. 447.

(*l*) Stow and Strype, ubi supra.

(*m*) Catalog. & Histor. Biblio. Sionens. per Gul. Reading, fol. Lond. 1724, p. 41.

(*n*) Stow and Strype, ubi supra. He wrote a very beautiful hand.

*Patris Providentiæ alendos committo & commendo, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum.*

GULIELMUS DUGARD.

*E carcere* Novæ Portæ,
*Martis* 7, *Anno Dom.* 1649.

Then follows immediately.

*Nomina Discipulorum; quos ego* Gulielmus Dugard *admisi in privatam Scholam, quam aperui in vico vulgo dicto* Peter's Hill, *in ædibus conductitiis ab Aprilis* 15, *ad Septembris* 25, 1650. *Quo tempore a dignissima Societate* Mercatorum Scissorum, *hortatu tamen Concilii Status, ad antiquam provinciam Scholæ* Mercatorum Scissorum *restitutus sum* (3).

(3) Stow and Strype, ubi supra, p. 203.

[*C*] *He published some few books for the use of his schools.*] Namely, 1. A short Rhetoric. *Rhetorices Compendium*, Lond. 8vo. 2. Some select Dialogues of Lucian. *Luciani Samosatensis Dialogorum Selectorum Libri duo. A* Gulielmo Dugardo *recogniti, & (variis collatis exemplaribus) multo castigatius quam ante editi. Cum Interpretatione Latina, multis in locis emendata, & ad calcem adjecta.* Lond. 8vo. In the preface to this book, he observes the danger and hurt of putting books into the hands of children indiscriminately, without selecting what is best in them, and leaving out the bad. And ascribes the corruption of manners, then too much prevailing, to the injudicious and careless use of books of all sorts. Then he affirms, that the chief regard is to be had to the morals of youth, which are not to be endangered even under pretence of the greatest learning. *Quantum enim detrimentum adolescentium animis afferant ii, qui vel hunc, vel alios id genus Authores sine rerum delectu in lucem edunt, aut legendos proponunt, nostrorum temporum perquam corrupti mores, quorum incauta lectio parens est, satis declarant. Habenda igitur potior virtutis ratio, neque committendum unquam, ut illius jacturam, vel maximæ eruditionis prætextu, Juventus faciat.* 3. Our author also published "A Greek Grammar," &c. M.

*** [It is surprising that our predecessor, in speaking of Dugard's publications, should have omitted his principal work, which was his "Lexicon *Graeci* Testamenti Alphabeticum," printed in 1660, and which is known to every theological scholar. This book is excellently adapted for the use of schools, and young students in divinity. It is not merely a Lexicon, by exhibiting all the words of the Greek Testament, as they stand in the text, with explanations and inflections, but answers, likewise, in a compendious form, the end of a concordance. The late learned Mr. Bowyer had taken some pains in correcting and enlarging this work, with a view to its republication. His improved copy is in the possession of Mr. Nichols (4).

(4) Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 450. New Universal Dictionary, Vol. V. p. 24.

We cannot understand upon what grounds Mr. Dugard is represented in the text as having been a good poet. Like many other excellent classical scholars, he could occasionally write Latin and even Greek verses; but a capacity of this kind may subsist without any great pretensions to the poetical character.] K.

DUGDALE (William), a most industrious and excellent Antiquary and Historian, in the XVIIth century, was the only son of John Dugdale [*A*], of Shustoke, near Coles-Hill, in Warwickshire, Gent. by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Arthur Swynfen, a younger son of William Swynfen of Swynfen in Staffordshire (*a*). He was born at Shustoke the 12th of September, 1605; and had his first education in grammar-learning under Mr. Thomas Sibley, Curate at Nether Whitacre, near his native place, till he arrived to the age of ten years and upwards; and, afterwards, under Mr. James Cranford, in the free-school at Coventry, till he was near fifteen years old. Then returning home to his father, he received farther instructions from him, especially in Law (*b*) and History; in all which he became well versed by his own indefatigable industry. In the mean time, his father being aged, and grown very infirm with a dead palsy, and desiring to see him matched in his life-time, he married, on the 17th of March, 1622-3, Margery, second daughter of John Huntbach, of Seawall, in the parish of Bishbury in Staf-

(*a*) The Life of Sir William Dugdale, written by himself, and prefixed to his Hist. of St. Paul's Cathedral, 2d. edit. 1716. See also the end of the Preface to his Antiquities of Warwickshire.

(*b*) His father read first to him Littleton's Tenures, and afterwards several other law books. Life, &c. as above, p. v.

[*A*] *Was the only son of John Dugdale.*] This John Dugdale was the only child of James Dugdale, of Clitherow, in Lancashire, Gent. (which name and family had been of long continuance in those parts), and had his chief education in St. John's College, Oxon: where applying himself to the study of Civil-Law, he took the degree of Master of Arts; and, continuing there the space of fourteen years, was for some time Clerk of the Accompts for that College, and Steward of their Courts. During some years of his stay in that college, he was tutor to William Paulet, only son to the Lord Giles Paulet, younger son to William, the first Marquis of Winchester, of that noble family. When he left the University, resolving to settle in the country, he took a liking to the woodland part of Warwickshire, where Mr. Paulet had a fair estate. Selling therefore his lands in Lancashire, he gave him a large fine for a lease of the impropriate rectory of Shustoke, during the term of sixty years, where finding the house ruinous, he new built it. Fixing himself there, and marrying his wife Elizabeth abovementioned, he had by her our author, William; and one daughter, named Mary, who became the wife of Richard Seawall, son of Henry Seawall, Alderman of Coventry (1).

(1) Life, &c. as above; and Mr. John Dugdale's epitaph in our author's Antiq. of Warwickshire, edit. 1730, Vol. II. p. 1046.

fordshire,

fordſhire, Gent. As he was then but in the eighteenth year of his age, he boarded with his wife's father till the death of his own father, which happened on the 4th of July, 1624. But, ſoon after that, he went and kept houſe at Fillongley in Warwickſhire, where he had an eſtate formerly purchaſed by his father. In 1625 he bought the manor of Blythe in Shuſtoke aforementioned; and, the year following, ſold his eſtate at Fillongley, and came to reſide at Blythe-Hall. His natural inclination leading him to the ſtudy of Antiquities and Hiſtory (*c*), he was generally encouraged thereto by that great Antiquary, Samuel Roper, Eſq. a Derbyſhire gentleman, and Barriſter at Law, with whom he became acquainted about the year 1615. And having alſo, after his ſettling at Blythe-Hall, read Mr. William Burton's Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire, and being made known to him (*d*), he was by that learned perſon introduced (*e*) to Sir Simon Archer of Tamworth, Knt. a great lover of Antiquities; who delivered to him collections he had made out of divers ancient writings, and brought him acquainted with Sir Simon Clarke of Brome-Court, and moſt other gentlemen in Warwickſhire. By their advice and encouragement he undertook a Deſcription of that County, of which we ſhall give an account below. In 1638 he accompanied Sir Simon Archer to London, who introduced him to the learned Sir Henry Spelman: and, during his reſidence in that place, he had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the moſt eminent Antiquaries in the nation [*B*]. Among the reſt, Sir Chriſtopher Hatton took a great liking to

(*c*) Life, &c. as above, and Wood. Faſt. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 7. &c.

(*d*) Blythe-Hall was but eight miles from Lindley, where Mr. W. Burton reſided.

(*e*) About the year 1630. Life, &c. as above, p. 5.

[*B*] *He had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the moſt eminent Antiquaries in the nation.*] Take a full account of this in Mr. Dugdale's own words. 'After he ſettled at Blythe-Hall, having read the 'deſcription of Leiceſter, publiſhed by Mr. William 'Burton, of Lindley, in that county, (about eight 'miles diſtant from Blythe-Hall,) he was introduced 'into his acquaintance by Mr. Fiſher Dilke, of Shuſ'toke, a kinſman of Mr. Burton, and, by the ſaid 'Mr. Burton, into the acquaintance of Sir Simon 'Archer, of Tamworth, in the county of Warwick, 'Knight; who, being much affected to Antiquities, 'and having made ſome collections out of divers an'cient writings, did freely communicate to him what 'he had ſo gathered, and brought him acquainted 'with moſt of the gentlemen of note in the county; 'who being deſirous, through his incitation, to pre'ſerve the honour of their families by ſome ſuch pub'lic work, as Mr. Burton had done by thoſe in Lei'ceſterſhire, did freely communicate unto him the 'ſight of their ancient evidences. Amongſt the which 'he found none more knowing, and forward to en'courage ſuch a work, than Sir Simon Clarke of 'Brome-Court, in the pariſh of Salford, who imparted 'to him divers things of conſequence, eſpecially the 'Leiger-book of the Priory of Kenilworth. Sir Si'mon Archer going to London with his Lady in Eaſ'ter-Term, Anno 1638, much importuned Mr. Dug'dale to accompany him in that journey; whereunto 'he aſſenting, Sir Simon being acquainted with the 'learned Sir Henry Spelman, Knight, (a perſon fa'mous for his knowledge in Antiquities,) and then 'near eighty years of age, brought Mr. Dugdale to 'him; who receiving him with great humanity, and 'finding, upon diſcourſe with him, and the ſight of 'divers collections relating to the Antiquities of War'wickſhire, (which he then ſhewed him), that he had 'made ſome good progreſs in thoſe ſtudies, told him, 'That being a perſon ſo well inclined to that learning, 'and ſo good a proficient therein, he eſteemed him 'very fit to ſerve the King in the Office of Arms; and 'that the moſt noble Thomas, Earl of Arundel, then 'Earl Marſhal of England, having, by virtue of that 'office, the nomination of all ſuch as were admitted 'into that ſociety, would think it a good ſervice to 'the public, to prefer ſuch thereunto as were thus 'naturally qualified, and found ſedulous in thoſe ſtu'dies, offering to recommend him, the ſaid Mr. 'Dugdale, to his Lordſhip for that purpoſe: which 'he did accordingly. Whereupon he was intro'duced unto that honourable perſon, firſt, by Sir 'George Greſteley of Drakelow, in the county of 'Derby, Bart. (who was then in London), and well 'known to his Lordſhip. Waiting ſome time upon 'Sir Henry Spelman, Sir Henry told him, That 'there was a Yorkſhire Gentleman, one Mr. Roger 'Dodſworth, who had taken much pains in ſearch of 'records, and other ancient memorials, relating to 'the Antiquities of that country, but eſpecially as to 'the Monaſtery-foundations in the Northern parts of 'this realm, which work he did not a little recom'mend to the pains and care of ſome induſtrious and 'diligent ſearchers into Antiquities: affirming, that, 'out of his own great affection thereto, he had in his 'younger years got together the tranſcripts of the 'foundation-charters of divers Monaſteries in Norfolk 'and Suffolk (himſelf being a Norfolk man), much 'importuning Mr. Dugdale to join with Mr. Dodſ'worth in that commendable work, which, by reaſon 'of his youth, and inclination to proſecute thoſe ſtu'dies, might in time be brought to ſome perfection. 'Unto which propoſal Mr. Dugdale readily aſſented, 'and, within a few days after, caſually meeting with 'Mr. Dodſworth, at Mr. Samuel Roper's chamber in 'Lincoln's-Inn, and communicating what they were 'in hand with, as to their farther progreſs in thoſe 'ſtudies, readily engaged themſelves to each other, to 'endeavour the gaining of what tranſcripts they could 'obtain from any leiger-books, public records, ori'ginal charters, or other manuſcrips of note, in order 'thereto; but ſtill with this reſervation, that Mr. 'Dugdale ſhould not neglect his collections, touching 'the Antiquities of Warwickſhire, wherein he had 'made conſiderable progreſs. Being thus in London, 'and deſirous to gain acquaintance with all perſons of 'note there, who ſtood affected to Antiquities, Mr. 'Roper brought him to Mr. Henry Lillye, an arms'painter in Little-Britain, who, according to that 'meaſure of learning he had gained, was not a little 'verſed in thoſe ſtudies, having been employed by 'divers perſons of honour and quality in framing their 'pedigrees out of original evidences, and other war'rantable authorities. Hereupon converſing ſome 'time with Mr. Lillye, he there accidentally met with 'one Mr. Richard Gaſcoigne, a Yorkſhire Gentleman, 'who alſo ſtood much affected to thoſe ſtudies, eſpe'cially as to matters of pedigree, wherein he had taken 'ſome pains for divers northern families; who having 'great acquaintance with Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, of 'Kirby, in the county of Northampton, afterwards 'created Lord Hatton, a perſon highly affected to 'thoſe ſtudies, and who had not ſpared for coſt in 'gaining ſundry tranſcripts from public records, 'leiger-books, ancient charters, and many choice 'MSS, brought Mr. Dugdale to that moſt worthy 'perſon, by whom he was made welcome, with all ex'preſſions of kindneſs, and readineſs to further him 'in thoſe his labours. In order thereunto, Sir Chriſ'topher made him ſoon acquainted with Sir Thomas 'Fanſhaw, his near kinſman, at that time the King's 'Remembrancer in the Exchequer (afterwards Lord 'Viſcount Fanſhaw), by means of which great office 'he had the cuſtody of divers leiger-books, and other 'manuſcripts of great antiquity; eſpecially that not'able record called the Red-book, as alſo Teſta de 'Nevill, Kirby's Queſt. Nomina Villarum, and others, 'to all which, by his favour, he had free acceſs. Nor 'was he leſs careful to obtain the like acceſs for him

to him, and joined with Sir Henry Spelman in recommending him to Thomas, Earl of Arundel, then Earl Marshal of England; who, on the 24th of September, 1638, created him a Pursuivant at Arms Extraordinary, by the name of Blanch-Lyon, having obtained the King's warrant for that purpose. Afterwards, he was made Rouge-Croix-Pursuivant in Ordinary, by virtue of his Majesty's Letters-Patent, dated March 18, 1639-40, in the room of Mr. Edward Walker, removed to the office of Chester-Herald. By this means, having a lodging in the Heralds-Office, with a yearly salary of twenty pounds out of the Exchequer, and perquisites, for his support; he spent that, and part of the year following, in augmenting his collections out of the records in the Tower, and other places. In summer, 1641, through Sir Christopher Hatton's encouragement, he employed himself, with one Mr. William Sedgwick, a skilful arms-painter, in taking exact draughts of all the monuments in the Abbey-Church at Westminster, St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and in many other Cathedral, Collegiate, Conventual, and Parochial Churches [C], wherein any tombs or monuments were to be found; to the end that the memory of them, in case of that destruction then imminent, might be preserved for future and better times. In 1642 he received orders, by warrant under the Royal Signet Manual, dated June 1, to repair to his Majesty at York, according to the duty of his place; which he accordingly did, and continued there till about the middle of July, when he received the King's command to attend Spencer, Earl of Northampton, Lord Lieutenant of Warwickshire (*f*), who was then endeavouring to secure the chief places in and near that county, and to disperse the forces assembled by the Lord Brook for the Parliament's service (*g*). During his attendance upon that Lord, he summoned the castle of Banbury, which surrendered to his Majesty; but Warwick and Coventry refusing so to do, the persons by whom they were held were proclaimed traitors by Mr. Dugdale. He attended the King at Edge-hill battle, on the 23d of October, 1642 [D], and afterwards to Oxford (where, on the first of November, he was created Master of Arts (*h*)), and thence to Reading and Brentford; his Majesty intending to proceed to London. But, being forced to return back to Oxford, our author continued there (*i*), by his Majesty's command, till the surrender of that garrison to the Parliament, June 26, 1646. In the mean time he was, on the 16th of April, 1644, created Chester-Herald, in the room of Edward Walker, Esq. advanced to the office of Norroy. In this same year he took a journey to Worcester, and extracted, out of the Registers of the Bishop and Dean and Chapter, the like materials for his Antiquities of Warwickshire as he had done at Litchfield. Likewise, during his long residence at Oxford, he applied himself to the search of such Antiquities, in the Bodleian and other Libraries, as he thought might any way conduce towards the furtherance of the *Monasticon*, designed by Mr. Roger Dodsworth and himself; as also of whatsoever might relate to matter of History, touching the antient Nobility of this realm, of which he made good use in his Baronage. After the surrender of Oxford garrison, upon articles, in May 1646, Mr. Dugdale having the benefit of them, repaired to London, and, for the sum of a hundred and sixty-eight pounds, compounded for his estate which had been sequestered. Then he, and Mr. Dodsworth, vigorously proceeded to complete their collections for the *Monasticon*, out of the Tower Records and Cottonian Library: in which latter, Mr. Dugdale sorted many bundles of original letters, and choice memorials, and caused them to be bound in eighty volumes [E]. In May,

(*f*) The Life of Sir William Dugdale, &c. as above.

(*g*) Wood, ubi supra, col. 10.

(*h*) Ibid. col. 7.

(*i*) Residing mostly in Hart-hall. Wood ubi supra col. 7.

'to the Records in the Tower of London, through 'his interest with old Mr. Collet, the chief clerk at 'that time there under Sir John Burroughs, whom he 'amply rewarded with sundry gratuities, for his kind-'ness and pains in furthering Mr. Dugdale, as to his 'Collections from those rarities there reposed. During 'his stay also at London at that time, he was, by the 'said Mr. Samuel Roper, brought into the acquain-'tance of Sir Thomas Cotton, Baronet, son to the most 'worthy Sir Robert Cotton, founder of that incom-'parable library in his house at Westminster, of most 'rare and choice manuscrips, whereby he had also 'free-access thereto, and made such Collections as 'were of singular use to him in several volumes, which 'have been since made publick. By the said Mr. 'Roper, he was also introduced into the acquaintance 'of Mr. Scipio Squire, then one of the Vice-Cham-'berlains of the Exchequer, through whose kindness 'and favour he had access to that venerable Record, 'called Doomsday-book, as also to the Fines, Plea-'Rolls, and sundry other things of Antiquity remain-'ing in the Treasury (2).'

(2) Life, &c. p. v. vi. vii.

[C] *And in many other Cathedral, Collegiate, Conventual, and Parochial Churches.*] Particularly those at Peterborough, Ely, Norwich, Lincoln, Newark, upon Trent, Beverley, Southwell, Kingston upon Hull, York, Selby, Chester, Litchfield, Tamworth, Warwick, &c. The draughts were taken by Mr. Sedgwick, then servant to Sir Christopher Hatton; but it is probable the inscriptions were copied by Mr. Dugdale's exact pen. They were deposited in Sir Christopher Hatton's library (3).

(3) Ibid. p. ix.

[D] *He attended the King at Edge-hill battle, on the 23d of October, 1642.*] And, about that time, committed to writing the most memorable passages in that battle, of which he had been a spectator. That the relation of all particulars relating thereto might be the better understood, he took with him, in the February following, some Gentlemen of note, and a skilful surveyor, and rode to Banbury (the Castle whereof was then his Majesty's garrison), and thence to the field of battle, which he exactly surveyed; noting where each army was drawn up, how and where the cannon on each part were placed, as also the particular graves wherein all the slain were buried; observing, from the relation of the neighbouring inhabitants, the certain number of bodies which lay interred in every grave, which, in the whole, did not amount to quite two-thousand, though the general report of the vulgar made them no less than five-thousand (4).

(4) Wood, ubi supra, col. 10; and Life, ubi supra, p. xii.

[E] *In which latter (the Cottonian) Mr. Dugdale sorted many bundles of original letters, and choice memo-*

May, 1648, he waited on the Lady Hatton to Calais, who was to meet there the Lord Hatton, her husband: and, when his Lordship returned to Paris, Mr. Dugdale accompanied him thither, and stayed nearly three months in that city; where, through the favour of Mr. Francis Du Chesne, he had the perusal of the collections of his learned father Andrew du Chesne (*k*), out of which he copied many curious things, relating to the Priories-alien in England, which were cells to great abbeys in France, &c. He returned to England in August, having a safe conduct from Queen Henrietta-Maria. After which he and Mr. Dodsworth went on completing their collections for the *Monasticon*, and preparing them for the press. When they were ready, the booksellers not caring to venture upon so large and hazardous a work, Mr. Dodsworth and Mr. Dugdale hired sums of money, and printed at their own charge the first volume, which was published in the year 1655 [*F*], in folio, as were the second and third volumes afterwards. In the mean time, our industrious author having finished 'The Antiquities of 'Warwickshire illustrated [*G*],' he printed that valuable work at his own charge: and for nearly a year and a half, whilst it was printing, continued in London, in order to correct the press himself, because the ordinary correctors were not skilled in the pedigrees. During his residence in which place, he had an opportunity of collecting materials for The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London [*H*], which he published in

(*k*) Author of a History of England in French, and several other curious books.

*rials, and caused them to be bound in eighty volumes*]. They were bundles of most valuable papers of state, which Sir Robert Cotton had obtained from several hands: containing the transactions between Cardinal Wolsey and others, with several of his letters; as also of T. Cromwell afterwards Earl of Essex, Secretary Paget, Cecil Lord Burleigh, Secretary Walsingham, and others, relating as well to foreign as domestic affairs; and likewise the letters and papers of Mary Queen of Scots, John Duke of Norfolk, and other eminent persons in those times: Mr. Dugdale having sorted them, caused them to be bound up with clasps, with the arms of Sir Thomas Cotton on each side of every book (5).

(5) Life, &c. p. xv.

[*F*] *The first volume, which was published in the year* 1655.] Under this title: *Monasticon Anglicanum; sive Pandectæ Coenobiorum Benedictinorum, Cluniacensium, Cistercensium, Carthusianorum. A primordiis ad eorum usque dissolutionem. Ex MSS ad Monasteria olim pertinentibus, Archivis Turrium Lond. Ebor. Curiarum Scaccarii, Augmentationum, Bibliothecis, Bodleiana, Arundelliana, Cottoniana, Seldeniana, Hottoniana, aliisque, digestum.* Adorned with the prospects of Abbeys, Churches, &c. After the publication of this, the printing of the second volume was put off for above five years, till the greatest part of the impression of the first was sold, in order to raise money for going on with that extensive work (6). This is the reason why the second volume was not published till the year 1661; The title of it was, *Monastici Anglicani Volumen alterum. De Canonicis Regularibus, Augustinianis, scilicet, Hospitalariis, Templariis, Gilbertinis, Præmonstratensibus, & Maturinis sive Trinitarianis. Cum Appendice ad Volumen primum de Coenobiis aliquot Gallicanis, Hibernicis, & Scoticis. Nec non quibusdam Anglicanis antea omissis*, &c. These two volumes were collected, and totally written by Mr. Dodsworth; but Mr. Dugdale took great pains in methodizing and disposing the materials, in making several indexes to the two volumes, and in correcting them at the press: for Mr. Dodsworth died in August, 1654, before the tenth part of the first volume was printed off (7). The third volume was printed off in 1673, under this title: *Monastici Anglicani volumen tertium & ultimum. Additamenta quædam in volumen primum, ac volumen secundum, jampridem edita: Nec non fundationes, sive dotationes, diversarum Ecclesiarum Cathedralium ac Collegiatarum, continens. Ex Archivis regiis, ipsis autographis, ac diversis Codic. Manuscriptis decerpta.* Several curious things in this volume were communicated by Mr. Ant. Wood, and Sir Tho. Herbert, Bart. (8). These three volumes contain chiefly the Foundation-Charters of the Monasteries at their first erection, the Donation-Charters in after-times being purposely omitted; which are so numerous, that twenty such volumes would not contain them.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid. and Wood, ubi supra, col. 14.

(8) Wood, ibid. col. 15.

[*G*] *The Antiquities of Warwickshire illustrated.*] The whole title of the book is, 'The Antiquities of 'Warwickshire illustrated; from Records, Leiger-'Books, Manuscripts, Charters, Evidences, Tombes, 'and Arms: beautified with Maps, Prospects, and 'Portraictures, Lond. 1656, fol.' The Author gives us this account of it.—'As for the work itself, it is an 'Illustration of the Antiquities with which my native 'country (Warwickshire) hath been honoured; in ac-'complishing whereof, I have spent the chiefest of my 'time for much more than twenty years, diligently 'searching into the vast treasuries of publique Re-'cords, besides a multitude of Manuscripts, original 'Charters, and Evidences in private hands, as the 'margents where they are cited do manifest (9).'—— A second edition of this curious and useful book was published in 1730——'in two volumes, printed 'from a copy corrected by the author himself, and 'with the original copper-plates. The whole revised, 'augmented, and continued down to this present time, 'by William Thomas, D. D. some time Rector of 'Exhall, in the same county. With the addition of 'several prospects of gentlemen's seats, churches, 'tombs, and new and correct maps of the county, and 'of the several hundreds, from an actual survey made 'by Henry Beighton, F. R. S. Also complete lists of 'the Members of Parliament and Sheriffs taken from 'the original Records; and an alphabetical index and 'blazonry of the arms upon the several plates.' One fault there is the method of this book; namely, That the parishes are not distinguished from the villages by any particular mark. The titles, at the beginning of the several divisions, should therefore have been printed in different characters: as, for instance, the parishes in old English letter, or in capitals; and the villages in italic, as they are now. The name of each parish should likewise have been put at the top of the page, or pages, which contain an account of the same.—— However, this is our author's master-piece (10), and allowed to be the best methodized and most accurate account that ever was written of this nature (11).

(9) Preface, p. 1.

(10) Wood, as above, col. 13.

[*H*] *During his residence in which place, he had an opportunity of collecting materials for The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London.*] Of which he gives us himself the following account. 'Meeting casually 'there with Mr. John Reading, a Nottinghamshire 'Gentleman, who had formerly been Clerk of the Nisi 'Prius for the Midland-Circuit, and with whom, be-'fore the Rebellion, he was acquainted, he friendly 'invited Mr. Dugdale to his house at Scriveners-hall, 'with promise to shew him some old manuscript books, 'original charters, and other ancient writings. Co-'ming thither accordingly, Mr. Reading brought forth 'five ancient manuscript books in folio, which were 'leiger-books of the lands anciently given to the Ca-'thedral of St. Paul, in London; and freely lent them 'to him, to carry into the country until the next en-'suing Michaelmas Term, intimating that he should 'have the use of many more upon his next return to 'London. But, in Michaelmas Term, when Mr. 'Dugdale came to restore those books so lent, he 'found that Mr. Reading was dead, and had consti-'tuted one Mr. Williams, a Barrister at Law of the 'Temple,

(11) See The English Topographer, &c. Lond. 1720, 8vo. p. 233.

in 1658, fol. Upon the reſtoration of King Charles II. he was, through Lord Chancellor Hyde's recommendation, advanced to the office of Norroy King of Arms, then vacant by the promotion of Sir Edward Walker to that of Garter; and his patent paſſed the Great-Seal on the 18th of June, 1660 (*l*). In 1662 he publiſhed "The "History of Imbanking and Draining of divers Fens and Marſhes, both in Foreign "Parts and in this Kingdom, and of the Improvement thereby. Extracted from Re-"cords, Manuſcripts, and other authentick Teſtimonies. Adorned with ſeveral Maps, "&c." fol. Written at the deſire of the Lord Gorges, Sir John Marſham, Bart. and others who were adventurers in that coſtly and laudable work, for draining the great Level, which extends itſelf into a conſiderable part of the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton, Norfolk, and Suffolk. About the ſame time he completed the ſecond volume of Sir Henry Spelman's Councils, and publiſhed it in 1664 [*I*]. As alſo the ſecond part of that learned Knight's Gloſſary [*K*]. Likewiſe, having,

(*l*) Life, &c. as above, p. xvii.

'Temple, his executor. Addreſſing himſelf therefore 'to the ſaid Mr. Williams, and deſiring a ſight of 'the reſt, he very civilly brought him to Scriveners-'Hall, and there ſhewing him many other old manu-'ſcript-books, original charters, and very ancient 'writings, in bags and hampers, all relating to that 'great Cathedral, he freely lent them to him, to 'carry to his own lodging, they amounting to no leſs 'than ten porters burdens.' Having them, therefore, thus in his private cuſtody, and beſtowing pains to ſort them into order, he made extracts from them, of what he found hiſtorical in reference to that church. And, to the end, the memory of thoſe noble and ancient monuments might be preſerved (which were afterwards deſtroyed, the church being made an horſe-garriſon by the late rebellious uſurpers), did by the help and favour of ſundry worthy perſons who voluntarily offered to be at the charge of thoſe plates, in which the repreſentations of them were cut in braſs, as alſo the lively proſpects of the whole fabrick (inſide and out), accompliſh the ſame; and having ſuccinctly framed an hiſtorical narrative of the foundation, and endowment thereof, likewiſe of all the chantries, and what elſe was moſt memorable therein, publiſhed it, under this title, 'The Hiſtory of St. Paul's Cathedral "in London, from its Foundation, till theſe Times: "extracted out of original Charters, Records, Leiger-"books, and other Manuſcripts. Beautified with ſun-"dry Proſpects of the Church, figures of Tombs and "Monuments, &c." Lond. 1658, fol. There was a Second Edition of this curious book 'corrected and 'enlarged by the author's own hand. To which is 'prefixed his life, written by himſelf. Publiſhed by 'Edward Maynard, D. D. Rector of Boddington in 'Northamptonſhire,' London, 1716, fol. Five of the original plates being loſt, five new ones were engraved for this ſecond edition. There are in it great additions, which were not in the former edition: particularly a new introduction, and many additions in ſeveral places, to the quantity of ſome ſheets in all; beſides an account of the new-building of St. Paul's from year to year, 1685; with a catalogue of the ſeveral benefactors, and the ſums they gave towards the building of it, our author being one of the Commiſſioners appointed for that work: and, which is more than all the reſt together, "An Hiſtorical Account of "the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches of York, "Rippon, South-well, Beverley, Durham, and Car-"liſle."

[*I*] *He completed the ſecond volume of Sir Henry Spelman's Councils, and publiſhed it in* 1664.] Under this title, *Concilia, Decreta, Leges, Conſtitutiones in re Eccleſiarum Orbis Britannici*; viz. *Pan-Anglica, Scotica, Hibernica, Provincialia, Dioceſana: Ab introitu Normannorum. An Dom.* MLXVI. *ad exitum Papam, ſive ad An. Dom.* MDXXXI. *Acceſſerunt etiam alia ad rem Eccleſiaſticam ſpectantia; uti reperiuntur in eorundem Actis, Canonibus Eccleſiaſticis, Principum reſcriptis, Libris impreſſis, antiquis Manuſcriptis, Chartis, Schedis, & Monumentis veteribus.* Sir Henry Spelman's name only appears in the title. And the Book is dedicated, by Charles Spelman, Sir Henry's grandſon to Gilbert Sheldon, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; who, with the Earl of Clarendon, had been the chief promoters of this work, and put Mr. Dugdale upon it. It was printed in a very incorrect manner; but Mr. William Somner took a great deal of pains in noting all the faults in the margin of a copy belonging to him, which was depoſited in the Library of the Church of Canterbury. What great ſhare Mr. Dugdale had in this work will beſt appear hence: That, out of *two hundred and ninety-four* articles whereof that volume conſiſts, *a hundred and ninety-one* are of his collecting, being thoſe that are marked with an * in the liſt of the contents, at the beginning of the volume (12). The materials for it (beſides thoſe left by Sir Henry Spelman) were gathered by Mr. Dugdale, out of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops Regiſters, the Cottonian and other Libraries, and our ancient Engliſh Hiſtorians (13).

(12) See the Preface.

(13) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*K*] *As alſo the ſecond part of that learned Knight's Gloſſary.*] The firſt part was publiſhed in 1626, fol. by Sir Henry. He did not live to finiſh the ſecond part, but left much of it looſely written; with obſervations, and ſundry bills of paper, pinned thereto. Theſe Mr. Dugdale took the pains to diſpoſe into proper order, tranſcribing many of thoſe looſe papers, &c. And having reviewed the firſt part, cauſed both to be printed together in 1664, (14) under this title, *Gloſſarium Archaiologicum, continens Latino barbara, peregrina, obſoleta, & novæ ſignificationis vocabula.* There was another edition of it in 1687. The ſecond part, digeſted by Mr. Dugdale, began at the letter M. But Mr. Wood obſerves (15), that it 'comes far ſhort of 'the firſt.' Nay, ſome have aſſerted (16), 'that he 'or they who put out the ſecond part of Sir Henry 'Spelman's Gloſſary, did not do right to his memory.' In anſwer to which, Dr. R. Brady gives us the following account (17). 'The firſt part [of the Gloſſary], 'to the letter N, was publiſhed in the year 1626, the 'whole being then finiſhed, and offered, by Sir 'Henry Spelman, to Mr. Bill the King's Printer, for 'the value of five pounds in books only: but he re-'fuſing to give him that ſmall rate for the copy, he 'ventured to print the firſt part of it at his own 'charge, and moſt of his books lay upon his hands 'till the latter end of the year 1637, when two book-'ſellers, in St. Paul's Church-yard, took them off. 'The next year, Mr. Dugdale being with Sir Henry 'Spelman, and telling him that many learned men 'were very deſirous to ſee the remaining part of that 'work, Sir Henry then told him what is here related, 'and *produced both parts of the Gloſſary*, the firſt 'whereof was printed and interleaved with blank 'leaves, as alſo was the ſecond, which was in manu-'ſcript, wherein he had added and altered much. 'After King Charles the IId's Reſtoration, the Earl of 'Clarendon then Lord Chancellor, and Dr. Sheldon, 'then Biſhop of London, inquired of Mr. Dugdale 'what was become of the remaining part of the Glof-'ſary, or whether it was ever finiſhed. He told them 'it was finiſhed, and in the hands of Mr. Charles 'Spelman, grand-child to Sir Henry, and youngeſt 'ſon to Sir John. Whereupon they deſired Mr. Dug-'dale to move him to print it; which he did: but, 'finding that the bookſellers would give nothing for 'the copy, and that he was not able to print it at his 'own charge, and returning this anſwer to the Lord 'Chancellor, and Biſhop of London; they contributed 'liberally themſelves, and, procuring many ſubſcrip-'tions

(14) Life, &c. as above.

(15) Ubi ſupra, col. 13.

(16) Atwood, *Jani Anglorum Facies nova*, edit. p. 265.

(17) Animadverſions upon a book called *Jani Anglorum Facies nova* edit. 1684. fol. p. 229, 230.

having, in his many years search into Records, &c. taken notes, as occasion offered, of the names of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers, Lord Treasurers, Justices itinerant, Justices of the King's Bench and Common-Pleas, Barons of the Exchequer, Masters of the Rolls, King's Attorneys and Solicitors, and Serjeants at Law; he compiled out of them a book entituled "Origines Juridiciales, &c." [L]. which he published in 1666, fol. His next work, was, "The Baronage of England," [M], of which the first

'tions to that purpose, desired Mr. Dugdale to receive 'the money, and deal with a Printer to perform the 'work: which he did, and caused it to be printed as 'he received it, all under the proper hand-writing of 'Sir Henry Spelman, without alteration or addition.' This account the Reader will be pleased to compare with the beginning of this Note, which is taken out of Sir William Dugdale's Life, written by himself. But that learned Author assures us, in the same Life (18), that the second part of the Glossary was published, 'without any alteration from Sir Henry's Copy, as 'by some hath been ignorantly surmised.'

(18) Page xix.

[L] *Origines Juridiciales, &c.*] The whole title, is, "Origines Juridiciales: or Historical Memorials "of the English Laws, Courts of Justice, Forms of "Tryal, Punishment in Cases criminal, Law-writers, "Law-books, Grants and Settlements of Estates, De-"gree of Serjeants, Inns of Court and Chancery. "Also a Chronologie of the Lord Chancellors, and "Keepers of the Great Seal, Lord Treasurers, Justices "Itinerant, Justices of the King's Bench and Common "Pleas, Barons of the Exchequer, Masters of the Rolls, "King's Attorneys and Solicitors, and Serjeants at "Law." The Historical Part, which was designed as an Introduction to the Chronological Tables, is divided into seventy-eight chapters. And the book is adorned with the heads of Sir John Clench, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Randolph Crew, Sir Robert Heath, Edward Earl of Clarendon to whom the Book is dedicated, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Sir John Vaughan, and Mr. Selden. There are also plates of the Arms in the windows of the Temple-Hall, and other Inns of Court, &c. The first Edition, as is said above, was in 1666; and the second in 1671. having the three last Plates more than the first, but being very full of faults. There was a pretended third Edition in 1680; but it is only the second, with a new Title-page; and a Continuation, in three leaves at the end, of the Chronology and Catalogues aforesaid. Bishop Nicolson recommends this Book, as a proper Introduction to the History of the Laws of this Kingdom (19).

(19) English Historical Library; under the title of that book.

[M] *The Baronage of England.*] The whole title of Tome I. is thus, "The Baronage of England, or "an Historical Account of the Lives and most memo-"rable Actions of our English Nobility in the Saxons' "Time, to the Norman Conquest; and from thence "of those who had their rise before the end of King "Henry the Third's Reign. Deduced from publick "Records, antient Historians, and other Authori-"ties."——That of the second is the same, with this difference——"Which had their rise, after the end "of King Henry the Third's reign, and before the ele-"venth year of King Richard the Second."——And of the third——"As had their rise, from the tenth "year of King Richard the Second, until this present "year 1676." These two last Volumes are generally bound together. What induced our Author to undertake this work, he tells us in the following words. 'I must ingenuously acknowledge, that I had not any 'thoughts of attempting this work here made public, 'until (by God Almighties disposal) attending the late 'King Charles the First, of blessed memory, in his 'garrison at Oxford, according to the duty of my 'place; and continuing in his service there, from the 'beginning of November An. 1642. until the end of 'June 1646; I had both leisure and opportunity 'of perusing many excellent Historical Manuscripts 'choicely preserved in the famous Bodleian Library, 'and sundry Colleges there; whence having gathered 'a large stock of fit materials in order to such a work, I 'grew encouraged to proceed farther; and thereupon, 'betook myself to a diligent search into those old Re-'cords in the Tower of London, Office of the Rolls, 'Exchequer, and sundry other public places: Next 'into that incomparable Treasury of most antient and 'choice Manuscripts, which the late worthy Sir Ro-'bert Cotton Bart. had, in his time, happily got to-'gether: and, after that, into divers other, no less 'estimable; which, with much charge, had been 'gained by the Right Honourable, the late Lord 'Hatton; and by his especial favour communicated 'to me; likewise into that elaborate collection from 'the Pipe-Rolls, made by Mr. Roger Dodsworth, my 'late deceased friend, and into sundry other, where-'unto my Quotations do refer: amongst which, those 'of Robert Glover, formerly Somerset-Herald, (most 'opportunely acquired from several hands, wherein 'they lay obscured) were not the least (20).' The collecting of the materials for this work cost the industrious Author a great part of thirty years labour, (21). But, notwithstanding his great care and pains, there are many faults in it: so that the Gentlemen at the Heralds Office, dare not depend upon the generality of matter relating to pedigree therein (22). However, this most useful work did not deserve the severe censure which a sour and ill-natured pedant (23) hath passed upon it, in his "Three Letters, con-"taining Remarks on some of the numberless Errors "and Defects in Dugdale's Baronage (24)." For, therein he is charged, with inaccuracy (25), want of capacity, and judgment (26), much negligence and ignorance (27), master-piece of stupidity (28), with gross and complicated blunders (29); who, as often as he has opportunities, falls into mistakes (30), and has fagoted his collections together (31): That, a very great number of inconsistencies, and contradictions are plentifully strewed through his whole book (32) &c. He owns indeed, that 'Dugdale is esteemed by much 'the best writer, who has yet made a general trea-'tise on this subject [of the Peerage] for which he 'seemed aptly qualified, being very laborious and in-'dustrious, and having been furnished with a vast 'number of excellent materials, and favoured with 'opportunities of access to public Offices and Libra-'ries, from whence a structure truly noble, and wor-'thy of the subject might have been raised; but 'having more regard to his profit than his honour, 'and the work being very large and tedious, he did 'not allow himself time to examine and compare his 'vouchers, nor the tasks of his several *Ammanuenses* '(33)——He had (says he elsewhere) a greedy 'appetite to Antiquities, but, like the Ostrich, he 'swallowed whatever came in his way unchewed, and 'it passed through him undigested. He seems to have 'had little Judgment in collecting, and less care and 'understanding in transcribing; and his manner of 'composing is still less excusable as it more affects 'other men. His avarice made him undertake bur-'dens too heavy for his shoulders, and pushed him 'beyond his speed. His eye was so fixed on his chief 'end, that he overlooked the means of deserving 'either praise or profit. His works (I speak as to 'that before me) seem to have been patched up by 'the help of Alphabets, and from whatever occurred, 'which, either by himself or his illiterate *Ammanu-'enses*, was thought to the present purpose; extracts 'were crudely huddled together, without any regard 'to truth or probability, or the consistence of one 'part with another: which is the reason that in any 'fact, wherein any plurality of persons is concerned, 'whereby it comes to be related in several places, it 'is very rare if such relations are not materially diffe-'rent, and sometimes none true. The margin of his 'book, I own, I have found useful, as it directs the 'nearest way to better information; but his authori-'ties there are in general so erroneously vouched, 'that they give no evidence to the purposes for which 'they are produced; so that there is no depending 'upon him, without examining his witnesses. In 'fine, his disagreeing fragments of unhewed materi-'als are so unartfully disposed, and so coarsely laid 'together

(20) Preface to Vol. I. p. 1, 2.

(21) Life, &c. as above, p. xix.

(22) Wood, ubi supra, col. 16.

(23) Supposed to be Charles Hornby, Esq; late Secondary of the Pipe-Office.

(24) Lond. 1738, 8vo.

(25) Page 4.

(26) Page 20.

(27) Page 18.

(28) Page 31.

(29) Ibid. & p. 44.

(30) Page 58.

(31) Page 47.

(32) Page 10.

(33) Page 4.

first tome appeared in print, in 1675, and the second and third in 1676, fol. The first treating of such of the Earls, and their descendants, as had their first advancements before the end of King Henry IIId's reign; and, of all others, who held their honours or baronies *by tenure*, as antiently. The second of those, whose original hath been (viz. of Earls *by creation*, and Barons *by summons* to Parliament) before the 11th year of King Richard IId's reign. And the third of those, and their posterity, who have had their *creations by patent*, as most Barons had, or by writ of summons from that time (11 Rich. II.) till the year 1676; the Dukes, Marquisses, and Viscounts, being therein likewise included, and reserved to their proper times and places (*m*). Upon the death of Sir Edward Walker, which happened on the 20th of February, 1676-7, our author was appointed in his room Garter Principal King of Arms (*n*). His patent for that office passed the Great-Seal April 26, 1677; and he was solemnly created Garter, the 24th of May following, at the College of Arms. The next day he received from his Majesty the honour of knighthood, much against his will, by reason of the smallness of his estate (*o*). But to return to his works. In 1681, he published "A Short View "of the late Troubles in England; briefly setting forth, their Rise, Growth, and tra- "gical Conclusion. As also, some Parallel thereof with the Barons Wars in the "Time of King Henry III. but chiefly with that in France, called the Holy League, "in the Reigns of Henry III. and Henry IV, late Kings of that Realm. To which is "added, A perfect Narrative of the Treaty at Uxbridge, in ann. 1644." Oxford, fol. And, "The antient Usage in bearing of such Ensigns of Honour as are commonly "called Arms (*p*)." [*N*]. With "A true and perfect Catalogue of the Nobility of "England. A true and perfect List of all the present Knights of the Garter, &c. as "they now stand in St. George's Chapel in Windsor-Castle, Sept. 10, 1681." And, "" A Catalogue of the Baronets of England, from the first erection of that Dignity, "until the 4th of July, 1681, inclusive." Oxford, 1681, 8vo. There was a second edition of it in the beginning of the year following, wherein the Catalogue of Baronets was continued in the 6th of December. The last thing he published was, "A perfect "Copy of all Summons of the Nobility to the Great Councils and Parliaments of this "Realm, from the XLIX. of King Henry the IIId until these present Times. With "Catalogues of such Noblemen as have been summoned to Parliament in right of their "wives, and of such other Noblemen as derive their Titles of Honour from the Heirs- "Female, from whom they are descended; and of such Noblemens eldest sons as have "been summoned to Parliament by some of their Fathers Titles. Extracted from "public Records." London, 1685, fol. He wrote some other things, which were never published [*O*]. His Collections of Materials for his "Antiquities of Warwick- "shire," and "Baronage of England," all written with his own hand, being twenty-

(*m*) See Preface to Tome I. p. 2. col. 1.

(*n*) There was a great dispute then between the King and the Earl Marshal, about the right of nomination to that office. See our author's Life, p. xix. &c.

(*o*) Life, &c. as above, p. xxi.

(*p*) This is mostly taken from W. Wyrley's book, entitled, "The true Use of Armony," &c. Lond. 1592, 4to. See Wood ubi supra, col. 16; and Vol. I. col. 427.

'together, that the whole heap seems to me no better 'than *rudis indigestaque moles* (34).' i. e. a rude and undigested heap.——Such is the harsh and unmannerly attack of the anonymous letter-writer, upon Mr. Dugdale's book now before us.——It must be owned, that there are many mistakes in the Baronage (and mistakes are indeed hardly avoidable in a work of that nature). But the industrious and learned Author, instead of being reviled, or treated with contempt, ought to be corrected with mildness, and duly esteemed, for having proceeded, at once, so far in a work, wherein very little progress had been made before he took it in hand: all other accounts of the nobility, by Milles, Brooke, &c. being little more than bare catalogues, or at best very lean performances. ——If the letter-writer had pointed out Mr. Dugdale's faults and mistakes (which he had great opportunities of discovering by his place in the Exchequer), he should at least have treated him with decency and good manners. It was the least that was due to the memory of a man, who had published so many useful books: a man whose name will be remembered with veneration and honour, while that of snarling Ch. Hornby will be buried in everlasting oblivion.—— It were greatly to be wished that gentlemen, of skill and leisure, would make a thorough review of so useful a book as the Baronage; and, after having compared it with the records, and our antient historians, &c. give a new edition of it. No greater service could be done to the curious and inquisitive reader, or to any one who is a lover of the English History.—— Mr. Wood informs us (35), that Mr. Dugdale sent to him copies of all the tomes of this work, with an earnest desire that he would peruse, correct, and add to them what he could obtain from records or other authorities: whereupon, spending a whole long vacation in that matter, he drew up at least sixteen sheets of corrections, but more additions; which being sent to the author, he remitted a good part of them into the margin of a copy of large paper of his Baronage.

(34) Page 62, 63.

(35) Ubi supra col. 16.

[*N*] *The antient usage in bearing of such ensigns of honour as are called arms, &c.*] To both the editions of this book are added, 1. "An exact Alphabetical "Catalogue of all the Shires, Cities, Borough-towns, "Cinque-ports, in England: specifying the number of "the Knights of the Shires, &c. 2. A true and per- "fect Catalogue of the Nobility of Scotland, &c. "3. A true and perfect Catalogue of the Nobility of "Ireland, with a List of all the Shires, Cities, and "Burroughs of Ireland, which make returns of Parlia- "ment, &c." All three compiled by Charles Hatton, Esq. son of Christopher Lord Hatton (36).

(36) Wood, ib.

[*O*] *He wrote some other things, which were never published.*] Particularly, 'Historical Accounts of the "ancient Families of Hastings Earl of Huntingdon, "and Manners Duke of Rutland. And, Genealogical "Tables of the Kings, and ancient Nobility of Eng- "land; of the Kings and principal Nobility of Scot- "land; and of the other Kings of Christendom, and "great Families of Germany." He made, for his own use, Indexes to most of our English Historians, viz. Matthew Paris, Matthew of Westminster, Roger de Hoveden, Henry of Huntingdon, Ethelward, Ingulphus, Thomas of Walsingham, &c. And also, in twenty-six thin folios, Indexes to the sixty Volumes of Collections from Records, by Sir John Kniveton, in the library of the late Lord Hatton: besides those to Leland's Itinerary, and Collectanea.——Our author was likewise the chief promoter of the Saxon Dictionary by Mr. William Somner, printed at Oxford in 1659 (37).

(37) Life, &c. p. xxiv.

seven volumes in folio, he gave by will to the University of Oxford; together with sixteen other volumes, some of his own hand-writing; and they are now preserved in Ashmole's Musæum. He gave likewise several books to the Office of Heralds in London, and procured many more for the same (q) [P]. At length this most industrious person, contracting a great cold at Blythe-Hall, died of it in his chair, about one o'clock in the afternoon, Feb. 10, 1685-6, in the eighty-first year of his age. His body, being conveyed to the parochial church of Shustoke abovementioned, was, on the 12th day of the same month, deposited in a stone coffin, lying in a little vault, which he had caused to be made under the north side of the chancel of the church there. Over that vault he had erected in his life-time an altar-tomb of free-stone; and had caused to be fixed in the wall above it, a tablet of white marble, whereon was engraved an epitaph made by himself [Q]. He had several children [R] by his wife, mentioned above,

(q) Life, &c. p. xxii, xxiii.

[P] *He gave likewise several books to the Office of Heralds in London, and procured many more for the same.*] Besides his "Antiquities of Warwickshire," and the rest of his printed books, he gave thereto, one large volume, MS. of Arms and Monuments in the Cathedral of York, and divers other churches in that county, lively pricked with a pen (by Mr. Gregory King, then his Clerk, afterwards Rouge-Dragon Pursuivant of Arms), and the epitaphs transcribed according to the very letter of each: another MS. containing a transcript of three old visitations, which were not in the Heralds Office, viz. of Lancashire, in King Henry the VIIIth's time; Staffordshire, in Queen Elizabeth's time; and Northumberland, in the time of King James I. Another MS. marked L. 12, containing divers arms in colours of foreign Kings and Princes, British Kings, ancient English, Scottish, and Irish Nobility.——By his procurement also it was, that Thomas Povey, Esq. then one of the Masters of the Requests, gave to the said office, those MSS, containing copies and extracts from divers public records: and that the Duke of Norfolk bestowed upon it, in 1678, several manuscripts, as well as printed books, relating to History and Genealogy (38).

(38) Ibid. as above.

[Q] *Whereon was engraved an epitaph made by himself.*] Which is as follows,

M. S.
WILLIELMI DUGDALE Equ.
aur. Antiquitatum WARWIC. Comitatus
Illustratoris;
Qui per omnes
Curiæ Heraldicæ gradus ascendens,
in principalem Regem
Armorum Anglicorum titulo GARTER
tandem evectus est.
UXOREM MARGERIAM
IOH. HUNTBACH de SEWAL in Com. Staff.
filiam duxit:
e qua filios plures, ab hac luce
in tenera ætate sublatos,
IOHANNEM vero superstitem
filiasq; diversas suscepit.
Diem obiit 10 Febr. Aº MDCLXXXV (39).

(39) See his Antiquities of Warwickshire, 2d edit. Vol. II. p. 1046.

[R] *He had several children.*] Both sons and daughters. One of his daughters, named Elizabeth, was married to the famous Elias Ashmole, Esq. All his sons died young, excepting JOHN, who was created Master of Arts at Oxford, on the 9th of September, 1661, being then chief gentleman in the chamber of Edward Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor of England (40). October 26, 1675, he was appointed Windsor-Herald upon the resignation of his brother-in-law, Elias Ashmole, Esq. (41); and Norroy King of Arms in the beginning of March, 1685-6, about which time he was knighted by King James II. He published "A Catalogue of the Nobility of England, "according to their respective Precedencies, as it was "presented to his Majesty on New-year's-day, Anno "1684." To which is added, "The Blazon of "their paternal Coats of Arms, and a List of the pre-"sent Bishops." Printed at London on a broad side of a large sheet of paper in 1685; and again, with additions, in 1690 (42). This Sir John Dugdale died August 31, 1700. M.

(40) Wood, Fasti, vol. II. col. 143, 144.

(41) Memoirs of the Life of El. Ashmole, Esq. &c. published by Ch. Burman. Lond. 1717, 12mo, p. 54.

(42) Wood, ibid.

*** [The general preface to the Monasticon Anglicanum was drawn up by the learned Sir John Marsham, and is followed by a short view of the first institution of the monastic life. Great part of the impression of the third volume was accidentally burnt. The first volume was reprinted, with large additions, in 1682; and the whole was abridged, in 1695, by James Wright, author of the "History of Rutland-"shire." Another epitome, by an anonymous writer, was published in 1718. Great additions were made to the Monasticon itself in "The History of the "ancient Abbeys, Monasteries, Hospitals, Cathedral "and Collegiate Churches," by John Stephens, Gent. This work, which contains, in folio, two additional volumes to Sir William Dugdale's Monasticon, appeared in 1722 and 1723. Mr. Peck promised a fourth volume of the Monasticon, and, in 1735, told the world that it was in great forwardness (43). He left behind him, on this subject, five curious manuscript volumes in quarto, now in the British Museum, some particulars concerning which may be seen in the Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 590, 591. and a full enumeration of their contents in Aylcough's Catalogue, vol. I. p. 55—67. Of Mr. Peck himself a copious account will appear in Mr. Nichols's History of Leicestershire *.

(43) British Topography, Vol. I. p. 123—126.

* From the information of Mr. Nichols.

"It is remarkable," says Mr. Granger, "that the "publication of the "Monasticon," was productive "of many law-suits, by the revival of old writings; "and that the Puritans were highly offended at it, as "they looked upon it as a large step towards intro-"ducing Popery." The same writer observes, that this being almost the only one of our books which finds a ready admittance into the libraries of Monks, it has on that account become scarce (44).

(44) Biographical History of England, Vol. III. p. 116.

The testimony of Mr. Gough to Sir William Dugdale's "Antiquities of Warwickshire illustrated," is that "it must stand at the head of all our county "historians. Sir Greville Verney corrected the map, "and gave many drawings of monuments with his "own hand. Dugdale himself had drawn the monu-"ments of the Ferrars family at Badley, ready for "engraving; but the heir of the family refusing to "contribute any thing towards the charge thereof, "and it not being proper for Sir William to undergo "it totally, they were omitted." Concerning Dr. Thomas, who published the edition of 1730, Mr. Gough informs us, that he was very careless in his accounts, and took very little pains for information. "I have heard," adds Mr. Gough, "an instance of "his having an opportunity to call on a gentleman "who had large records and other materials; but, "because he was not at home, though he had left "word he soon should be, Thomas contented himself "with inspecting the church. The Hundreds are "very incorrectly copied from Beighton's large Sur-"vey." Dugdale's original edition, with Hollar's plates, was reprinted, by subscription, in 1765, by a bookseller at Coventry; but in so negligent a manner was the publication executed, that some of the last sheets were worked off on the coarsest paper. The author's grandson, Richard Gealt, Esq. of Blythe-Hall, in the county of Warwick, recovered the plates by a suit in Chancery (45).

(45) British Topography, Vol. II. p. 299, 300.

Concerning the "History of imbanking and drain-"ing divers Fens and Marshes," Mr. Gough acquaints us, that this valuable book being become extremely scarce, and a person in the fens having published

above, who died the 18th of December, 1681, aged seventy-five, after they had been married fifty-nine years (r). Sir William Dugdale's character is sufficiently manifeſt from what hath been ſaid of him in this article. However, we ſhall add the character given of him by Mr. Wood (s). "Had this indefatigable perſon ſequeſtered himſelf "from worldly troubles, and totally addicted himſelf to his ſtudies, and had minded the "public more than his private concerns, the world might have juſtly enjoyed more of "his lucubrations, and thoſe more true and accurate than ſuch as are already publiſhed, "eſpecially thoſe in his latter days: yet, however, what he hath done is prodigious, "conſidering the great troubles that he had endured for his loyalty, and the cumbrances "of this world that he had run through; and therefore his memory ought to be vene-"rated, and had in everlaſting remembrance, for thoſe things which he hath already "publiſhed, which otherwiſe might have periſhed and been eternally buried in ob-"livion."

(r) She was buried in the ſame vault with him. Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 16.

(s) Ubi ſupra, col. 17.

liſhed propoſals for reprinting it by ſubſcription, with new plates, the Corporation of Bedford Level, who were particularly intereſted in a ſecond edition, readily undertook one. Application having been made to Richard Geaſt, Eſq. beforementioned, he deſired that it might be conducted entirely at his own expence. Accordingly, it was printed, in 1772, in one volume, folio, under the inſpection of the Corporation's Regiſter, Charles Nalſon Cole, Eſq. of the Inner Temple, from the author's own copy, under the original title, with the addition of three indexes, one of the principal matters, the ſecond of names, and the third of places, making eleven additional ſheets. The original plates, which remained in Mr. Geaſt's poſſeſſion, and did not want to be retouched, were uſed. That gentleman intended to have proceeded with the other parts of his learned anceſtor's works; but the reſtraint laid upon literary property diverted him from venturing on an expence which a period of fourteen years could never be expected to repay (46).

(46) Ibid. p. 153, 154.

Before Sir William Dugdale printed his "Origines "Juridiciales," he ſhewed the copy to Sir Matthew Hale, who thought that his deduction of the riſe of Parliament Writs for Knights and Burgeſſes would be judged to leſſen the honour of Parliaments; but adviſed him to ſubmit it to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, who found no fault with it (47).

(47) Communicated by Edmund Turnor, jun. Eſq. from a manuſcript belonging to Bennet Langton, Eſq.

Anthony Wood wrote a little tract, which was never printed, containing a ſufficiently-ample ſpecimen of the errors of Dugdale's Baronage. It is preſerved in the Aſhmolean Muſeum (48). Mr. Hornſby's attack on the Baronage, though acute, was very illiberal, and is juſtly animadverted upon in note M. Whatever faults there may be in Dugdale's work, it ſtill ſhould be acknowledged, that it is a performance of great merit, and of deſerved reputation. The price it bears is a ſufficient proof of the eſtimation in which it is held; and every writer, who treats on ſimilar ſubjects, will find himſelf indebted to it in a variety of reſpects. We agree in the wiſh of our predeceſſor, that gentlemen of ſkill and leiſure would make a thorough review of ſo uſeful a book as the Baronage, and give a new edition of it, after having compared it with the Records and our ancient Hiſtorians. It would be ſtill more valuable if it were continued to the preſent time. There is unqueſtionably conſiderable merit in Collins, and in ſome of the additions which have been made to later impreſſions. The article of the houſe of Northumberland in the laſt edition is peculiarly excellent. On the whole, however, there is room for much improvement; and a manly work of the kind we are ſpeaking of, free from the adulatory ſtrain which hath commonly prevailed, would be no ſmall acceſſion to hiſtorical knowledge. As peerages have hitherto been written, one would imagine that ancient and noble families were made up of nothing but virtues.

(48) Granger, ubi ſupra.

Having derived the chief materials for our addition to Dugdale's article from the "Britiſh Topography," we ſhall lay ourſelves under farther obligations to the ſame work, by having recourſe to it for ſome particulars concerning Dodſworth, the principal compiler of the "Monaſticon Anglicanum." Mr. Gough, when he comes to Yorkſhire, thus introduces that eminent Antiquary. "One cannot approach the borders of "this county without paying tribute to the memory "of that indefatigable collector of its antiquities, "Roger Dodſworth, who undertook and executed a "work, which, to the antiquaries of the preſent age, "would have been the ſtone of Tydides. One hun-"dred and twenty-two volumes of his own writing, "beſides original manuſcripts which he had obtained "from ſeveral hands, making altogether one hun-"dred and ſixty-two volumes folio, now lodged in "that grand repoſitory of our ancient muniments the "Bodleian Library, are laſting memorials what this "country owes to him, as the two volumes of the "Monaſticon (which, though publiſhed under his "and Dugdale's names conjoinly, were both col-"lected and written totally by him) will immorta-"lize that extenſive induſtry which has laid the "whole kingdom under obligation." General Fairfax, riſing above that diſgraceful averſion to our antiquities with which many of his party were infected, was a zealous patron of Dodſworth, and allowed him a yearly ſalary to preſerve the inſcriptions in churches. Anthony Wood ſays of our Antiquary, that he "was "of wonderful induſtry, but leſs judgement;" that he was "always collecting and tranſcribing, but ne-"ver publiſhed any thing." The laſt circumſtance is not true; and it is juſtly obſerved by Mr Gough, that in the former part of theſe words Wood has drawn his own character. A much higher opinion of Mr. Dodſworth was entertained by Thomas Hearne, who thus ſpeaks of him in a tranſport of antiquarian enthuſiaſm. "I never look upon theſe volumes with-"out the utmoſt ſurprize and wonder; and I cannot "but bleſs God that he was pleaſed, out of his infi-"nite goodneſs and mercy, to raiſe up ſo pious and "diligent a perſon, that ſhould, by his bleſſing, ſo ef-"fectually diſcover and preſerve ſuch a noble treaſure "of antiquities as is contained in theſe volumes: "moſt of them written with his own hand, and the "genealogical tables, and the notes on them, done "with that exquiſite care and judgement, that I can-"not but think otherwiſe of this eminent perſon than "the author of the "Athenæ Oxonienſes." For, it "plainly appears to me, that his judgement and ſa-"gacity were equal to his diligence; and I ſee no "reaſon to doubt, but that if he had lived to write "the Antiquities of Yorkſhire (as he once deſigned) "it would have appeared in a very pleaſing and en-"tertaining method, and in a proper and elegant "ſtyle, and ſet out with all other becoming advan-"tages." Mr. Dodſworth was the eldeſt ſon of Matthew Dodſworth, Regiſtrary of York Cathedral, and Chancellor to Toby Matthews, Archbiſhop of York. He was born on the fourteenth of July, 1585, and was buried at Rufford, in Lancaſhire. His collections were bequeathed, by Lord Fairfax, to the Bodleian Library, and ſent there, in 1673, by Dr. Henry Fairfax, Dean of Norwich, and nephew to his Lordſhip. It happening to be wet weather when they were conveyed to Oxford, Wood, with much difficulty, obtained leave of the Vice-Chancellor to have them brought into the Muniment-Room in the School Tower, and was a month drying them on the leads (49).]

K.

(49) Britiſh Topography, Vol. II. p. 395, 396.

*** [DUKE (RICHARD), a divine and a poet, ſeems entitled to ſome notice in this work, as his poems have been honoured with a place in Dr. Johnſon's collection, and a ſhort account has been given of him by that eminent biographer. Who his parents were, and where he was born, we are not able to aſcertain. His grammatical education he received under the famous Dr. Buſby, at Weſtminſter School, into which he was admitted in 1670, and from which he was elected, in 1675, to Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1678 he took the degree of Batchelor of Arts, and that of Maſter in 1682. He became, likewiſe, a Fellow of the College, and it is related that he was for ſome time tutor to the Duke of Richmond. Having entered into holy Orders, among other preferments he was made a Prebendary of Glouceſter, and in this capacity he was choſen a Proctor in Convocation for that Church. He had the additional honour of being Chaplain to Queen Anne. In 1710 he was preſented by Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Biſhop of Wincheſter, to the wealthy living of Witney in Oxfordſhire, which, however, he enjoyed but a few months; for, on the tenth of February, 1710-11, having returned from an entertainment, he was found dead the next morning (*a*).

(*a*) Johnſon's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 263—265. Edition of 1790. Graduati Cantabrigienſes, p. 124.

When Mr. Duke left the Univerſity, being conſcious of his powers, he enliſted himſelf among the wits of the age. He was, in particular, the familiar friend of Otway, and was engaged, among other popular names, in the tranſlations of Ovid and Juvenal. From his writing he appears not to have been ill-qualified for poetical compoſition. "In his Review," ſays Dr. Johnſon, "though unfiniſhed, are ſome vigorous lines. "His poems are not below mediocrity; nor have I found in them much to be praiſed." Upon a peruſal of them, we entirely agree in the judgement which the Doctor has here pronounced [*A*]. With the wit, Mr. Duke ſeems to have ſhared the diſſoluteneſs, of the times: for, ſome of his compoſitions are ſuch as he muſt have reviewed with deteſtation in his later days (*b*). This was eſpecially the caſe with regard to two of his poems; the tranſlation of one of the elegies of Ovid, and the firſt of the three ſongs. "Per-haps," obſerves Dr. Johnſon, "like ſome other fooliſh young men, he rather talked "than lived viciouſly, in an age when he that would be thought a wit was afraid to ſay "his prayers; and whatever might have been bad in the firſt part of his life was "ſurely condemned and reformed by his better judgement (*c*)." It gives us pleaſure to find this candid and judicious remark confirmed by poſitive teſtimony; for, in ſome lines addreſſed to Mr. Waller, upon the verſes which that poet had made on the laſt copy in his book, Mr. Duke begins as follows:

(*b*) Johnſon, ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Ibid.

[*A*] *We entirely agree in the judgement which the Doctor has here pronounced.*] The "Review" is a political poem, and in its deſign is not unlike the Abſalom and Achitophel of Dryden. Perhaps Mr. Duke left his work unfiniſhed from a reflection upon the compariſon that would have been inſtituted between the two productions. The characters drawn are thoſe of the King (Charles the Second), the Earl of Clarendon, the Duke of York, the Earl of Shafteſbury, Louis the Fourteenth of France, and the Duke of Buckingham. Our poet has diſplayed the virtues of the Duke of York with a very flattering pencil. In his character of the Duke of Buckingham, he ſeems to have had Dryden's Zimri in view, but is not equally conciſe, nor equally ſpirited. The portrait, however, is not without its merit.

In Mr. Duke's verſes to Cælia, the concluding lines have a pleaſing harmony.

"Had I a pen that could at once impart
"Soft Ovid's nature and high Virgil's art,
"Then the immortal Sacharilla's name
"Should be but ſecond in the liſt of fame;
"Each grove, each ſhade, ſhould with thy praiſe
"be fill'd,
"And the fam'd Penſhurſt to our Windſor
"yield (1)."

(1) Johnſon's Poets, Vol. XI. p. 105.

Of all our Author's original poems, that, on the marriage of George Prince of Denmark and the Lady Anne, is in our opinion the beſt. The verſification is more uniformly correct and harmonious than in moſt of Mr. Duke's other pieces; and the panegyric is conducted in an ingenious and agreeable manner.

In the poem on the death of King Charles the Second, the praiſe of the deceaſed Monarch is carried to the utmoſt height. Perhaps it may not be unamuſing to ſome of our readers to ſee, in a ſtriking inſtance, how much the language of poetry may differ from that of true hiſtory.

"Dead is the king, who all our lives did bleſs!
"Our ſtrength in war, and our delight in peace!
"Was ever Prince like him to mortals given!
"So much the joy of earth, and care of heaven?
"Under the preſſure of unequal fate,
"Of ſo erect a mind and ſoul ſo great!
"So full of meekneſs and ſo void of pride,
"When borne aloft by Fortune's higheſt tide!
"His kindly beams on the ungrateful ſoil
"Of this rebellious, ſtubborn, murmuring iſle
"Hatch'd plenty; eaſe and riches did beſtow,
"And made the land with milk and honey flow!
"Leſs bleſt was Rome when mild Auguſtus ſway'd,
"And the glad world for love, not fear, obey'd.
"Mercy, like heaven's, his chief prerogative!
"His joy to ſave, and glory to forgive!
"Who lives, but felt his influence, and did ſhare
"His boundleſs goodneſs and paternal care?
"And, whilſt with all th' endearing arts he ſtrove
"On every ſubject's heart to ſeal his love,
"What breaſt ſo hard, what heart of human make,
"But, ſoftening, did the kind impreſſion take?
"Belov'd and loving! with ſuch virtues grac'd
"As might on common heads a crown have plac'd!
"How ſkill'd in all the myſteries of ſtate!
"How fitting to ſuſtain an empire's weight!
"How quick to know! how ready to adviſe!
"How timely to prevent! how more than ſenates
"wiſe!
"His words how charming, affable, and ſweet!
"How juſt his cenſure! and how ſharp his wit!
"How did his charming converſation pleaſe
"The bleſt attenders of his hours and eaſe;
"When graciouſly he deign'd to condeſcend,
"Pleas'd to exalt a ſubject to a friend!
"To the moſt low how eaſy of acceſs!
"Willing to hear, and longing to redreſs!
"His mercy knew no bounds of time or place,
"His reign was one continued act of grace!
"Good Titus could, but Charles could never ſay,
"Of all his royal life, "he loſt a day (2)."

(2) Ibid, ubi ſupra, p. 119—121.



"When

" When ſhame for all my fooliſh youth had writ
" Adviſ'd 'twas time the rhyming trade to quit,
" Time to grow wiſe, and be no more a wit——
" The noble fire, that animates thy age,
" Once more inflam'd me with poetic rage (*d*)."

(*d*) Johnſon's Poets, Vol. XI. p. 133.

Mr. Duke, in his character as a divine, publiſhed three Sermons in his life-time. The firſt was on the imitation of Chriſt, preached before the Queen in 1703, from 1 John, ii. 6. The ſecond was from Pſalm xxv. 14, and was likewiſe preached before the Queen in 1704. The third was an Aſſize Sermon, on Chriſt's Kingdom, from John xviii. 36. and publiſhed in the ſame year. In 1714, fifteen of his Sermons, on ſeveral occaſions, were printed in one volume, octavo (*e*).

(*e*) Cooke's Hiſtorical Regiſter, Vol. II. p. 110.

They are held in good reputation, and are ſpoken of, in ſtrong terms of commendation, by Dr. Henry Felton. That gentleman, in his Diſſertation on reading the Claſſics, ſays, " Mr. Duke may be mentioned under the double capacity of a poet and a divine. " He is a bright example in the ſeveral parts of writing, whether we conſider the Origi- " nals, his Tranſlations, Paraphraſes, or Imitations. But here I can only mention him " as a divine, with this peculiar commendation, that, in his Sermons, beſides livelineſs " of wit, purity, and correctneſs of ſtyle, and juſtneſs of argument, we ſee many fine " alluſions to the Ancients, ſeveral beautiful paſſages handſomely incorporated in the " train of his own thoughts; and, to ſay all in a word, claſſic learning and a Chriſtian " ſpirit (*f*)."

(*f*) Diſſertation on reading the Claſſics, and forming a juſt ſtyle, p. 212.

From Otway's poetical Epiſtle to Mr. Duke, it may be collected that the two poets lived together, for a time, in a country retirement (*g*)]. K.

(*g*) Johnſon's Poets, Vol. XI. p. 59—63.

*** [DUNBAR (WILLIAM), an eminent Scottiſh poet, was born, according to Mr. Warton, about the year 1470 (*a*), but, in Mr. Pinkerton's opinion, five years ſooner. The latter gentleman, from ſeveral circumſtances, has fixed upon 1465 as the moſt probable date, and which perhaps is neareſt to the truth, though the matter cannot now be exactly aſcertained. The place of Dunbar's birth is underſtood to have been Salton, a village on the delightful coaſt of the Forth in Eaſt Lothian. This is collected from what Kennedy, a contemporary poet, ſays in one of his Satires; who mentions, likewiſe, his own wealth, and Dunbar's poverty. If we are to credit the ſame author, Dunbar was of the *kin* of the Earls of March; but of this there is no ſatisfactory evidence. In his youth, he ſeems to have been a travelling noviciate of the Franciſcan order; for, in an addreſs to St. Francis in one of his poems, he expreſſes himſelf as follows:

(*a*) Warton's Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, Vol. II. p. 257.

" Gif evir my fortoune was to be a freir,
" The dait thairof is paſt full mony a yeir.
" For into every luſty toun and place
" Of all Yngland, from Berwick to Calaice,
" I haif into thy habeit maid gud cheir,
" In Freiris weid full fairly haif I fleichit.
" In it haif I in pulpet gane and preichit,
" In Derntoun Kirk, and eik in Canterberry.
" In it I paſt at Dover our the ferry;
" Throw Picardy, and thair the people teichit (*b*)."

(*b*) Liſt of Scotiſh Poets, prefixed to Mr. Pinkerton's " Ancient Scotiſh Poems," never before in print, Vol. I. p. xcii, xciii.

This mode of life not being agreeable to Dunbar's inclinations, he reſigned it, and returned to Scotland, as is ſuppoſed, about 1490, when he was about twenty-five years of age. In his " Thiſtle and Roſe," which was certainly written in 1503, he ſpeaks of himſelf as a poet that had already made many ſongs: and that poem is the compoſition of an experienced writer, and not of a novice in the art. " It is indeed probable that " his tales, " The twa maritt wemen and the Wedo," and " The Freirs of Berwik," " (if the laſt be his), were written before his " Thiſtle and Roſe." However this may have been, Dunbar, after being the author of " The Golden Terge," a poem of the moſt opulent deſcription, and of many ſmall pieces of the higheſt merit, died in old age, about 1530 [*A*]. In his younger years, our poet ſeems to have had great expecta-

[*A*] *Died in old age, about* 1530.] Lord Hailes, in his " Ancient Scottiſh Poems," publiſhed from Lord Hyndford's Manuſcript, in 1770, thinks that Dunbar's " General Satire" was written after 1538, becauſe it mentions " Juges and Lords maid of lait." " His " Lordſhip forgot," ſays Mr. Pinkerton, " that in " 1503 (Acts 1503, cap. 58.), the King transferred " the juriſdiction of the old court of ſeſſion to a " council created by him; ſo that many new Lords " and Judges muſt have been then made." " The " Tidings fra the Seſſion" allude to the old Seſſion, " created 1425, aboliſhed 1503. Dunbar knew no " Queen, ſave Margaret of James IV. But the Mait- " land Manuſcript gives this piece to Sir James Inglis; " in which caſe Lord Hailes is right (1)."

(1) Liſt of Scotiſh Poets, prefixed to Mr. Pinkerton's " Ancient Scotiſh Poems," Vol. I. p. xciii, note.

tions that his abilities would have recommended him to an eccleſiaſtical beneſice; and in his ſmaller Poems he frequently addreſſes the King for that purpoſe; but there is no reaſon to believe that he did it with ſucceſs. Such is often the gratitude of Princes; for "The Thiſtle and Roſe," which was occaſioned by the marriage of James the Fourth, King of Scotland, with Margaret Tudor, eldeſt daughter of Henry the Seventh, King of England, deſerved better treatment at the hands of the young Royal pair. Mr. Pinkerton has looked in vain over many calendars of the characters, &c. of this period, to find Dunbar's name; but ſuſpects that it was never written by a Lawyer (*c*).

(*c*) Pinkerton, ubi ſupra, p. xciii, xciv.

Mr. Warton, in characterizing the Scottiſh Poets of this time, obſerves that the writers of that Nation have adorned the period with a degree of ſentiment and ſpirit, a command of phraſeology, and a fertility of imagination, not to be found in any Engliſh Poet ſince Chaucer and Lydgate (*d*). "He might ſafely have added," ſays Mr. Pinkerton, "not even in Chaucer or Lydgate." Concerning Dunbar, Mr. Warton ſays, that the natural complexion of his genius is of the moral and didactic caſt (*e*). This remark, however, Mr. Pinkerton thinks, muſt not be taken too ſtrictly. "The "Goldin Terge," he adds, is moral; "and ſo are many of his ſmall pieces: but humour, deſcription, allegory, great poetical genius, and a vaſt wealth of words, all unite to form the complexion of Dunbar's poetry. "He unites in himſelf, and gene- "rally ſurpaſſes, the qualities of the chief old Engliſh Poets; the morals and ſatire of "Langland; Chaucer's humour, poetry, and knowledge of life; the allegory of "Gower; the Deſcription of Lydgate (*f*). This is a very high character. That our readers may the better be enabled to form ſome judgment upon the ſubject, we ſhall give below an abridged account of Mr. Warton's ſentiments concerning three of Dunbar's principal Poems [*B*]; the reſult of which will, we doubt not, be a clear conviction

(*d*) Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 279.

(*f*) Pinkerton, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *Concerning three of Dunbar's principal Poems.*] The "Thiſtle and Roſe" is opened with ſome ſtanzas, which are remarkable for their deſcriptive and picturesque beauties. MAY then rebukes the poet, for not riſing early, according to his annual cuſtom, to celebrate the approach of Spring; eſpecially as the Lark had now announced the dawn of day, and his heart in former years had always

"glaid and bliſsful bene
"Sangis (2) to mak under the levis Grene."

(2) Songs.

The Poet replies, that the Spring of the preſent year was unpromiſing and ungenial; that it was unattended with the uſual ſong of birds, and ſerenity of ſky; and that ſtorms, and ſhowers, and the loud blaſts of the horn of *Lord* Eolus, had uſurped her mild dominion, and hitherto prevented him from wandering at leiſure under the vernal branches. This excuſe is rejected by MAY, who with a ſmile of Majeſty commands him to ariſe, and to perform his annual homage to the flowers, the birds, and the ſun. Upon this they both enter a delicious garden, filled with the richeſt colours and odours; when the Sun appears ſuddenly in all his glory, and is thus deſcribed in the luminous language of Lydgate:

"The pourpour Sone, with tendir bemys reid,
"In orient bricht as Angell did uppeir,
"Thorow goldin ſkyis putting up his head
"Qwhois gilt Treſſis ſchone ſo wondir cleir,
"That all the world take comfort far and neir."

Immediately the birds, ſinging together, hail the unuſual appearance of the Sun-ſhine; and then *Nature* is introduced, iſſuing her interdict, that the progreſs of the Spring ſhould no longer be interrupted, and that Neptune and Eolus ſhould ceaſe from diſturbing the Waters and Air. By this preparation and ſuſpence, Dunbar hath judiciouſly and ingeniouſly contributed to give dignity to the ſubject of the Poem, to awaken curioſity, and to introduce many poetical circumſtances. Immediately *Nature* commands every Bird, Beaſt, and Flower, to appear in her preſence; and, agreeably to the cuſtom of every May morning, to acknowledge her univerſal ſovereignty. She ſends the Roe to bring the beaſts, the Swallow to collect the birds, and the Yarrow (Achillea or Millefolium) to ſummon the flowers; and they are all aſſembled before her in an inſtant. The Lion advances firſt, whoſe figure is drawn with great force and expreſſion, and with an ingenious and happy alluſion to the Scottiſh Arms. *Nature* then lifts up the Lion's ſhining claws, and, ſuffering him to reſt on her knee, crowns him with a radiant diadem of precious ſtones, and creates him the King of Beaſts. At the ſame time ſhe enjoins him to exerciſe Juſtice with Mercy, and not to permit his ſubjects, of the ſmalleſt ſize or degree, to be oppreſſed by thoſe of ſuperior ſtrength or dignity. This part of her charge to the Lion, ſhe cloſes with the following beautiful ſtroke, which indicates the moral tenderneſs of the Poet's heart.

"And lat no Bowgle with his buſteous (3) hornis
"The meek pluch Ox (4) oppreſs for all hys pryd,
"Bot in the yok go peciable him beſyd.

(3) Boiſterous, Strong.

(4) Plough.

The Eagle is next crowned King of Fowls; and his talons being ſharped like darts of ſteel, he is ordered to govern great or ſmall, the Wren or the Peacock, with an uniform and equal impartiality. *Nature* now calls the Flowers; and obſerving the Thiſtle to be ſurrounded with a buſh of ſpears; and on that account qualified for war, ſhe gives him a Crown of Rubies, and ſays, "In Field go forth and "fend the Laif;" that is defend the reſt. Dunbar continues elegantly to picture other parts of the Royal Arms; in ordering the Thiſtle, who is now King of Vegetables, to prefer all Herbs, or Flowers, of rare virtue, and rich odour; nor ever to permit the Nettle to aſſociate with the Fleur-de-Lys, nor any ignoble weed to be ranked in competition with the Lily. In the following ſtanza, where *Nature* directs the Thiſtle to honour the Roſe above all other Flowers, our Poet with much addreſs inſinuates to King James the Fourth an exhortation to conjugal fidelity, drawn from the high birth, beauty, and amiable accompliſhments, of the Royal Bride. *Nature* next addreſſes the Roſe, whoſe lineage ſhe exalts above that of the Lily. This was intended to expreſs a preference of the Houſe of Tudor to the Houſe of Valois. The Roſe is then crowned by *Nature* with *clarified* gems, the luſtre of which illumines all the land, and is hailed Queen by the Flowers. Laſt of all, her praiſes are ſung by the univerſal chorus of birds, the ſound of which having awakened the Poet from his delightful dream, the fairy ſcene is vaniſhed, and he calls to the muſe to perpetuate in verſe the wonders of the ſplendid viſion.

Mr. Warton concludes his account of the "Thiſtle "and Roſe" with the following reflections. 'Although much fine invention and ſublime fabling are 'diſplayed in the allegorical viſions of our old Poets, 'yet this mode of compoſition, by dealing only in 'imaginary perſonages, and by excluding real characters and human actions, neceſſarily fails in that 'chief

conviction that he is entitled to an eminent degree of applause. The pieces of Dunbar, which Mr. Pinkerton has printed, would, together with those formerly published, make a considerable volume. A correct edition of the whole is a desirable object. Mr. Pinkerton

'chief source of entertainment which we seek in 'antient Poetry, the representation of antient manners. 'Another general observation, immediately resulting 'from the subject of the Poem, may be here added, 'which illustrates the present and future state of the 'Scotch Poetry. The marriage of a Princess of Eng- 'land with a King of Scotland, from the new Com- 'munication and intercourse opened between the two 'Courts and Kingdoms by such a connection, must 'have greatly contributed to polish the rude manners 'and to improve the language, literature, and arts, 'of Scotland (5).'

(5) History of English Poetry, Vol. II. p. 258—264.

Mr. Warton next proceeds to the consideration of Dunbar's "Golden Terge," the design of which is to shew the gradual and imperceptible influence of love, when too far indulged, over reason. The cast of this Poem is tinctured with the morality and imagery of the "Romaunt of the Rose," and the "Floure "and Leafe," of Chaucer.

At the dawn of a bright day the Poet walks forth; and describes the effects of the rising Sun on a vernal landscape, with its accompaniments, in the manner of Lydgate, but with more strength, distinctness, and exuberance of ornament. Lulled by the music of the birds, and the murmuring of the water, our author falls asleep on the flowers, and, in a vision, sees a ship approach, the sails of which are like the "Blos- "som upon the Spray," and the masts of gold, bright as the "Star of Day." She glides swiftly through a christal bay, and lands a hundred ladies, clad in rich but loose attire, in the blooming meadows, among the green rushes and reeds. They are cloathed in green robes; their golden tresses, tied only with glittering threads, flow to the ground; and their snowy bosoms are unveiled. In this brillant assembly the Poet sees *Nature*, *Venus*, *Aurora*, *May*, *Flora*, *Juno*, *Latona*, *Proserpine*, *Diana*, *Clio*, *Minerva*, *Fortune*, and *Lucina*. These mighty Queens, crowned with diadems, and glittering like the Morning-Star, enter a garden. *May*, the Queen of mirthful Months, is supported between her sisters *April* and *June*; and, as she walks up and down the garden, the birds begin to sing, and *Nature* gives her a gorgeous robe adorned with every colour under Heaven. Then the vegetable tribes do their obeisance to *Nature*, in these elegant verses:

"And every blome on branche, and eik on bank,
"Opnit, and spred thair balmy levis dank
"Full law is inclyneand to their Queen full cleir,
"Whom for their noble nurisling they thank."

Immediately another Court, or groupe, appears; over which *Cupid* the King presides, and whose attendants are *Mars*, *Saturn*, *Mercury*, *Janus*, *Priapus*, *Eolus*, *Bacchus* the "Gladder of the Table," and *Pluto*. All these are arrayed in green; and, singing amorous ditties to the Harp and Lute, invite the ladies to dance. Upon this the Poet quits his ambush under the trees, and, pressing forward to gain a more perfect view of the tempting spectacle, is espied by *Venus*, who bids her keen archers arrest the intruder. Instantly, her attendants, a groupe of fair ladies, drop their green mantles, and, each of them discovering a huge bow, they form themselves in battle-array, and advance against the Poet.

"And first of all, with bow in hand ay bent,
"Came dame *Beauty*, richt as scho wald me schent,
"Syne followit all her demosals in feir,
"With many divers awfull instrument (6):
"Into the praise *Fair Having* (7) with her went;
"Syne (8) *Portrator*, *Plesance*, and lusty *Cheir*,
"Than came *Ressoun*, with schield of gold to cleir,
"In plait of mail as *Mars* armipotent,
"Defendit me that noble Chevellier (9)."

(6) Formidable weapons.
(7) Behaviour.
(8) Next.
(9) Warrior.

*Beauty* is assisted by *tender Youth*, *green Innocence*, *Modesty*, and *Obedience*; but their resistance was feeble against the golden target of *Reason*. *Womanhood* then leads on *Patience*, *Discretion*, *Stedfastness*, *Benign Look*, *Mylde Cheir*, and *Honest Business*; but *Reason* bore the Target with such constancy, that their sharp essay did the Poet no injury. The attack is renewed by *Dignity*, *Renown*, *Riches*, *Nobility*, and *Honour*; who, after displaying their *high* banner, and shooting a cloud of arrows, are soon obliged to retreat. *Venus*, perceiving the rout, orders *Dissemblance*, or *Dissimulation*, to make an attempt to pierce the golden shield. *Dissemblance* chuses for her archers *Presence*, *Fair Calling*, and *Cherishing*, who bring back *Beauty* to the charge; upon which a new and obstinate conflict ensues:

"Thik was the scholt of grindin arrowis kene,
"But *Ressoun*, with the schield of gold so schene,
"Weirly (10) befendit quhosoeir assayit:
"The awfull schour he manly did sustene."

(10) Warily.

'At length, *Presence*, by whom the Poet under- 'stands that irresistible incentive accruing to the 'passion of love by society, by being often admitted 'to the company of the beloved object, throws a 'magical powder into the eyes of reason; who is 'suddenly deprived of all his powers, and reels like 'a drunken man. Immediately the Poet receives a 'deadly wound, and is taken prisoner by *Beauty*; 'who now assumes a more engaging air, as the clear 'eye of *Reason* is growing dim by intoxication. '*Dissimulation* then tries all her arts on the Poet: '*Fair Calling* smiles upon him: *Cherishing* sooths 'him with soft speeches: *New Acquaintance* embraces 'him awhile, but soon takes her leave, and is never 'seen afterwards. At last *Danger* delivers him to the 'custody of *Grief*.' By this time, *Eolus* blows his bugle, and the leaves are torn with the blast, the pageant disappears in a moment; and nothing remains but the forest, the birds, the banks and the brook. In the twinkling of an eye the company return to the ship; and, unfurling the sails, and, stemming the Sea with a rapid course, celebrate their triumph with a discharge of ordnance, which furnishes a new topic for poetical description. At the close of the Poem, Dunbar breaks out into a laboured encomium on Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate; which shews the peculiar distinction anciently paid to those fathers of verse; and the high ideas which then prevailed, even in Scotland, of the improvements introduced by their writings into the British poetry, language, and literature (11).

(11) History of Poetry, ubi supra, p. 264—272.

The last Poem of Dunbar's, that is particularly considered by Mr. Warton, is his "Daunce." This poem has very great comic style of painting; exhibiting a groupe of figures touched with the capricious, but spirited pencil of Callot. On the eve of Lent, being a general day of confession, the poet sees, in a dream, a display of heaven and hell. Mahomet, or the Devil, commands a dance to be performed by a select party of friends, and particularly by those who had never, in the other world, made confession to the priest, and consequently had never received absolution. Immediately the SEVEN DEADLY SINS appear; and present a mask, or mummery, with the newest gambols just imported from France. PRIDE, who properly takes place of all the rest, as by *that Sin fell the Angels*, is described in the fashionable and gallant dress of those times. "Several *holy Harlots* follow, "attended by Monks, who make great diversion for "the devils. ANGER is drawn with great force, and "his accompaniments are boldly feigned. His hand "is always upon his knife, and he is followed, in "pairs, by boasters, threateners, and quarrelsome "persons, all armed for battle, and perpetually "wounding one another." Under ENVY, who is described with equal force, our author takes occasion to lament, with honest indignation, that the Courts of Princes should still give admittance and encouragement to the whisperers of idle and injurious reports.



AVARICE

(g) Ibid.

ton hopes to be able in time to favour the public with such an edition (g); and we cannot avoid expreſſing our wiſh that his other literary engagements may not divert him from this deſign.

For many illuſtrations of one of Dunbar's larger pieces, entituled, "The Daunce," Mr. Warton acknowledges that he was obliged to the learned and elegant editor of "Ancient Scottiſh Poems," publiſhed in 1770. From the "DAUNCE" it appears, that Dunbar's imagination was not leſs ſuited to ſatirical than to ſublime allegory; and that he was the firſt poet who diſplayed any degree of ſpirit in this way of writing after Pierce Plowman. His "THISTLE AND ROSE," and "GOLDEN TERGE," are generally and juſtly eſteemed to be his capital works. The ſmall pieces publiſhed by Mr. Pinkerton have undoubtedly conſiderable merit; but we acknowledge that they did not ſtrike us ſo powerfully as we expected. Perhaps this might be owing to our not being ſufficiently habituated to the obſolete language of the time. It is obſervable, that the meaſure of the "Daunce" is partly that of "Sir Thopas" in Chaucer; from which it may be collected, that "Sir Thopas" was anciently viewed in the light of a ludicrous compoſition. The pageants and interludes of Dunbar's age muſt certainly have quickened his invention in forming his groteſque groupes; for, the exhibition of moralities was then in high vogue among the Scotch. A morality was played at the marriage of James the Fourth and the Princeſs Margaret; and mummeries, which the North Britons call GYSARTS, and which are compoſed of moral perſonifications, are ſtill known in Scotland. Even till the beginning of the preſent century, eſpecially among the feſtivities of Chriſtmas, itinerant maſkers were admitted into the houſes of the Scotch Nobility (*b*). It may be added, that Dunbar wrote occaſionally in the way which has been called Macaronic Poetry. Of this ſpecies of compoſition is his "Teſtament of "Maiſter Andro Kennedy," which repreſents the character of an idle diſſolute ſcholar, and ridicules the funeral ceremonies of the Roman Communion.

(*b*) Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, vol. II. p. 278, 279.

Almoſt every alternate line is compoſed of the formularies of a Latin will, and ſhreds of the Breviary, mixed with what the French call *Latin de Cuiſine*. There is humour in the performance, ariſing from theſe burleſque applications. The poets of that time did not ſtartle at the idea of profaneneſs. Dunbar's "Golden Terge," though moral in its general deſign, is a moſt profane parody on the Popiſh Litanies (*i*).

(*i*) Ibid, p. 358, 359.

Since the writing of this article, Thomas Park, Eſq. has favoured us with the opportunity of peruſing the edition of Ancient Scottiſh Poems, publiſhed by Sir David Dalrymple in 1770; and to which Mr. Warton has acknowledged his obligations. The poems of Dunbar in this collection are thirty in number, including the three principal ones, of which an account is given in note B. They ſerve, in general, to juſtify the high character to which Dunbar is entitled as a poet. The notes added to the collection by Sir David Dalrymple are peculiarly valuable; for, they not only explain and illuſtrate the particular expreſſions and phraſes of the pieces in queſtion, but contain ſeveral curious anecdotes, and throw conſiderable light on the manners of the times (*k*)]. K.

(*k*) Ancient Scottiſh poems, publiſhed from the Manuſcript of George Bannatine, MDLVIII. Edinburgh, 12mo, 1770. p. 1—97. p. 223—277.

AVARICE is uſhered in by a troop of extortioners, and other miſcreants, who are patroniſed by the magician Warlock, or the demon of the covetous; and who vomit on each other torrents of melted gold. As they are emptied at every diſcharge, the devils repleniſh their throats with freſh ſupplies of the ſame liquified metal. It is not till he has been called twice, that SLOTH joins in the dance: and his companions are ſo ſlow of motion, that they cannot keep up with the reſt, unleſs they are rouſed from their lethargy by being ſometimes warmed with a glimpſe of Hell-fire. LUST, at entering, neighs like a horſe, and is led by IDLENESS. "When his aſſociates mingle in the "dance, their viſages burn red like the turkis-ſtone." In the deſcription of LUST, the poet is very obſcene: but this gave no offence; for, the manners of the age were too indelicate to be ſhocked at any indecency. "I do not mean," ſays Mr. Warton, "that theſe "manners had loſt their delicacy, but that they had "not yet acquired the ſenſibility ariſing from civiliſa-"tion." GLUTTONY brings up the rear; attended with an inſatiable rout, who are inceſſantly calling out for meat and drink; and, although they are drenched by the devils with draughts of melted lead, they ſtill aſk for more. No minſtrels played at this infernal dance. It was a received opinion, that no minſtrel ever went to hell; excepting one who had committed murder, and was admitted to an inheritance in hell *by brief of Richt*, that is *per breve de recto*; a circumſtance which ſeems to allude to ſome real fact. The concluding ſtanza is a ſatire on the Highlanders. A mutual antipathy long prevailed between the Scottiſh, Saxons, and the Highlanders; and Dunbar, being a native of Eaſt Lothian, a Saxon county, was under the powerful influence of this antipathy (12).

(12) Warton, ubi ſupra, p. 272—278.

*** [DUNCAN (DANIEL), an eminent phyſician, born at Montauban, in Languedoc, in 1649, was the ſon of Dr. Peter Duncan, profeſſor of phyſic in that city, and grandſon to William Duncan, an Engliſh gentleman, of Scottiſh original, who removed from London to the South of France about the beginning of the laſt century [*A*]. Having

[*A*] *Who removed from London to the South of France, about the beginning of the laſt century.*] The hiſtory of this family, as collected from the Memorabilia of Dr. Peter Duncan, is too curious and intereſting to be omitted. John Andrew Duncan was the ſon of Mark Alexander Duncan, Laird of Airdree, in Fyfeſhire and Maynar (or Mainwarre), in Stirlingſhire, at which laſt place he was born in 1493. In his early youth, when the raſh incruſion was made into England by James the fourth, in 1513, he fled from the

ing loſt both his parents, while yet in his cradle, he was indebted, for the care of his infancy and education, to the guardianſhip of his mother's brother, Mr. Daniel Paul, a leading

the Univerſity of St. Andrew, with ſeveral of his fellow-ſtudents; and, joining the royal ſtandard, at the head of a few of his father's tenants, was taken priſoner at the battle of Flodden. Being a young man of a gallant appearance, he was treated with indulgence by the Earl of Surrey; and, when carried into Yorkſhire, was ſuffered to reſide at large in the town of Beverley; where he was hoſpitably entertained by Mr. Alexander Burnet, a near relation to his mother. Mr. Burnet, who was a zealous Wickliffite, found his young kinſman eagerly diſpoſed to imbibe his principles. An uncommon ſpirit of enquiry, with a paſſion for expoſing to contempt every abuſe of reaſon and religion, had already diſtinguiſhed his character at St. Andrew's. His converſation with Mr. Burnet raiſed, to a degree of enthuſiaſm, the averſion he had before conceived againſt the abſurdities and antichriſtian tenets of Popery.

When the ſhort conteſt with England was entirely pacified, he returned to Scotland, and abode ſome time at Edinburgh, applying himſelf, with redoubled ardour, to his former ſtudies. From Edinburgh he removed, upon the death of his father, to Airdree *, of which he had not been long in poſſeſſion, when he was hurried thence by the factious broils of noblemen contending for miſrule, during the turbulent minority of James the Fifth. Family-connections, in that country ever were, as they are, in a leſs degree, to this day; of more extenſively-attractive force than in any other in Europe. It was ſome engagement of that ſort that impelled him to join the party that oppoſed the regency of the Duke of Albany. Upon the ſeizure of the Earl of Hume (in 1516), who had drawn him into the Feude, when the utmoſt ſeverity was threatened againſt his followers, Mr. Duncan eſcaped by ſea to Berwick; and thence he was invited ſoon, by more than one motive, to Beverley. His excellent friend, Burnet, rebuked him ſharply for his folly, in abetting the factions of ambitious men, in which the religion, liberty, or valuable rights of his country had no great concern. He exacted his ſolemn promiſe to reſerve his activity for a better cauſe, and to contend for that, only with the weapons of ſober argument, reaſon, and ſcripture. Upon theſe conditions, which appear to have been providentially enforced by his father-in-law, Mr. Duncan obtained his daughter in marriage.

He returned, the year after, into Scotland, upon the final departure of the Duke Regent into France, and paſſed about ten years in the enjoyment of domeſtic tranquillity and learned purſuits at Airdree, and the neighbouring univerſity of St. Andrew, with the profeſſors and principal ſtudents of which he always kept up a friendly intercourſe. The opinions and ſpirit of the reformers, which had begun before the end of the laſt century to be ſecretly infuſed there by the ſons of Engliſh Wickliffites, and German Huſſites, ſent thither for education, were now more openly avowed. Mr. Duncan's houſe, at Airdree, became occaſionally the reſort of all the chief maintainers of the new doctrines. This led him into a particular intimacy with Mr. Patrick Hamilton, the celebrated Abbot of Ferne, the Proto-martyr of the reformation in Scotland. That excellent young man, whoſe high birth, gentle manners, and exalted character for learning and piety, added great credit to the cauſe he ſupported, was inſidiouſly drawn into diſputes at St. Andrew's by the artifices of Beaton, afterwards Cardinal, but then Coadjutor to his uncle the Archbiſhop; and, in 1527, fell a ſacrifice to the malice and bigotry of his perſecutors. The Laird of Airdree, who ſuſpected the event, and had been threatened himſelf, armed and mounted about a ſcore of his tenants and ſervants, intending thus to have entered St. Andrew's by night; whether to attempt the reſcue of his friend, and to carry him off to ſome place of greater ſafety, which is moſt probable, and what he afterwards openly avowed himſelf; or to protect his own perſon from ſeizure, in the execution of ſome other project, of which various inconſiſtent reports and conjectures were raiſed many years after, it is impoſſible clearly to evince. Certain it is that no accuſation, or ſuſpicion of any other deſign, was brought againſt him at the time. His ſecret intention, however, or at leaſt his preparation for ſome act of violence, was evidently betrayed: for, his ſmall party was ſurrounded, and himſelf apprehended, before he reached the town, by a large troop of horſemen, commanded by Patrick Duncanſon, a gentleman of Angus; who had married his ſiſter. This ſeeming attack upon his life or liberty was, from the event, believed to have been concerted, as the readieſt means of preſerving them, by perſons, who reſpecting his virtues, but foreſeeing the danger into which an over-heated zeal was likely to hurry him, engaged his brother-in-law (1) to undertake a commiſſion, which, in other hands, might poſſibly have ended fatally for Duncan. An order for his apprehenſion, ſigned by the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, was produced, and his immediate flight into England peremptorily urged by his captor; who engaged to aſſiſt him in effecting it, but upon a hard condition, an entire ſurrender of his lands in Fife to his ſiſter's children. To this ſurrender Duncan was brought to ſubmit, upon conſideration of a ſtipulated portion of the value of them. The transfer already drawn up for ſignatures was accordingly effected upon the ſpot; and the ſtipulated payment to the diſpoſſeſſed Laird of Airdree was, ſome months after, punctually made by Duncan, through the hands of his wife, who eſcorted thence his ſiſter-in-law, with an infant daughter, to her brother at Beverley. In that town John Andrew Duncan paſſed the laſt twelve years of his life, much beloved and reſpected by all well-wiſhers to the Reformation, eſpecially by the family and friends of his kind father-in-law, who generouſly applauded the unſucceſsful attempt which led him to a neceſſity of ſtripping his poſterity of their lands in Scotland. Happily for his children, Mr. Burnet ſurvived him many years.

His only ſon, Alexander Duncan, was ſent by his grandfather Burnet, to ſtudy phyſic at Aberdeen (2) under a celebrated profeſſor of the ſame name. Some ineffectual attempts were made to redeem the family eſtate by the intervention of his friends, who conſidered the ſale and ſurrender, his father had made merely as a mortgage. Their intereſt with the regency at that time was powerful, and might have ſucceeded in compelling the preſent poſſeſſor, the ſon of Patrick Duncanſon, to liſten to reaſonable terms. But, unluckily, juſt then the recent tragical death of Cardinal Beaton, the old foe to his family, effected by the Leſlies, who had before been much connected with it, revived the mention of his father's attempt twenty years before. The various dark conjectures, utterly groundleſs and abſurd, then newly trumped up and artfully brought into diſcuſſion, were, in ſome degree, injurious to his cauſe. But, beſides theſe, young Alexander's known attachment to the religious principles of his family concurred in rendering it impoſſible to ſerve him.

An end was at length put to theſe vain attempts by the perſuaſion of his mother upon the death of his grandfather, by which he ſucceeded to an inheritance in houſes and land in and near Beverley. Of theſe he ſoon after diſpoſed, and accompanied his mother to London, whither ſhe had been invited upon the death of her father, by her uncle, Mr. William Burnet, an eminent merchant there. He ſucceeded here in his profeſſion according to his wiſh; as well by his own reputation for learning and judgement as the recommendation of Mr. Burnet's numerous friends. He married the only daughter of that gentleman; at whoſe death his circumſtances were affluent. Yet his manner of living being very expenſive, he continued his practice as a phyſician ſtill, with perſevering induſtry and ſucceſs. He ſpared no expence, and beſtowed himſelf great pains in the education of his two ſons, William and Mark. Having loſt his wife, whom he loved moſt tenderly, he ſought to divert his melancholy by travelling. He ſpent ſix or ſeven years in viſiting the principal cities of the Netherlands, France, Spain, Italy, and Germany, taking his ſons with him, and

* Situated in the Eaſtern part of the County of Fife.

(1) Provido in germanum verandum amore, is the Latin. Alias, Love of his lands.

(2) 'Devanæ' ſays Lat. M. and ſoon after, 'ex *Aberdoniâ* diſcedens,' both names for the ſame place.

leading Counſellor of the Parliament of Thouloufe, though a firm and profeſſed Proteſtant (a).

(a) A grandſon of this Counſellor was Lieut. Colonel of Neville's Horſe in the Britiſh ſervice, and in 1737 married Lady Ann Bentinck, ſiſter to the Duke of Portland.

Mr. at the ſame time that he laboured diligently to embelliſh their minds with polite literature, and ſtore them with ſolid learning, neglecting no opportunity to enlarge them by an extenſive knowledge of human life. At his return to London he reſumed, with a greater reputation than ever, his practice of phyſic. Through the whole courſe of it, he conſtantly took his ſons with him as attendant pupils (3), an excellent method of inſtruction for the profeſſion, at that time much in uſe, in ſome of the countries he he had lately viſited, and ſtill generally followed and enforced, by law, in Spain to this day.

(3) Natorum oculos menteſque ſecum cubiculis infirmorum applicuit. L. M.

The active ſpirit of his eldeſt ſon, William, excited by the reputation of Mark Alexander Boyd, a near relation of his family, of great ingenuity and moſt engaging addreſs, whom he had met with in Poictou, with the army of the Prince of Condé, where he then bore the rank of a major of horſe, inclined him to a military life. After oppoſing much this inclination of his ſon, by authority, perſuaſion, and intreaty, the indulgent father at length conſented to his acceptance of a cornetcy of horſe, which Mr. Boyd procured him under the young King of Navarre, afterwards Henry the Fourth. After three years honourable ſervice, at the head of a troop of horſe, which he commanded at the battle of Coutras, he received a bad wound in his left or bridle arm, which occaſioned his quitting, with great regret, the profeſſion of a ſoldier. He retired to Thouloufe, where he met his gallant friend Boyd, who had ſtruck out of that line of ambition, with diſguſt, ſome time before. The ſciences were then, notwithſtanding the rage of civil war, cultivated with peculiar ſucceſs at Thouloufe, as it happened to be juſt at that time the reſort of ſome of the moſt learned men in France, who valued liberty of conſcience, a natural right not then invaded there, though generally diſallowed by all parties, and indeed but little underſtood in the world. The two friends, having both a paſſion and conſiderable talents for literature, proſecuted their ſtudies here with mutual advantage, though in different branches: Boyd in the belles lettres, civil law, and politics; Duncan in natural philoſophy, chemiſtry, and phyſic. The father of the latter recalled him home to London ſome time before the battle of Coutras, informing him that he had other views of advancement for him in England. This order the ſon had entreated him to diſpenſe with his obeying, before the end of the campaign, which promiſed to be a briſk one, and engaged him, in honour, not to be abſent from it. But, early in 1588, a ſecond ſummons, during his father's laſt illneſs, haſtened his return. He arrived but juſt in time to embrace and receive the good man's bleſſing. Dr. Alexander Duncan had, ſome months before his death, ſuffered a ſatirical poem of his to get into print, entituled, "Bina, or the Imperial Sorcereſs," deſcribing, in about a hundred ſtanzas, in Arioſto's manner, a monſter of duplicity, ingratitude, cruelty, and hypocriſy. It had its admirers, and cenſurers: theſe, not penetrating its occult meaning, ſlighted it as a motly and confuſed allegorical piece; while a few only underſtood it to be a ſevere but juſt invective againſt Queen Elizabeth, upon account of the mock trial of Secretary Daviſon, who had been Dr. Duncan's intimate friend. The unmerited diſgrace and ruin of this confidential ſervant of the Queen, which had pitifully been made a cover to her diſſimulation in the affair of the execution of Mary Queen of Stots, greatly damped Mr. William Duncan's deſire of advancing himſelf in his own country; particularly weaning him from all fond eſteem or wiſhes for court-favour, which, though the road to grandeur, and thoſe titles, which ſilly mortals, ignorant how they are obtained, miſcall honours, is not to be acquired and preſerved without a thouſand baſeneſſes to which the generous mind ſorely grieves to ſtoop. Poſſeſſed of a competent fortune, he chearfully turned his back upon all ambitious views. He returned to the ſouth of France, taking with him his younger brother Mark. They repaired immediately to Thouloufe. He found the face of things altered ſadly in that city. The faction of the Ligue was then repoſſeſſed of it, which rendered its reſidence inſecure to zealous Proteſtants. They went and dwelt at Saumur. The great Du Pleſſis Mornay, then Governor of that city, who had before ſhewn great friendſhip to William Duncan, applauding his bravery to the King, and procuring his military advancement, received him now with the moſt cordial civility, as a proof of which, he eſtabliſhed his brother Mark in a Profeſſorſhip of Philoſophy in that Univerſity.

Mark Duncan filled his part of Profeſſor with reputation, and publiſhed ſeveral learned works, among the reſt, a Latin ſyſtem of Logic, much commended by Burgerſdicius, in the preface to his "Inſtitutiones Logicæ," which he frankly confeſſes to have formed entirely upon that model. By the intereſt of the Governor, his generous protector, to whom his logic is dedicated, he became afterwards Regent [Principal] of that Univerſity *.

Mark Duncan, ſtyled de Ceriſantes, ſon of the foregoing, furniſhes an article of conſiderable length in Bayley's Dictionary, with the anecdotes of a life, ſtrangely checquered, through a ſpirit, impatient of reſt, like that of his Scottiſh anceſtor and his uncle William, with a variety of literary, civil, and military, purſuits. Moreri, who has inſerted in his dictionary, from the fictitious memoirs ſaid to be written by the Duke of Guiſe, the calumnies againſt Ceriſantes, which are refuted in a ſatisfactory manner by Bayle, thus begins that article: "Havoit l'eſprit fort beau, "& le corps bien fait." And he cloſes it thus: "A l'egard de ſa Poëſie Latine, elle eſt fort eſtimée "des ſçavans: ſon caractere eſt noble, & elevé; & "quelques unes de ſes odes ont eté jugées eagles aux "plus belles d'Horace." Several detached pieces of his poetry are to be ſeen in printed miſcellaneous collections. Among theſe is a remarkable one, inſcribed, "Carmen gratulatorium in nuptias Caroli R. Aug. "cum Henriettâ Mariâ filiâ Henrici IV. R. Fr." The viſionary bleſſings that were to ariſe from this union to all the world, particularly to his native country, and that of his progenitor, (by their becoming the joint arbiters of that perpetual peace in Europe, which it was the project of Henry to eſtabliſh, and which he has beautifully painted in the moſt lively colouring), only ſhew that a good poet may be a bad prophet. Two of his odes, which have never been publiſhed, and are extant only in manuſcript, in letters to his brother at London, though far inferior to the former, are too elegant not to deſerve preſervation. The one, inſcribed to an anceſtor of the Marquis d'Argenſon, was written upon his quitting the Univerſity of Paris and engaging in a military life.

Ad Rinaldum Vogerum de Paulmy, Dominum de Argenſon.

Rinalde, nil me, ceu Lutetiæ, juvat
Pulvere vel Cyprio
Comam nitentem pectere;
Vel quas Britannus texuit ſubtiliter,
Mille modis varias
Jactare ventis tænias;
Vel quam perunxit Franciſanes ipſemet
Pelle, manum gracilem
Coram puellis promere;
Vel delibuto roſibus jaſmineis
Mungere linteolo,
Nares, licet non humidas.

* The following ſlight inaccuracy is found in the account given of Mr. Mark Duncan in Bayle's Dictionary, where his excellent character is much commended. He is there ſaid to be 'ECOSSOIS DE NATION, *gentilhomme de naiſſance*, &c.' The original manuſcript whence Bayle copied this paragraph is ſtill extant, in my poſſeſſion, with the firſt words thus corrected, '*Ecoſſois d'origine, Anglois de nation*,' &c. But by the memoirs of his family, written very circumſtantially, and with the greateſt exactneſs, from authentic vouchers of his father and grandfather by his nephew, Dr. Peter Duncan, of which this account is a faithful abridgment, it plainly appears that William and his brother Mark were both born in London, their father, Alexander, in Beverley.

Mr. Duncan received the first elements of grammar, polite literature, and philosophy, at Puy Lauren, whither the magistracy of Montauban had transferred their university for

Hæc me beatum distinebant omnia;
Cum leviter furerem
Jam Partheniſſâ, jam Chloê.
Nunc militaris me cupido gloriæ,
Ingeniumque ferox,
Acerbus et mentis dolor,
Traxere mundi sub Latus, quo candidum
Nec Venus alma pedem,
Nec intulerunt Gratiæ.
Nunc est bibendum cum viris pugnacibus,
Quos nisi te paterâ
Spumante totum proluas,
Statim frementes videris; nec desinunt
Jurgia, dum cyathos
Effusus incestet cruor.
Nunc est bibendum, nunc decet ructu gravi
Tingere cum dapibus
Mixto pavimentum mero.
Hæc tædia, ut me Paulmiorum gratia
Phyllidis, Aonidum,
Plus luce carorum, beet
Hæc tædia, ut me gens amans, amataque,
Angla, Parisiaca,
Callaudet absentem fero.

M. DUNCANUS.

The other is upon the death of the Marquis de Forse, to whom he had been Governor, and inscribed to his friend, the celebrated Balzac.

Ad Johannem Ludovicum Guez, Dominum de Balzac.

Frustrà, candide Balsaci,
Frustrà nobilibus modis
Nostram sollicitas chelyn.
Heu! nec mens mihi, nec vigor,
Ex quo mors gravis abstulit
Dulces delicias meo
Dilectum puerum sinu:
Ex quo, flos patriæ & decus
Duri gloria sæculi
Carus luce mihi magis
Eheu! Forsius occidit;
Pro quo debueram mori,
Si nostra prece mobiles
Servâssent puerum Deæ;
Quem, ni fors nimis aspera
Nostros divideret dies,
Supremo comes halitu
Saltem debueram sequi.

M. DUNCANUS.

For the particulars of the life of this Mark Duncan, of Cerisantes, see the Great General Dictionary, Vol. IV. p. 247—251. The friendship of this excentric but really gallant person proved unfortunate, as will appear, to Peter Duncan, his first cousin, the writer of the memorable manuscripts, marked No. 1, and No. 2, whence they are extracted.

To return to Mr. William Duncan.—Upon his brother's marriage into a genteel (4) and wealthy family in Anjou, he chearfully engaged to remit to him from England the value of half of the inheritance left between them by their father, of which Mark was by will intitled only to one third. To execute this generous purpose, he went back to London, after an absence of nine years. The reception he met with from the friends of his family, and their joint-persuasions, at his return, made him form a resolution never to remove himself from England more, to which he was the rather determined by his marriage soon after with a very amiable woman, the daughter of the Rev. Dr. Herbert, of London, who brought a considerable accession to his fortune. Upon this occasion, he enlarged and fitted up his father's house in Westminster with great elegance. Here he enjoyed some years an honourable independence, happily allowing his wife's regulations of a decent œconomy to temper his own inclination to excessive hospitality. All this time he was continually pressing his brother Mark, whom he dearly loved, by every motion of interest and affection to return to his friends in England. But the aversion of his sister-in-law to quit her country and kindred prevailed against all his arguments. At length, upon the accession of King James I. having acquired, through the interest of his wife's friends and his own, a favourable reception at Court, he never sought to make the least use of it for himself; but, it enabled him to make one effort more to bring over his brother to his wish. He obtained for Mark a patent from the King, appointing him Physician to the Royal Household. The proper instrument for this purpose was drawn up, and dispatched to his brother at Saumur, to confirm his assurance of the appointment before he should pass the sea. This last attempt to restore that branch of his family to England proved as unsuccessful as all the rest, for the reasons assigned in Bayle. But so precarious are all our purposes in this life, that his own plan of a permanent settlement here was, a few years after this, disconcerted by a domestic concern. His wife being of a tender constitution, with alarming symptoms of a consumptive habit, was persuaded, by her friends and physicians, to seek the benefit of a milder climate, an expedient which in that case has been seldom found to succeed. He removed with her to the South of France. In his route thither, he passed through Saumur to visit his brother. The cordiality of this meeting was unhappily damped by the behaviour of the relations of Mark's wife, who proudly affected to slight the advantages he had proposed as inducements to transport their kinswoman and her children to a foreign country (5). He quitted Saumur with some disgust, and never visited that place nor saw his brother more, though he still occasionally kept up an epistolary correspondence, and afterwards consigned to his care the instruction of his only son in the study of physic *.

From Anjou Mr. William Duncan removed to Languedoc, through the several cities of which he wandered for a while, and settled at length at Montauban, the air of which appeared at first to produce the most salutary effects upon the constitution of his wife; and the society of its inhabitants was peculiarly agreeable to himself. He purchased a landed estate adjoining to that city, with a large well-built house upon it, in a pleasant situation, upon the side of the Tarne. His wife enjoyed not long this purchase, made solely upon her account. She died within two years after their arrival at Montauban, leaving him an only son. Inconsolable for the loss, he lived, some time after her death, entirely shut up in his new habitation, in utter seclusion from all society; till at length he began by degrees to enliven his solitude, by erecting at convenient distances, to the right and left of it, several small but remarkably neat tenements, all fronting the river. It was thus he formed to himself, in the course of about four years, a most pleasing and amicable vicinage. The use, rent-free, of these little villas, when completed to his fancy, he bestowed, one by one, upon some chosen friends, among his countrymen, for whose reception he had built them. They were the sons of Protestant gentlemen, who had fled thither, after being engaged in the unsuccessful attempt of the Duke of Northumberland to place Lady Jane Grey upon the throne, at the death of Edward VI. A numerous breed of Peacocks had been encouraged to multiply, to a surprizing degree, in a grove adjoining to his dairy, upon the side of the river; and as they were often seen about his gardens, when he made the purchase, occasioned him to give his habitation the name of Peacock-house, which name the people of Montauban, transferring to his new-built hamlet, give at this day to a well frequented pleasant village, standing upon the same spot; and as by corruption they write it Picquacoz, it may be seen so spelt in some maps of Guienne and Languedoc; for, it is situated precisely upon the line that bounds these two provinces. The hospitable manner, in which he enjoyed, for

(4) Nobili, S's Lat. M. but noble in English, implies a title not inferior to Baron.

(5) Ad feroces gentes et immite sœlum. L.M.

* These memoirs of Peter Duncan give honourable testimony to the grateful affection his uncle Mark expressed for his father, by every substantial act of kindness and attention to him during the three years of his own stay at Saumur.

many

for a time, to put an end to ſome diſputes of the ſtudents with the citizens. The maſters newly eſtabliſhed there, for the early inſtruction of youth, finding their credit much raiſed by his uncommon proficiency, redoubled their attention to him; ſo that he went from that academy with a diſtinguiſhed character to Montpellier, when removed thither by his guardian, with a view to qualify him for a profeſſion which had been for three generations hereditary in his family.

His ingenuity and application recommended him to the eſteem and friendſhip of his principal inſtructor there, the celebrated Dr. Charles Barbeyrac (uncle to John Barbeyrac, the famous Civilian), whoſe phyſical lectures and practice were in high reputation. Having taken his favourite pupil into his own houſe, the Profeſſor impreſſed and turned to uſe his public and private inſtruction by an efficacious method, admitting him, at every viſit he paid to his patients, to conſult and reaſon with him, upon ocular inſpection, concerning the effect of his preſcriptions. When he had ſtudied eight years under the friendly care of ſo excellent a maſter, and had juſt attained the age of twenty-four, he was admitted to the degree of M. D. in that univerſity.

From Montpellier he went to Paris, where he reſided nearly ſeven years. Here he publiſhed his firſt work, upon the principle of motion in the conſtituent parts of animal bodies, entituled, "Explication nouvelle & mechanique des Actions animales." Paris, 1678.

It was in the year following that he went for the firſt time to London, to diſpoſe of ſome houſes there, the property of which was deſcended to him from his anceſtors. He had, beſides, ſome other motives for the journey; and, among the reſt, to get information relative to the effects of the plague in London in 1665. Poſſeſſed of authentic proofs, in memorials written by his father, that his family had borne a reſpectable rank in Scotland and England, he was deſirous of collecting more recent vouchers of the ſame upon the ſpot. For, in the year 1677, having been, by the favour of the great Colbert, appointed Phyſician General to the army before St. Omer's, commanded by the Duke of Orleans, he had received Letters of Nobleſſe, a right conceded to him in France, which he could evidence to have been, for ſome centuries, the claim of his family in Britain.

Added by Daniel ſon of Peter at the end of his father's Memoranda.

many years, this agreeable neighbourhood, and his liberality to the neceſſitous, the natives as well as his own countrymen, have been long recorded, to his credit. That they were indeed exceſſive, his ſucceſſor found to his loſs; for, they ſo reduced his circumſtances, that, before his diſeaſe, he had diſſipated the greateſt part of his property, and mortgaged almoſt all his eſtate to its full value, reſerving only one ſmall tenement for his habitation, which he had built for his Vigneron, or Bailiff, with about thirty acres of vineyard about it. This his laſt reſidence, a little enlarged, and with ſome degree of that elegance, which he ſtill preſerved, remained in the poſſeſſion of his ſon and grandſon, till the latter left the country, about the end of the laſt century. A few years before his death, which happened in 1644, he was perſuaded, for the ſake of his ſon, to accept of a Profeſſorſhip in the Academy, and to read lectures in Phyſic and Natural Philoſophy.

His only ſon, Peter, from whoſe memorials, drawn up, much more circumſtantially, in pure and intelligible though ſometimes bald and unclaſſical Latin, the ſubſtance of the foregoing account is taken, gave early ſigns of an aſtoniſhing vivacity and pregnancy of genius. The greateſt hopes were formed of his progreſs in learning, which a weak frame of body, rendering him incapable of intenſe application, in his younger years, in ſome degree diſappointed. He was educated at home by his father, till having, about the age of twenty, acquired a more confirmed ſtate of health, he was ſent to Saumur, as well to receive medical inſtruction from his uncle Mark as to form a friendly connection with his three ſons, who were eſteemed very accompliſhed young men. This laſt purpoſe did not ſucceed according to his father's wiſh. The intimacy he contracted with his couſin Ceriſantes, proved the accidental occaſion of much ſorrow to his tender parent. It raiſed in him a paſſionate deſire to engage in a military life, which was conſtantly oppoſed by his father. Having unfortunately accompanied his friend in a trip to Paris, he was hurried into a diſſipated way of life, which his delicate conſtitution could not bear without a dangerous ſhock. His perſon, though ſmall, is ſaid to have been remarkably pleaſing and well-made; his complexion amorous; and his converſation, naturally ſprightly, rendered him a general favourite in all companies, in that of the ladies eſpecially. He returned, in a bodily ſtate exceedingly impaired, to his afflicted parent; who nevertheleſs had the ſatisfaction, before he died, to ſee him married into a reſpectable family at Thouloufe, and appointed his ſucceſſor in the Profeſſorſhip of Phyſic at Montauban. The Latin Elegy, manifeſtly written with great difficulty, the evening before his death, which had long been daily expected from a ſlow conſumption, though not to be commended as excellent Poetry, is highly valuable as a ſtriking proof of his mind's being moſt happily ſtrengthened, in that extremity of weakneſs, by a truly chriſtian piety. It bears a remarkable inſcription:

Extrema hæc, prope funeratus, effudit P. D.

Auxilio fretus divino, quolibet horæ
Momento vivam, ceu moriturus ibi.
Securuſque necis, potiorem ducere vitam
Spero. Haud me fallat ſpes mea fulta Deo!
Juſtitiæ fulmen, conſperſus ſanguine Chriſti,
Non metuam, felix ſemper amore Dei.
O Deus, O vitæ mihi fons, animæque Redemptor,
Tecum vivere amem, tecum et obire libens.
Cras ſi morte cadam, Chriſti virtute reſurgam.
Fido; revicturus non moriturus ero.
O Deus omnipotens, mihi lux cariſſima vitæ,
O decus, O magnum præſidiumque meum,
O qui ſpem tantam ſeviſti in pectore noſtro,
Maturam præſta, ter bone, terque potens.

He ſurvived his father about four or five years, and, dying near the age of thirty five, left behind him an infant ſon, Daniel, whoſe birth, fatal to his mother, was followed, within ſix months, by the death of his father in 1649.

Having

Having dispatched his other business, he printed, in London, a Latin edition of his "Theory of the Principle of Motion in animal Bodies." His stay in London, at this time, was a little more than two years; and he was much disposed to settle there entirely. But, in 1681, he was recalled to Paris, being sent for to a consultation about the health of his patron Colbert, which was then beginning to decline. He appears to have left England with some regret; though, by a curious manuscript, upon *the prevailing abuses in the established practice of Physicians and Apothecaries in different parts of the world*, it is plain that he had conceived a great contempt for the pitiful trade, into which his noble art was then degraded in London.

Soon after his return he produced the first part of a new work, entituled, "La "Chymie naturelle, ou Explication chymique & méchanique de la nourriture de l'Ani- "mal." It was much read, but rather raised than satisfied the curiosity of the learned; to answer which he added afterwards two other parts, which were received with a general applause. A second edition of the whole was published at Paris in 1687. In that year likewise came out his "Histoire de l'Animal, ou la connoissance du Corps; "animé par la Méchanique & par la Chymie." It exhibited, upon a smaller scale, a more comprehensive view of all the properties of animal bodies, in a form less scientific, and with more popular illustrations than his former work. These books, written in a pleasing style, and besides a considerable fund of erudition, replete with original and accurate researches into nature, are scarce in England; but are still read with esteem in France and Holland; and were much commended by contemporary writers, and in all the journals of literature of those times, as appears by the honourable mention made of Dr. Duncan, in Bayle's Dictionary, at the article of Cerisantes.

He left Paris in 1683, upon the much-lamented death of Colbert, the kind effect of whose esteem he gratefully acknowledged to have experienced, though in a much smaller degree than he might have enjoyed, if he could have restrained his zeal for Protestantism, and his avowed abhorrence of Popery. He had some property in land adjoining to the city of Montauban, with a handsome house upon it, pleasantly situated near the skirts of the town. It was with a purpose of selling these, and settling finally in England, that he went thither from Paris. But the honourable and friendly reception he met with there determined his stay some years in his native city. In 1690, the persecution, which began to rage with great fury against Protestants, made him suddenly relinquish all thought of a longer abode in France. Having disposed of his house and land for less than half their value, he retired first to Geneva, intending to return to England through Germany; an intention generally kept in petto, but for many years unexpectedly thwarted by various events. Great numbers of his persuasion, encouraged by his liberality in defraying their expences on the road to Geneva, had followed him thither. Unwilling to abandon them in distress, he spent several months in that city and Berne, whither great numbers had likewise taken refuge, in doing them all the service in his power. The harsh and gloomy aspect which Reformation at that time wore in Geneva, ill agreeing with a temper naturally mild and chearful, and the sullen treatment he met with from those of his profession, whose ignorance and selfishness his conduct and method of practice tended to bring into disrepute, occasioned his stay there to be very short. He listened therefore with pleasure to the persuasion of a chief magistrate of Berne, who invited him to a residence more suited to his mind. He passed about eight or nine years at Berne, where to his constant practice of physic was added the charge of a Professorship of Anatomy and Chemistry.

In the year 1699, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, sent for him to Cassel. The Princess, who lay dangerously ill, was restored to life, but recovered strength very slowly. Dr. Duncan was entertained for three years, with great respect, in the palace of the Landgrave, as his domestic physician. During his stay at that court, he wrote his treatise upon the abuse of hot liquors. The use of tea, which had not long been introduced into Germany, and in the houses only of the most opulent, was already at the Landgrave's become improper and immoderate, as well as that of coffee and chocolate. The Princess of Hesse, with a weak habit of body, inclining to a consumption, had been accustomed to drink these liquors to excess, and extremely hot. He thought fit, therefore, to write something against the abuse of them, especially the most common one last mentioned. Their prudent use, to persons chiefly of a phlegmatic constitution, he allowed. He even recommended them, in that case, by his own example, to be taken moderately warm early in the morning, and soon after dinner; but never late in the evening, their natural tendency not agreeing with the posture of a body at rest. He wrote this treatise in a popular style, as intended for the benefit of all ranks of people; the abuse he condemned growing daily more and more epidemical. Though he esteemed it too superficial for publication, he permitted it to be much circulated in manuscript. It was not till five years after, that he was persuaded by his friend Dr. Boerhaave to print it, first in French, under the the title of "Avis, salutaire à tout le monde, contre "l'abus des liqueurs chaudes, & particulierement du Caffé, du Chocolat, & du Thé."

Rotterdam, 1705. He printed it the year following, in Engliſh, at London [ſmall 8vo. ſold by Rhodes in Fleet-ſtreet, and Bell in Cornhill, 1706]. In his dedication of the work to the Landgrave, he pays a judicious compliment to that Prince, as a Philoſopher, who was indebted for the health and vigour of his mind and body to his own prudent conduct; tacitly inſinuating, that, by a due regard to good advice, he approved himſelf wiſer than the Princeſs, whom, though he had reſtored her to health beyond all hope, he had found a moſt refractory patient.

The perſecution of Proteſtants in France continuing to drive great numbers of them from all its provinces into Germany, he defrayed occaſionally the expences of ſome ſmall bodies of theſe poor emigrants, who paſſed through Caſſel in 1702, in their way to Brandenburgh, where encouraging offers of a comfortable maintenance were held out by Frederick, the newly-created King of Pruſſia, to induſtrious manufacturers of every ſort. The praiſes theſe people ſpread of Dr. Duncan's liberality, when they arrived at Berlin, procured him a moſt flattering invitation to that court. He was indeed extremely well received by the reigning Prince; who appointed him diſtributor of his prudent munificence to ſome thouſands of theſe poor artificers, and ſuperintendant of the execution of a plan formed for their eſtabliſhment. This office he diſcharged with great credit and internal ſatisfaction; but with no other advantage to himſelf. Though appointed Profeſſor of Phyſic with a decent ſalary, and Phyſician to the Royal Houſehold, he found his abode at Berlin likely to prove injurious to his health and fortune. His expences there were exceſſive, and increaſing without bounds by the daily applications made to him as diſtributor of the royal bounty, which fell ſhort of their wants. Beſides, the intemperate mode of living at that court was not according to his taſte. It was this laſt reaſon which induced him, in 1703, to remove to the Hague.

In this moſt agreeable reſidence he ſettled about twelve years, a ſhort excurſion to London excepted in 1706, for the purpoſe of inveſting all his moneyed property in the Engliſh funds. He kept at this time a frequent correſpondence with Dr. Boerhaave, at whoſe perſuaſion he publiſhed a Latin edition of his Natural Chemiſtry, with ſome improvements and additional illuſtrations; entituled, "Chymiæ naturalis ſpecimen, quo "planè patet nullum in Chymicis officinis proceſſum fieri, cui ſimilis, aut analogus "in animalis corpore non fiat." Amſtelodami, 1707. He often uſed to ſay, that a ſurpriſing uniformity runs through all the infinitely-varied works of nature: And he would thence infer, that he, who attempts to explain any one of theſe works, would do well to inveſtigate the preciſe analogy his explanation bears to the diſcoveries made by philoſophical experiments in correſpondent works of nature; and that this was the ſureſt means of attaining perfection in all works of art. Whatever of this ſort worthy attention, yet unnoticed before, occurred to theſe reſpectable inquirers after ſalutary truth, they gladly communicated to each other.

He commenced about the ſame time a correſpondence upon ſimilar ſubjects, but not with the like ſatisfaction at firſt with Dr. Richard Mead, who had ſought his acquaintance, and treated him with great civility when laſt in London. Duncan, who had related ſome extraordinary influences of the ſtate of the atmoſphere upon human bodies, which he had obſerved in the courſe of his practice, had been complimented by Mead in Latin, which they both wrote with great eaſe and purity, upon the ingenious reaſonings which accompanied theſe recorded facts. Mead at the ſame time communicated, with much ſerioufneſs, ſome whimſical conjectures of his own, upon the influence of *planetary* attraction; together with the ſlight outlines of a theory upon the action of the *nervous fluid*. Duncan, with his peculiar air of grave pleaſantry, extolled the one as a marvellous attempt to extract ſound reaſoning from the ravings of judicial aſtrology, and the other as an acute invention to convert Ariſtotle's occult qualities into medical uſe. Mead, after contending weakly, in two letters, for the reality of both the objects in queſtion (while Duncan ſtill inſiſted that Mead only meant to amuſe him with a comical dream), conſented at length to cloſe the debate, by allowing that little or no ſervice was likely to accrue to the practice of phyſic from either theory; which, however unluckily for the reputation of that excellent man, he would not be perſuaded entirely to relinquiſh.

Their correſpondence after this grew more ſerious and intereſting, and ran chiefly upon the ſubject of contagious diſtempers, and the moſt proper method of preparing patients for a voluntary admiſſion of the infection of the ſmall-pox, by the breath or touch of a diſtempered perſon. It is remarkable that, in Dr. Mead's letters, an imperfect ſeries of which are ſtill preſerved with the copies of a few of Dr. Duncan's anſwers, no mention is made of inoculating or communicating the diſtemper by an inſertion of the virus, a method certainly known to the learned at that time, though not introduced into practice in England before 1721. It was in that year that Dr. Mead was ordered by the Prince of Wales (afterwards George II.) in whoſe family he was then employed, to inoculate ſeven condemned criminals after the Circaſſian and Chineſe method.

Its ſucceſs with them, and afterwards with the royal family, is well known to have firſt gained it credit there. Though Dr. Duncan ventured to pronounce, with a confidence unuſual to him, that the only rational preparation for the reception of a diſtemper which was evidently of the inflammatory kind, was ſuch a regimen, as, without weakening the conſtitution, might clear it of every thing that could contribute to feed the flame; yet, with reſpect to the voluntary admiſſion of a diſeaſe, hitherto ſo often fatal, he expreſſed himſelf always with great heſitation. He was ſtill propoſing freſh matters of enquiry to be clearly aſcertained before the propriety of the practice could be well eſtabliſhed. Experience, which has now confirmed his theory with reſpect to a preparatory regimen, has happily diſpelled, in a great degree, the apprehenſions of ill conſequences which made him ſo cautious of recommending a voluntary infection. Thoſe apprehenſions, therefore, it has been thought proper to ſuppreſs.

From the time of his leaving London in 1681, it appears that Dr. Duncan conſtantly entertained thoughts of fixing there his final abode. He however did not effect this purpoſe till about the end of 1714. In his anſwer to a letter he received from Dr. Mead during Queen Anne's laſt illneſs, he expreſſes an intention to quit the Hague ſome months ſooner; but that unhappily juſt then he had been ſuddenly afflicted with a ſtroke of the palſy. It greatly alarmed his friends. Yet when he had overcome the firſt ſhock, he found no other inconvenient effect from it himſelf till his death, twenty-one years after, but a ſlight convulſive motion of the head, which ſeized him commonly in ſpeaking, but never interrupted the conſtant chearfulneſs of his addreſs. To a patient likely to do well he would ſay, "It is not for your caſe that I ſhake my head, "but my own. You will ſoon ſhake me off, I warrant you."

He had often ſolemnly declared that, if the will of God prolonged his life to the age of ſeventy, he would conſecrate the remainder of it to the gratuitous ſervice of thoſe who ſought his advice. Having attained that age in 1719, he actually dedicated to this generous purpoſe the laſt ſixteen years of his life. Of ſuch patients as could not afford to pay a phyſician he had always a ſufficient number to enable him to accompliſh it to his wiſh, as his liberal contributions to relieve their other wants were well known to accompany his medical advice. To the rich who conſulted him, from whom he as peremptorily refuſed to take a fee, he was wont to ſay, with a ſmile, "The poor are my only "pay-maſters now; they are the beſt I ever had; their payments are placed in a "government-fund that can never fail; my ſecurity is the only KING that can do no "wrong." This alluded to the loſs he ſuſtained, in 1721, of a third part of his property by the South-Sea ſcheme. It produced not the leaſt alteration in his purpoſe, nor any retrenchment of his general beneficence to the poor.

He left behind him a great number of manuſcripts, moſtly phyſical, ſome upon religious ſubjects, and one containing many curious anecdotes of the hiſtory of his own times, from which he appears to have looked through mankind well, the men eſpecially, whom the idolatry of the vulgar exalt above their merits; whoſe amazing littleneſs he uſed to contemplate with more compaſſion than contempt, while ſome of their actions, againſt which party-writers inveigh with a tragical tone, loſe a certain degree of atrociouſneſs in his natural and candid way of accounting for them. Among his phyſical manuſcripts the moſt conſiderable is a Latin Treatiſe upon contagious Diſtempers, to which is prefixed (though ſeemingly intended for a ſeparate work) a very ample Diſſertation upon the plague, which cloſes with a remarkable addreſs to the Legiſlature of theſe kingdoms. This evidently appears to have been written within the year 1679; ſoon after Dr. Duncan firſt came to England. [This Addreſs is dated November 5, 1679.] It contains many judicious reflections upon particular facts obſerved during the dreadful ravages of that diſtemper in London fourteen years before. Theſe facts, well atteſted to him by credible eye-witneſſes, chiefly of his own profeſſion, eſtabliſhed his opinion beyond a doubt, that the plague is communicable by infection; and not, according to the fatally-miſtaken notion of the Turks, a periodical diſtemper, the germs of which being generated in the air of ſome devoted ſpot, will infallibly grow, and, baffling all remedy of man, take their own courſe. The reſult of theſe reflections was imparted to Dr. Mead, in the courſe of his correſpondence with him thirty years after; together with the regulations he had intended to recommend to the Parliament of Great Britain to prevent a communication of the infection by foreign commerce. The light which theſe obſervations threw upon the ſubject was, in 1719, much improved and extended by Dr. Mead, with the univerſal approbation of the public, when the conſternation was ſo general in Europe from the plague at Marſeilles.

The writers of the "Bibliotheque Britannique," for June, 1735, whence, at page 219 and the four following, the ſubſtance of this account is chiefly taken, with the addition only of ſuch circumſtances as have been faithfully collected from letters and other manuſcripts found after Dr. Duncan's death, cloſe the article relating to him, with theſe among other imperfect outlines of his character.—His converſation was eaſy, chearful,

chearful, and intereſting, pure from all taint of party-ſcandal or idle raillery. This made his company a bleſſing deſired by all who had a capacity to know its value. As a man, benevolence and ingenuity, as a Chriſtian, a well informed zeal for Proteſtantiſm, diſtinguiſhed his character, in which a ſtriking proof was exhibited, that religion may well be found in the profeſſion of a phyſician, as it muſt indeed naturally gain ſtrength from the ſucceſsful ſtudy of nature. He died at London, April 30, 1735, aged 86. He left behind him an only ſon, the Reverend Doctor Daniel Duncan, author of ſome religious tracts; among the reſt, "Collects upon the principal Articles of the Chriſtian "Faith, according to the Order of the Catechiſm of the Church of England." Printed for S. Birt, 1754. This was originally intended for an appendix to a larger work, completed for the preſs, but never publiſhed, entituled, "The Family Catechiſm, be-"ing a free and comprehenſive Expoſition of the Catechiſm of the Church of England." He correſponded with the writers of the "Candid Diſquiſitions," &c. in which work he was from that circumſtance ſuppoſed to have had ſome ſhare. He died in June, 1761, leaving behind him two ſons, both Clergymen, the younger of whom, John Duncan, D. D. is now living, and Rector of South Warmborough, Hants.]

The editor of the Biographia would think himſelf inexcuſable if he did not add, that Dr. John Duncan ſuſtains the honour of his family, in the reſpectability of his character, in the liberality of his mind, and in his ingenious and valuable publications, both as a Poet and a Divine.

*For the principal materials of this article we are indebted to our excellent and learned friend Dr. Gerard, Profeſſor of Divinity in King's College, Aberdeen.

*** [DUNCAN (WILLIAM) *, Profeſſor of Philoſophy in the Mariſchal College, Aberdeen, and a learned writer, was born at that borough in the month of July, 1717. His father, William Duncan, was a reſpectable tradeſman in the ſame place; and his mother, Euphemia Kirkwood, was the daughter of a wealthy farmer in Eaſt Lothian, the firſt diſtrict in Scotland where agriculture was much improved. Young Duncan received his grammatical education, partly in the public grammar-ſchool of Aberdeen, and partly at Foveran, about fifteen miles diſtant, where there was a boarding-ſchool, which at that time was greatly frequented on account of the reputation of Mr. George Forbes, the Maſter. In November, 1733, Mr. Duncan entered the Mariſchal College of Aberdeen, and applied himſelf particularly to the ſtudy of the Greek language, under the celebrated Profeſſor, Dr. Thomas Blackwell. After going through the ordinary courſe of philoſophy and mathematics, which continues for three years, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts. This was in April, 1737; and he never took any other degree.

Mr. Duncan appears to have been originally deſigned for the Chriſtian Miniſtry, and with this view he attended the Theological Lectures of the Profeſſors at Aberdeen for two winters. Not, however, finding in himſelf an inclination to the clerical profeſſion, he quitted his native place, and removed to London in 1739, where he was chiefly employed as an author, and it is not known whether he was ever in any other line. In this capacity various works were publiſhed by him without his name, the exact nature and number of which it is not in our power to aſcertain. It is, in general, underſtood that he tranſlated ſeveral books from the French, and that he engaged in different undertakings which were propoſed to him by the bookſellers. There is reaſon to believe that he had a very conſiderable ſhare in the tranſlation of Horace which goes under the name of Watſon. Dr. Gerard diſtinctly remembers that Mr. Duncan ſent a copy of it, as his own work, to his old ſchool-maſter, Mr. Forbes, who expreſſed upon this occaſion great pride in his former ſcholar, and held up his proficiency as a ſtrong incentive to diligence in the purſuit of claſſical learning.

Without anxiouſly enquiring after every tranſlation, and every compilation, in which Mr. Duncan might be concerned, we ſhall content ourſelves with taking notice of the three principal productions upon which his literary reputation is founded. The firſt, in point of time, was his tranſlation of certain ſelect orations of Cicero. Theſe orations are thoſe which occur in the common dauphin edition, and the work is underſtood to be happily executed. It has gone through ſeveral impreſſions, and is in conſtant uſe as a ſchool-book, the Latin being printed on one ſide, and the Engliſh on the other. A new edition, in this form, has appeared during the preſent year, (1792). Sir Charles Whitworth, in 1777, publiſhed Mr. Duncan's verſion in Engliſh only, for the benefit of ſuch young perſons, of both ſexes, as have not had the benefit of a liberal education. The publication is in two volumes, octavo. In his preface, Sir Charles ſpeaks highly, and we believe juſtly, of Mr. Duncan's merit as a tranſlator, and ranks him in this line with a Leland, a Hampton, and a Melworth. Mr. Duncan accompanied his tranſlation with ſhort but judicious explanatory notes.

In the year 1748, Mr. Robert Dodſley publiſhed that excellent ſchool book, entituled, "The Preceptor;" a book which has gone through ſeven editions, and of which many more will probably be demanded in the courſe of time. That the work might be executed in the beſt manner, Mr. Dodſley called in the aſſiſtance of ſome of the ableſt men of the age, among whom may be reckoned the names of David Fordyce, Dr. John Campbell, and Dr. Samuel Johnſon. The part of logic was aſſigned to Mr. Duncan, and the taſk was diſcharged by him with an ability that excited general approbation. It was the fault of moſt of the former treatiſes on the ſubject to be rendered very dry and unentertaining by the mode in which they were conducted, and eſpecially by the numerons and too often frivolous and unneceſſary diſtinctions, diviſions, and ſub-diviſions, with which they abounded. Senſible of this error, our author adopted a method more agreeable and inviting. He has treated logic like one who was a thotough maſter of it. Diſdaining to copy ſervilely after thoſe who had gone before him, he ſtruck out a plan of his own, and managed it with ſo much perſpicuity and judgment, gave ſo clear and diſtinct a view of the furniture of our minds for the diſcovery of truth, and laid down ſuch excellent rules for the attainment of it, that his work is one of the beſt introductions to the ſtudy of philoſophy and the mathematics in our own or perhaps any other language (*a*). It may be added, that Mr. Duncan knew how to avail himſelf of his perfect acquaintance with Locke's Eſſay on the human underſtanding. In 1752, the "Elements of Logic" were ſeparately publiſhed in 12mo; ſince which time the work has had a more extenſive ſpread in the univerſities, and in other ſeminaries of education. It has, we believe, in a good meaſure, ſuperſeded Dr. Watts; whoſe logic, however, on account of its greater copiouſneſs, and a certain facility of language and illuſtration, will ſtill continue to be uſeful.

(*a*) Monthly Review. Vol. VII. p. 467—468.

Mr. Duncan's laſt production was a tranſlation of Cæſar's Commentaries, which appeared in the latter end of the year 1752, in one volume, folio. This work had a double title to a favourable reception from the public, being recommended both by its external and internal merit. It is beautifully printed, and richly adorned with a variety of fine cuts. Theſe are the ſame, a few neceſſary alterations excepted, with thoſe of Dr. Clarke's edition; which, beſides their being ornamental, are of great ſervice towards a due underſtanding of the hiſtory. As to the tranſlation, it is acknowledged to be the beſt that has been given, in our own tongue, of the Commentaries of Cæſar. Mr. Duncan has in a great meaſure caught the ſpirit of the original author, and has preſerved his turn of phraſe and expreſſion as far as the nature of our language would permit. What adds much to the value of the work is, that there is prefixed to it a long diſcourſe concerning the Roman art of war. In this diſcourſe Mr. Duncan gives his readers a clear view of the military cuſtoms of the Romans, and has made a variety of ſagacious and juſt obſervations upon the genius and policy of ancient Rome. The diſcourſe is divided into eight chapters, the firſt of which contains a view of the ceremonies that attended a declaration of war. Under this head, our author takes occaſion to lay before his readers a particular account of the wars between the Romans and the Carthaginians, with the purpoſe of expoſing the pompous narratives that we meet with in hiſtorians of the ſincerity and inviolable juſtice of the former people. After ſhewing, by a detail of facts, that in all the Punic wars the Romans were the aggreſſors, and that, in the two laſt eſpecially, they forced the Carthaginians into them by flagrant acts of injuſtice, he proceeds to explain their preſerving, in ſome meaſure, the reputation of juſtice and equity, notwithſtanding their oppreſſive conduct. What Mr. Duncan has advanced upon the ſubject, being curious and inſtructive, will be inſerted below [*A*]; and it will, at the ſame time, afford a proper ſpecimen of his talents

[*A*] *Being curious and inſtructive, will be inſerted below.*] 'It muſt indeed be owned, ſays he, that it 'required no ſmall art and policy, ſo to involve and 'intangle themſelves with all the nations of the then 'known world, that they could at pleaſure find ſome 'ſpecious pretence of quarrel, when their intereſt 'required them to break with any ſtate. This gave 'a colour of juſtice to all their undertakings, inſpired 'their armies with aſſurance and confidence, inviolably attached to them their old friends, and procured 'them new allies at pleaſure. And, as it ſeems to 'have been one of their maſter-ſtrokes in politics, 'and the principal engine by which they puſhed on 'their conqueſts, it may not be amiſs to give the reader ſome little inſight into their artful conduct in 'this reſpect, that he may the better comprehend the 'motives and tendency of it.

'Although I cannot bring myſelf to think, with 'ſome modern writers of pretended depth and penetration, that *Numa Pompilius* had a political view 'in the ſeveral religious regulations he eſtabliſhed at 'Rome; yet I am ready enough to allow, that many 'of his inſtitutions were afterwards, by the prudent 'management of the ſenate, converted into maxims 'of ſtate, and rendered very ſerviceable in the adminiſtration of the government. Of this nature particularly were the ceremonies relating to the declaration 'of war. Nothing is of greater conſequence to an 'ambitious republic, which aims at univerſal dominion, and a gradual ſubjection of all nations, than 'to prevent ſuch a general confederacy againſt her 'as might not only put a ſtop to her conqueſts, but 'even threaten her in her turn with deſtruction. 'This the ſenate effected by their ſingular addreſs and 'conduct in the ſeveral wars in which they were engaged: for, they always found means to colour them 'over with ſuch a ſpecious pretence of juſtice as gave 'no umbrage to the neighbouring ſtates, nor begot 'any jealouſy of a power, which ſeemed to have 'nothing in view but the redreſſing its own wrongs 'or thoſe of other nations in alliance with it. That 'ſtrong bent towards religion, and the worſhip of 'the gods, which Numa introduced among the people, and which the ſenate careſully cheriſhed for 'many

talents for compoſition. In the ſecond chapter of the diſcourſe, he treats of the manner in which the Romans levied their troops and formed an army; and the third relates to

'many generations, helped greatly to forward this 'perſuaſion. Men were not apt to diſtruſt a religious 'republic, where virtue was held in honour, and 'vice of every kind diſcountenanced. Let me add, 'that, in the early ages of the ſtate, this was more 'than mere pretence. They were really diſtinguiſhed 'by their probity, by a ſteady adherence to juſtice, 'and a faithful obſervance of treaties. Moſt of their 'wars were defenſive, or undertaken for the ſake of 'their allies. And though in after-times, in propor-'tion as their power increaſed, they gave way to the 'dictates of ambition, and became leſs ſcrupulous in 'their conduct: yet as they never departed from thoſe 'outward obſervances, by which the appearance of 'juſtice is maintained; and took care to ſignalize 'themſelves from time to time, by ſuch particular 'inſtances of moderation, as could not fail to make 'a deep impreſſion; their reputation for equity and 'good faith continued ſtill the ſame.

'Obſerve, I beſeech you, the different ſentiments 'entertained of the Romans and Carthaginians at the 'time of the rupture between the two ſtates. The 'Romans, though they had gradually ſubjected all 'the nations of Italy, and raiſed themſelves to a very 'formidable pitch of greatneſs, were yet ſo far from 'being conſidered as an ambitious republic, againſt 'which it was neceſſary for other ſtates to be upon 'their guard, that the fame of their virtue and juſtice 'ſeems at this time to have been at the higheſt; in-'ſomuch that foreign nations, inſtead of dreading 'their power, courted their alliance and amity. It 'was otherwiſe with the Carthaginians. They had 'been leſs careful to conceal their ambition, or cover 'their breach of treaties under a pretence of injuries. 'Hence their deſigns became ſuſpected, all their 'actions were viewed in the worſt light, and the 'general prejudice againſt them was ſo ſtrong, that 'every thing laid to their charge by their enemies 'found a ready belief. By this means it happened 'that though, in the interval between the firſt and 'ſecond Punic wars, the Romans acted without the 'leaſt regard to juſtice and the faith of treaties, yet 'very little notice was taken of the complaints of the 'Carthaginians: and when, in conſequence of re-'peated inſults and provocations, they were at laſt 'obliged to have recourſe to arms, the whole blame 'of the war, though ſo manifeſtly flowing from the 'injurious behaviour of the Romans, was neverthe-leſs 'charged upon the perfidy of the Carthaginians.

'After the entire conqueſt of Italy, and the re-'duction of the greateſt part of Sicily in the firſt 'Punic war, it required a more refined policy in the 'Romans to extend the limits of their empire, and at 'the ſame time keep up the reputation of their in-'tegrity. They were not immediately ſurrounded 'with thoſe nations, which it was their intereſt to 'attack; and therefore could not eaſily provoke them 'to ſuch acts of hoſtility as might juſtify a declara-'tion of war. And ſhould they, upon ſlight pre-'tences, tranſport an army out of their own territories, 'to fall upon a diſtant prince; the deſign of conqueſt 'would be viſible, and beget a general alarm. Be-'ſides, their power was become ſo very formidable, 'that foreign ſtates did not care to contend with 'them, and therefore induſtriouſly avoided giving 'them any juſt ground of complaint. In this ſitua-'tion they took upon themſelves the title of patrons 'and protectors of all nations; and, by contracting 'alliances with weaker ſtates, found means to fall 'upon the ſtronger at pleaſure, without ſeeming 'themſelves to have any particular intereſt in the 'quarrel. It was upon this principle that they at-'tached themſelves to the Saguntines and Ætolians, 'which afterwards furniſhed them with ſuch a plau-'ſible colour for the Carthaginian and Macedonian 'wars. To know the full reach and value of this 'policy, we need only reflect, that though the ſecond 'Punic war was unexceptionably juſt on the part of 'the Carthaginians: yet the Romans, by diverting the 'attention of the public from the uſurpation of Sar-'dinia, and fixing it upon the fate of Saguntum, 'threw the whole odium of that war upon their ad-'verſaries, whilſt themſelves were conſidered as a 'humane, generous people, actuated merely by a 'concern for their allies.

'And here it is particularly deſerving of our notice, 'that, amongſt the many wars in which they were 'engaged after the concluſion of that with Hannibal, 'we hardly meet with any that can be deemed per-'ſonal. It was always, at leaſt in appearance, to 'ſupport the cauſe of ſome of their allies, or prevent 'their being cruſhed by a powerful neighbour. One 'would be apt to think, that they had it not ſo much 'in view to aggrandize themſelves, as to prevent the 'growth of any dangerous power, from which weaker 'ſtates might be expoſed to ſuffer. Upon the con-'cluſion of the firſt Macedonian war, they proclaimed 'liberty to all the ſtates of Greece. This action, ſo 'magnificent in appearance, was in reality a refined 'ſtroke of policy. The Greeks were a warlike peo-'ple, well diſciplined, and capable of bringing great 'armies into the field. Had they ſuſpected the Ro-'mans of a deſign upon their liberties, and united 'in their own defence, they muſt have been invin-'cible. But this ſeeming grant of freedom effectually 'lulled them aſleep; and, by the artful conduct of the 'Romans, gave birth to infinite diviſions among them, 'which, ending commonly in an appeal to Rome, 'furniſhed the ſenate with frequent opportunities of 'taking part in their quarrels. Thus they inſenſibly 'grew to be rulers and dictators over them, and by 'ſlow imperceptible ſteps accompliſhed their ſub-'jection.

'Their ambaſſadors to foreign princes, and ſuch 'as had not yet felt the weight of their power, com-'monly delivered themſelves in ſuch a haughty magiſ-'terial way as could not fail to draw upon them 'ſome indignity or ill treatment, and thereby furniſh 'a ſure pretence of war, when the intereſt of the 'commonwealth rendered ſuch a ſtep neceſſary. If a 'people at any time had given them umbrage, and 'afterwards, repenting of their raſhneſs, ſurrendered 'up the principal offenders, they would often 'refuſe to puniſh them, chuſing rather to conſider 'the whole nation as guilty, and reſerve to themſelves 'an uſeful vengeance. When they ſaw two nations 'engaged in war, although they were not in alliance, 'nor had any conteſt with either of them, they would 'nevertheleſs appear upon the ſtage of action, and 'affected always to ſide with the weakeſt. It was an 'ancient cuſtom, ſays Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, 'for the Romans to grant ſuccour to all who came to 'implore it. If princes of the ſame blood were at 'variance for the crown, they ſeldom failed to make 'themſelves parties in the diſpute; and, if one of them 'was a minor, declared in his favour, proclaiming 'themſelves his guardians, in quality of protectors of 'the world. When ſubjects, oppreſſed and tyranniſed 'over by their ſovereigns, were provoked to renounce 'their allegiance, they immediately indulged them with 'the title of ally, declaring themſelves the profeſſed 'enemies of tyranny and lawleſs power.

'Theſe are the arts and policies by which the 'Romans ſo entangled themſelves with all nations, 'that they could with pleaſure engage in a war with 'any ſtate, and colour it over with ſuch an appear-'ance of juſtice, as not only prevented any general 'confederacy againſt them, but even warmly engaged 'their allies in the ſupport of their uſurpations. Nor 'were they leſs politic in the choice of their wars, 'and in the manner of conducting and bringing them 'to a period. For, as their power was very formidable, 'and they had contrived to draw many nations over 'to their intereſt; whatever ſtate took up arms againſt 'them found it impoſſible to make any long reſiſt-'ance, and was in the end forced to accept of ſuch 'conditions of peace as they thought fit to propoſe. 'For this reaſon war was ſeldom declared againſt 'them; but themſelves always made it, at a ſeaſon, 'with a people, and in ſuch a manner as beſt ſuited

'their

to their arms and diſcipline, pointing out their ſuperiority in theſe reſpects over other nations. The inſtitutions and maxims of conduct which chiefly contributed to exalt the courage of the Romans, and animate their bravery, are conſidered in the fourth chapter; and the fifth gives the whole detail of the marching of an army. Here is particularly diſplayed the fine march of Hamilcar againſt Spendius, than which perhaps the whole art of war furniſhes nothing more complete in its kind. The three remaining chapters are devoted to encampments, battles, and the attack and defence of places (*b*). Mr. Duncan's "Tranſlation of Cæſar" is now printed in octavo, for the uſe of common readers.

(*b*) Monthly Review, Vol. VII. p. 81—94.

Previouſly to our author's publication of this work, he had been appointed profeſſor of philoſophy in the Mariſchal College, Aberdeen. The royal preſentation which conferred this office upon him was ſigned by the King, at Hanover, on the eighteenth of May, 1752. Mr. Duncan, however, remained in London till the Summer of 1753, and was not admitted to his Profeſſorſhip till the twenty-firſt of Auguſt in that year.

'their intereſt. If they were oppoſed by ſeveral enemies at the ſame time, they granted a truce to the weakeſt, who thought themſelves happy in obtaining it; conſidering it as a great advantage, that their ruin was at leaſt ſuſpended. They never engaged in far-diſtant wars, till they had firſt made an alliance with ſome power contiguous to the enemy they invaded, who might unite his troops to the army they ſent; and as this was never conſiderable with regard to numbers, they always had another in that province which lay neareſt the enemy, and a third in Rome, ever ready to march at a minute's warning. In this manner they hazarded but a ſmall part of their forces at once, and found it eaſy to repair any loſs they might ſuſtain, whilſt their enemy was often ruined by a ſingle battle. It was this conſideration that inſpired Hannibal with the reſolution of attacking them in Italy itſelf, the center of their dominions. He was ſenſible that a blow, ſtruck there, muſt effectually weaken them; whereas diſtant defeats, ſo long as the capital remained unmoleſted, and was at liberty to ſend a freſh ſupply of troops to recruit the army, were, properly ſpeaking, little other than ſo many leſſons of prudence to their generals, who ſoon found themſelves in a condition to renew the war, with greater forces, and more circumſpection. Accordingly we find, that, when the ſame Hannibal afterwards offered his ſervice to Antiochus, in his intended war againſt the Romans, there was no principle he inculcated more earneſtly than the neceſſity of ſending an army into Italy, and cutting them off from thoſe continual reſources, by which in any other method of attack they found themſelves invincible.

'But nothing gives us a greater idea of the addreſs and policy of this people, than the manner in which they terminated their wars, when they had at laſt brought them to the point they deſired. They ſent the garriſons out of the ſtrong-holds; had the horſes and elephants delivered up to them; and, if their enemies were powerful at ſea, obliged them to burn their ſhips, and ſometimes remove higher up in the country. If the prince they had overcome was poſſeſſed of numerous armies, and ſurrounded with warlike nations, one of the articles of the treaty was, that he ſhould not make war with any of the allies of the Romans, but ſubmit his differences to arbitration. And as they never refuſed their alliance to any people who bordered on a powerful prince, this condition, inſerted in a treaty of peace, cut him off from all opportunity of making war, or employing his troops, and thereby deprived him of a military power for the time to come; nay, they even bereaved their very allies of this force. The inſtant any conteſt broke out amongſt them, they ſent ambaſſadors, who obliged them to conclude a peace. It was in this manner they terminated the wars between Attalus and Pruſias: and whoever is in the leaſt acquainted with their hiſtory muſt be ſenſible, that they all along adhered to this policy. The reſult was, that they alone were poſſeſſed of warlike and veteran armies, whilſt thoſe of other nations degenerated into a raw, unpractiſed rabble. When any ſtate compoſed too formidable a body from its ſituation or union, they never failed to divide it. The republic of Achaia was formed by an aſſociation of free cities. The ſenate declared, that every city ſhould be governed by its own laws, independent on the general authority. Macedonia was ſurrounded with inacceſſible mountains. The ſenate divided it into four parts; declared thoſe free; prohibited them every kind of alliance among themſelves by marriage; carried off all the nobles into Italy; and by that means reduced this power to nothing.

'Theſe cuſtoms of the Romans were not certain particular incidents which happened by chance; but ſo many invariable principles, from which, in a long courſe of years, they never deviated. The maxims which they put in practice againſt the greateſt monarchs were exactly the ſame with thoſe they had employed in their infant ſtate againſt the little cities which ſtood round them. They made Eumenes and Maſiniſſa contribute to the ſubjection of Philip and Antiochus, as they had before employed the Latins and Hernici to ſubdue the Volſcians and the Tuſcans. They obliged the Carthaginians, and the Kings of Aſia, to ſurrender their fleets to them, in like manner as they had forced the citizens of Antium to give up their little veſſels. And indeed it is ſurpriſing to conſider, that, during the courſe of that long and mighty proſperity which attended the Roman arms, and in which it is ſo uſual for mankind to forget themſelves, the ſenate continued to act all along with the ſame depth of judgment and the ſame ſteady views to the public intereſt. They were not dazzled by their good fortune, nor moved to precipitate their enterprizes before the proper ſeaſon. Obſerve, I intreat you, the wiſdom and policy of their conduct. After the defeat of Antiochus, they were poſſeſſed of Africa, Aſia, and Greece, without having a ſingle city in thoſe countries that could be called immediately their own. They ſeemed to conquer with no other view but to beſtow: but then they obtained ſo complete a ſovereignty, that, whenever they engaged in war with any prince, they oppreſſed him, as it were, with the weight of the whole univerſe. The time proper for ſeizing upon the conquered countries was not yet come. Had they, after the ſecond Punic war, or that with Antiochus, poſſeſſed themſelves of lands in Africa and in Aſia, they could never have preſerved conqueſts ſo ſlightly eſtabliſhed. It was the intereſt of the ſenate to wait till all nations were accuſtomed to obey as free and as confederate, and to let them blend and loſe themſelves inſenſibly in the Roman commonwealth, before they ſhould attempt reducing them to the condition of ſubjects. After overcoming a nation, they contented themſelves with weakening it, and impoſing ſuch conditions as conſumed it inſenſibly. If it recovered, they depreſſed it ſtill more, and it became ſubject, without a poſſibility of dating the æra of its ſubjection. This was indeed a ſlow way of conquering, but founded in the deepeſt policy. Rome, by a ſteady adherence to theſe maxims, gradually increaſed in ſtrength; and, having at length got the better of all oppoſition, ſecurely took poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty of the univerſe (1).'

(1) Monthly Review. Vol. VIII. p. 84—90.

There

There were three Profeſſors of Philoſophy in the Mariſchal College, who had each of them formerly carried on a regular courſe of it in all its branches. But, in conſequence of a new arrangement, the duties had recently been divided, and a ſeparate branch was aſſigned to each of the three Profeſſors. Mr. Duncan would have preferred morals and logic; but Dr. Gerard (who, though preſented at the ſame time, had a priority of choice, by virtue of immediate admiſſion to the Profeſſorſhip,) had fixed upon theſe departments. Natural and experimental philoſophy was allotted to Mr. Duncan. Before his removal from London, he had come under an engagement for a tranſlation of Plutarch's Lives; but the duties of his Profeſſorſhip, together with an indifferent ſtate of health, occaſioned his having made only a ſmall progreſs in the work at the period of his deceaſe. There is no doubt of his having been fully equal to the execution of the deſign. Nevertheleſs, there is the leſs occaſion to regret his not having completed it, as a very improved edition of the old verſion was publiſhed, in 1758, under the reviſion of the learned and amiable Mr. Samuel Dyer, the friend of Dr. Johnſon; and as a new tranſlation has been given by the Langhornes. Dr. Blackwell dying when only the ſecond volume of the Court of Auguſtus was finiſhed, he requeſted Mr. Duncan to carry on the undertaking, and directed all the materials for it to be put into his hands; but, finding not a ſingle ſheet of copy, and nothing but ſcraps and ſeparate papers, and references to books, he declined the taſk, and ſatisfied himſelf with ſending theſe fragments to the Bookſeller, who had become proprietor of the work, and who ſtood engaged for the publication of the third volume.

Whilſt Mr. Duncan reſided in the metropolis, he was in the habits of intimacy with ſeveral of the learned men who flouriſhed at that time; and, among others, George Lewis Scot and Dr. Armſtrong were his particular friends. We have been aſſured, by a Gentleman who knew him in London, that he was held in much eſteem on account of his private as well as his literary character. The ſedentary life he had led, before he came into the College at Aberdeen, had a good deal affected his conſtitution, and particularly his nerves; in conſequence of which he was ſubject to an occaſional depreſſion of ſpirits. By this he was unfitted for great exertions, but not for his ordinary employment, or for enjoying the company of his friends. He died a Batchelor, on the firſt of May, 1760, in the forty-third year of his age. Mr. Duncan cannot ſo much be ſaid to have poſſeſſed genius as good ſenſe and taſte; and his parts were rather ſolid than ſhining. His temper was ſocial, his manners eaſy and agreeable, and his converſation entertaining, and often lively. In his inſtructions as a Profeſſor he was diligent, and very accurate. His conduct was irreproachable, and he was regular in his attendance on the various inſtitutions of public worſhip. Soon after his ſettlement in the Mariſchal College, he was admitted an Elder of the Conſiſtory or Church Seſſion of Aberdeen, and continued to officiate as ſuch till his death. He had ſeveral ſiſters, who bore reſpectable characters; and a younger brother, John, a Merchant in Aberdeen, who has been three times elected chief Magiſtrate of that Borough, and has diſcharged the duties of the office for ſix years with credit to himſelf, and much to the ſatisfaction of his fellow-citizens. For ſome time paſt he has declined reſuming ſo public a ſtation, though he has conſtantly been a member of the Town Council, as often as the eſtabliſhed rules permitted his being choſen.] K.

*** [DUNCOMBE (WILLIAM), an ingenious poetical and miſcellaneous writer, youngeſt ſon of John Duncombe [*A*], Eſq. of Stocks, in the pariſh of Aldbury, Hertfordſhire,

[*A*] The Duncombes of Barley End, in the pariſh of Ivingho, Bucks, originally Saxon, were divided into ſeveral branches in the reigns of King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. The name is ſaid to be derived from the Saxon words *Dun*, "a hill," or "a hilly plain," and *Combe*, "a valley between hills," or "a valley encompaſſed with trees." And this exactly anſwers the ſituation of Barley End (1), where the eldeſt branch of the family had reſided for ſome centuries. The firſt mentioned in the college of arms is William Duncombe, of Great Brickhill, Bucks, who died 1533. His elder brother Thomas, of Barley End, who died 1531, left a ſon, William, from whom deſcended a numerous progeny. His grandſon, William, had ſeven ſons. From the eldeſt of them, Thomas, born in 1582, deſcends Rebecca (now the relict of the Rev. Edward Lucy), the preſent heireſs of that family. William, the ſecond of thoſe ſons, born in 1585, was grandfather to Sir Charles Duncombe, Knt. (Lord Mayor of London in 1709, and Member of Parliament for Downton, Wilts,) and great grandfather to Anthony, created Lord Feverſham in 1747; and to Thomas Brown, Eſq; who took the name of Duncombe, and was ſettled at Duncombe-park, (once Helmſley-caſtle *,) in Yorkſhire; and Robert, the third ſon, of Stocks (2), was great-grandfather to our author. John, his father, of Stocks, who was born in 1645, and died in 1728, was one of the receivers for Catharine, the Queen Dowager of Charles II. and alſo receiver general of his Majeſty's land revenue for the counties of Bucks, Bedford, Suffolk, and Cambridge, (in which laſt place he was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon (John) and grandſon (Arnold), who held it till their reſpective deaths). He married Hannah, above-mentioned, youngeſt daughter of John Allen, Eſq; of Gretton, in Northamptonſhire, by whom he had eight ſons, of whom only the eldeſt, John, born

(1) Similar are the name and ſituation of Combe-Bank in Weſt Kent, the ſeat of Lord Frederick Campbell.

(2) For proper authorities, &c. ſee Lord Feverſham's article in Collins's Peerage.

* Helmſley, once proud Buckingham's delight,
Slides to a ſcrivener or a city knight. POPE.
Sir Charles is alſo ſuppoſed to be portrayed in the character of "Old Euclio." MORAL ESSAYS, vol. I. p. 256.

fordſhire, and Hannah, his wife, was born at his father's houſe in Hatton-Garden, London, Jan. 9, 1689-90, and owed his Chriſtian name to the Revolution principles of his father and family. On the ſame principles, his father, in 1693, put his life into the Tontine, or annuities increaſing by ſurvivorſhip, ſubſcribing 100 l. on it, for which 10 l. *per annum* was paid immediately, and from which, in the courſe of his long life, our author received ſome thouſands. He was educated in two private ſeminaries, viz. at Cheney, in Bucks; and afterwards at Pinner, near Harrow on the Hill, Middleſex, under the tuition of Mr. Thomas Goodwin [*B*]. In December, 1706, Mr. Duncombe was entered as a clerk in the Navy-office, and was advanced to a higher ſalary in January, 1707-8. So early as the year 1715, we find a tranſlation by him of the Twenty-ninth Ode of the Firſt Book of Horace, in the collection commonly known by the name of *The Wits Horace*. About this time, being acquainted with Mr. Jabez Hughes, Mr. Duncombe was by him introduced to his brother John, author of the "Siege of Damaſcus," and alſo to his ſiſter (afterwards Mrs. Duncombe), who was a woman of excellent ſenſe and temper, and, being ſkilled in thorough baſs, uſed to accompany her brother John on his violin or flute. Our author's tranſlation of the *Carmen Seculare* of Horace was printed in folio in 1721, and was collected, in 1731, in "Concanen's Miſcellany," entituled, *The Flower-piece*. This was followed, in 1722, by a tranſlation of the tragedy of "Athaliah, the maſterpiece," as Meſſrs. d'Olivet and Voltaire juſtly ſtyle it, of "Racine," which was publiſhed by ſubſcription, and has gone through three editions [*C*]. Having contracted an intimacy at the Navy-office with Mr. Henry Needler [*D*], a gentleman endued with a like taſte, our author, by ſupplying him with proper books, enabled him to gratify his ardent thirſt for knowledge; and, on his early death in 1718, haſtened by his intenſe application, diſcharged the debt of friendſhip by collecting and publiſhing his "Original Poems, Tranſlations, Eſſays, and Letters," in one vol. 8vo, in 1724, of which there have been alſo three editions. On December 3, 1725, Mr. Duncombe quitted his place at the Navy-office, and ſpent the remainder of a long, a virtuous, and a happy, life among his friends and his books in a literary leiſure. Having a ſhare in the "Whitehall Evening Poſt," ſeveral of his fugitive pieces appeared occaſionally in that paper; in particular, a tranſlation of Buchanan's "Verſes on Valentine's Day (*a*)," "Verſes to Euryalus (Mr. John Carleton) on his coming of age (*b*);" "The Choice of Hercules," from Xenophon (*c*), (for which there was ſuch a demand that the paper was in a few days out of print); and a "Defence of ſome paſſages in Paradiſe Loſt," from the hyper-criticiſm of M. de Voltaire (*d*). About the ſame time numberleſs errors, in a new edition of Chillingworth, were pointed out by him (*e*), and tranſlations of the "Letters between Archbiſhop Fenelon [*E*] and M. de la Motte (*f*)," and of the "Adventures of Meleſickton [*F*]," and other fables from Fenelon, were pub-

(*a*) Feb. 12, 1725-6.

(*b*) April 23, 1726.

(*c*) July 11, 1727.

(*d*) Feb. 15 and 17, 1727-8.

(*e*) May 28, 1726.

(*f*) July 30, Aug. 6 and 13, 1726.

in 1680, and the youngeſt, William, the ſubject of this article, arrived at years of maturity. Our author's eldeſt brother, a gentleman of ſingular integrity and benevolence, who died June 30, 1746, was twice married; firſt, to Elizabeth, one of the daughters of William Lowndes, Eſq. (commonly called Ways-and-Means Lowndes), Secretary of the Treaſury; by whom he had a daughter, Elizabeth, (who died unmarried in 1777,) and two ſons, who both died of the ſmall-pox at the age of 30; the younger, Lewis, at Merton College, Oxford, where, and at Weſtminſter-ſchool, he was eminently diſtinguiſhed for his genius and application: ſecondly, to Elizabeth, daughter and heireſs of Nehemiah Arnold, Eſq. of Weſtminſter, by whom he had a ſon, Arnold, who died unmarried in 1774, aged 50, juſt after he had rebuilt his family ſeat at Stocks, and two daughters, Clara, married in 1768, to William Hayton, Eſq. of Ivingho, and Martha, who died unmarried in 1772. Other branches of this family were the Duncombes of Broughton and Battleſden, Bedfordſhire, both now extinct, (of which latter was the Right Honourable Sir John Duncombe (3), Privy Counſellor, 1667, and Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer, 1672, whoſe granddaughter, in whom that line ended, married the firſt Earl of Deloraine, and was grandmother to the preſent Earl,) and of Weſton, Surrey, of which Thomas, now rector of Shere, is the fourth in ſucceſſion who has held that living and advowſon. Of this family was Sir Francis, of Tangley, Surrey, Bart.; ſo created Feb. 4, 1661, who died in 1670, leaving a ſon, Sir William, who died without iſſue in 1706. The Surrey family (as appears by their monumental inſcriptions, &c.) ſpelt their name *Duncumb*.

(3) See a remarkable ſtory of Sir John Duncombe, and of the manner of his being knighted by K. Charles I. at Cariſbrook Caſtle, in 1648, in Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 688.

[*B*] *Under the tuition of Mr. Thomas Goodwin.*] Author of "The Hiſtory of the Reign of Henry V," 1705; and, *I think*, ſon of Mr. Goodwin, who wrote on the Revelations; in which (with others) he endeavoured, from the number of the beaſt, to diſcover the Pope of Rome. His ſon, being at Rome ſome years afterwards, received great civilities from Cardinal Howard, who, among other things, ſpeaking of his father and his book, aſked if he had made any farther diſcovery relating to the Pope. Mr. Goodwin waved replying, by ſaying the Revelations were a very obſcure book. Yes anſwered the Cardinal, eſpecially when a man has half a dozen night-caps over his eyes. The commentator, it ſeems, uſed to wear ſo many.

[*C*] *And has gone through three editions.*] Mr. Duncombe alſo tranſlated the Eſther of Racine; but that has never been publiſhed.

[*D*] *With Mr. Henry Needler.*] Grandſon of Colonel Needler, a royaliſt, who ſerved under General Monck at the time of the Reſtoration, and firſt-couſin to the late Mr. Henry Needler, Accomptant General of the Exciſe-Office; a diſtinguiſhed performer on the violin (who died in 1760); though Sir John Hawkins, in his life of this gentleman in his "Hiſtory of Muſic," vol. V. p. 124, ſtyles the latter (by miſtake) his "brother's ſon." He was born in 1685, his ſuppoſed uncle in 1690.

[*E*] *Letters between Archbiſhop Fenelon.*] Theſe letters have been lately republiſhed in the Appendix to "Letters from Archbiſhop Herring to Mr. Duncombe, 1777."

[*F*] *The Adventures of Meleſickton.*] This was afterwards publiſhed in the "Select Novels" printed for Watts; and Mr. Duncombe tranſlated all the other "Fables" of Fenelon, and alſo his "Dialogues of the Dead;" but they remain in MS.

liſhed in the London Journal. In the lottery of 1725, a ticket, which Mr. Duncombe had in partnerſhip with Miſs Elizabeth Hughes, ſiſter of John Hughes, Eſq; author of "The Siege of Damaſcus," was drawn a prize of 1000 l. a circumſtance peculiarly fortunate, as it probably haſtened his marriage with that amiable lady, which took place Sept. 1, 1726; on which he removed to her mother's houſe in Red-Lion-ſtreet, Holborn.

In 1728, a letter by Mr. Duncombe, ſigned *Philopropos*, was printed in the London Journal of March 30, containing ſome animadverſions on the "Beggar's Opera," then exhibiting with great applauſe at Lincoln's Inn Theatre, ſhewing its pernicious conſequences to the practice of morality and Chriſtian virtue. And the ſame popular entertainment having been ſoon after moſt ſeaſonably condemned in a ſermon preached at Lincoln's Inn Chapel by Dr. Herring (afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury), of whom Mr. Duncombe was a conſtant auditor, in a ſubſequent letter on the ſame ſubject in the London Journal of April 20, ſubſcribed *Benevolus*, he paid a juſt compliment to the "clear reaſoning, good ſenſe, and manly rhetoric, the judicious criticiſm, as well as the Chriſtian oratory," there diſplayed. This introduced him to the acquaintance and friendſhip of that excellent Divine, which continued without interruption till his Grace's death in March, 1757; this favour being gratefully acknowledged by him, "as one of the moſt generous and diſintereſted offers of friendſhip which he ever received from any one ſince he was acquainted with the world [G]." In Auguſt of the ſame year, our author publiſhed a pamphlet (without a name) entituled "Remarks on M. Tindal's Tranſlation of M. de Rapin Thoyras's Hiſtory of England, in a letter to S. T. [Sigiſmund Trafford,] Eſq. [*H*]"

A leaſehold eſtate, held under the Duke of Portland in Frith-ſtreet, Soho, having devolved to him as next in remainder under the will of Lady Stampe [*I*], his aunt, having taken down the old buildings, he let part of the ground on a building-leaſe, and on the remainder he built two houſes for himſelf, into one of which he removed with his family in 1730. This involved him in a law-ſuit with the late Lord Bateman, then poſſeſſor of the houſe called Monmouth-houſe (as being built for the Duke of Monmouth), in Soho-ſquare, (ſince taken down,) for darkening his windows, in which his Lordſhip was non-ſuited, on the old law maxim, *A terra uſque ad aſtra.*

In the ſummer of 1732, Mr. Duncombe's tragedy of "Lucius Junius Brutus" was read and approved by the author's friend, Mr. Mills, ſenior, and by him introduced to the theatrical triumvirate, Booth, Cibber, and Wilks, who alſo approved it, and promiſed it ſhould be performed. Booth regretted he could not act in it; and Wilks undertook the part of Titus; unfortunately he died in September following; and the revolt of the players, with the confuſion that enſued, prevented its being brought on the ſtage till two years after. In January, 1732-3, the tragedy of the "Earl of Eſſex" being commanded by their Majeſties to be acted for the benefit of Mrs. Porter, when ſhe appeared on the ſtage for the firſt time after her misfortune of a broken leg, our author, at her requeſt, drew up an epilogue for her, from minutes of her own writing, with which ſhe was much pleaſed, and ſaid, it fully expreſſed her ſentiments. However, it was not ſpoken. The Manager probably did not reliſh it on a double account: 1ſt, becauſe there was no obſcenity in it; and, 2dly, as it frankly owned the decay of the ſtage. Mrs. Porter apologized for her not ſpeaking it, in a very genteel and grateful letter; and Mr. Southerne ſaid, "he was ſorry, on her account, it was not ſpoken, as he was ſure it would have done her credit."

In 1734, Mr. Duncombe, unadviſedly, conſented to Mr. Fleetwood's propoſal of bringing Brutus on the ſtage at Drury-lane in November, when the town was empty, the parliament not ſitting, and Farinelli in full ſong and feather at the Hay-Market. The conſequence was natural and obvious. "The quavering Italian eunuch (to uſe our author's

[G] *Since he was acquainted with the world.*] The firſt letter from Dr. Herring to Mr. Duncombe is in the work mentioned above. Mr. Duncombe's letters on the "Beggar's Opera" are reprinted in the preface to Archbiſhop Herring's "Seven Sermons," 1763.

[*H*] *Sigiſmund Trafford, Eſq.*] The concluding paragraph of this pamphlet is as follows: "Mr. Dryden's elegant verſion of Father Maimbourg's hiſtory of the League is, with regard to ſtyle and language, a much better model for any one, who will oblige the public with an accurate tranſlation of Rapin's Hiſtory, than Sir Roger L'Eſtrange's tranſlation of Joſephus or of "Quevedo's Viſions." And Dr. Herring, in the letter above cited, ſays, "I have read over your criticiſms on Tindal's tranſlation, and think them exceedingly juſt and neceſſary. Such hafty mercenary tranſlators really put an affront upon the public, and ſeem to take for granted that men have neither taſte nor judgment. The inaccuracies of ſtyle, the lowneſs of expreſſion, and the many omiſſions in this tranſlation, are prodigiouſly offenſive, &c."

[*I*] *Remainder under the will of Lady Stankope.*] Third daughter of John Allen, Eſq. (mentioned in note *A.*) our author's maternal grandfather. She was firſt married to Sir John Tyrrel, Bart. of Springfield-Hall, Eſſex; and, ſecondly, to Sir Thomas Stampe, Knt. Lord Mayor of London in 1692, whom alſo ſhe ſurvived, and died without iſſue in 1712. She had a brother, John, a friend and companion of the wits of King Charles II. (two of whoſe letters are printed in "Letters of Eminent Perſons,") who died unmarried at Dublin in 1720, aged 75; and two elder ſiſters, viz. Bridget, married to George Fulford, Eſq; of Fulford, Devonſhire, (from whom deſcend the preſent family of that name); and Mary, married to John Wright, Eſq. of Knightſbridge, Eſſex, Attorney General of Jamaica in 1685.

own

own words) proved too powerful for the rigid Roman conſul [K]." Yet it was acted ſix nights with applauſe; and there was ſcarcely a dry eye in the boxes during the laſt ſcene between Brutus and Titus. It was acted there again in February following, and at the ſame time was printed in 8vo, with a Dedication to Lord Chief Juſtice Hardwicke, a friend to law, liberty, and his country. A ſecond edition, in 12mo, with a tranſlation of M. de Voltaire's "Eſſay on Tragedy" prefixed, was publiſhed in 1747. In April, 1735, Mr. Duncombe publiſhed, by ſubſcription, in two volumes 12mo, the "Poems," &c. of his deceaſed brother-in-law, John Hughes, Eſq; which were received by his friends and the public with the eſteem due to ſo elegant a genius. In January, 1735-6, our author's domeſtic happineſs received a ſevere ſhock by the death of his wife, which happened at Spring Grove, in Middleſex, the ſeat of his firſt couſin, Mrs. Oſley [L]. In 1737, he collected and publiſhed, in one volume 8vo, the "Miſcellanies in Verſe and Proſe" of Mr. Jabez Hughes, for the benefit of his widow. The dedication (in her name) to the Dutcheſs of Bedford, was drawn up by the Rev. Mr. Copping, Dean of Clogher. In 1743, on the death of his learned friend, Mr. Samuel Say [M], a Diſſenting Miniſter in Weſtminſter, Mr. Duncombe undertook, for the benefit of his widow and daughter, to reviſe and prepare for the preſs ſome of his poems, and two proſe eſſays, which were accordingly publiſhed in one volume 4to, in 1745, and have been deſervedly admired by the beſt judges. In 1744, the "Siege of Damaſcus [N]," and ſome other moral plays, having been acted by ſeveral perſons of diſtinction for their amuſement, the revival of ſo elegant and improving a diverſion induced Mr. Duncombe to publiſh "An Oration on the uſefulneſs of Dramatic Interludes in the Education of Youth," tranſlated from the Latin of M. Werenfels, by whom it was ſpoken before the Maſters and Scholars of the Univerſity of Baſil. On the breaking-out of the rebellion in 1745, thinking that, "when a houſe is on fire, every man ſhould lend a helping hand to quench it (g)," our author endeavoured to ſecond his honoured friend, the Archbiſhop of York, by reprinting "A Sermon" (now known to have been written by Dr. Arbuthnot), ſuppoſed to be "preached to the People at the Mercat-Croſs of Edinburgh,

(g) His own words, in a MS. letter to the Rev. Mr. Bunce.

[K] *Too powerful for the rigid Roman conſul.*] See a letter on this ſubject to the late Rev. Dr. John Sharp in "Letters by Eminent Perſons," vol. II. Mr. David Erſkine Baker, in his "Companion to the Play-houſe," firſt edition, aſſerts that this tragedy "was not acted," and is "only" a tranſlation of the Brutus of Voltaire; whereas, if he had read it, he would have ſeen not only that it was acted, but alſo the names of the actors, and would have found that there is ſcarcely a ſcene without variations from Voltaire. Tullia (or Lucia) dies at the end of the IVth act in the French play. In the Engliſh there is a pathetic ſcene between her and Titus, in the Vth act, entirely new. Mr. Pope, on hearing the contempt with which the prologue (which he thought "a good one") had been treated by Mr. Theophilus Cibber, ſaid "he thought of players as he always thought of players, and of the ſon as he thought of the father."

[L] *The ſeat of his firſt couſin, Mrs. Oſley.*] Second daughter to John Wright, Eſq. (mentioned in note *I.*) She and her eldeſt ſiſter, Sarah, (afterwards married, firſt to Elias Deritt, Eſq. Deputy of the Great Wardrobe, and, ſecondly, to Count Gyllenberg, Ambaſſador from Sweden, and afterwards Prime Miniſter in that country,) accompanied the ſecond Duke and Dutcheſs of Albemarle to his Grace's Government of Jamaica (where he died) in 1687. During the voyage, Mrs. Mary Wright uſed to call the famous Dr. Hans Sloane, '*Sloany my Crony*,' and had ſo little opinion of his ſkill, that ſhe preferred the advice of the ſhip's ſurgeon. After her return, ſhe was ſo inſtrumental in promoting the Dutcheſs's marriage with Ralph Duke of Montagu, that, in return for her good offices, his Grace ſettled on her an annuity of 800 l. for life, one moiety charged on the Great Wardrobe, the other on Montagu-houſe. She then married John Oſley, Eſq. and built a houſe at the S. E. corner of Bloomſbury-ſquare (ſince rebuilt), which in thoſe days was called '*Little Montagu-houſe*." She afterwards retired to the villa above-mentioned on Smallbury Green, in the pariſh of Heſton, (on her death purchaſed and rebuilt by the late Eliſha Biſcoe, Eſq. and now the ſeat of Sir Joſeph Banks, Bart. Preſ. R.S.) where ſhe died in 1753, full of years and good-works, at the age of 90. Her ſiſter Sarah, Counteſs Gyllenberg, by her firſt huſband had a daughter, who accompanying her to Stockholm, was by the Queen of Sweden created a Counteſs by the ſame title. She married Baron Sparre, the Swediſh Envoy in England, and one of Charles XII's officers, by whom ſhe had one daughter, the Hon. Amelia Meleſina Sparre, who died in 1778, at Thirſke in Yorkſhire. A younger ſiſter of Mrs. Oſley, Bridget, married Sir James Brooke, Bart. of Ellinthorpe in Yorkſhire, by whom ſhe had two ſons, Sir Job and Montagu, both now dead, and the title extinct.

[M] *On the death of his learned friend, Mr. Samuel Say.*] This gentleman, who had been an old friend of Mr. Hughes and Dr. Iſaac Watts, they having been all fellow-ſtudents together in logic and philoſophy at Mr. Thomas Rowe's Academy, ſucceeded to Dr. Calamy's congregation in Weſtminſter in 1733. (Two or three of his letters are in thoſe "of Eminent Perſons.") 'I never converſed,' ſays Mr. Duncombe, 'with a perſon of more learning or modeſty. He was an 'excellent critic, and had a fine talent for poetry. But 'it was his misfortune to have ſo penetrating a judg-'ment, that he could never be ſatisfied with his own 'performances, nor think them correct enough (4).' The Critical Eſſays (abovementioned) were written at the deſire of Mr. Richardſon, the painter. The one is "on the Harmony, Variety, and Power of number" in general; the other "on thoſe of Paradiſe Loſt" in particular. Mr. Say's character of Mrs. Bendyſh, (grand daughter of Oliver Cromwell,) publiſhed in the Appendix to the beforementioned Letters, has been much admired. His daughter is married to Mr. Toms, a Diſſenting Miniſter at Hadleigh, in Suffolk. Mr. Say's father, Mr. Giles Say, Miniſter of St. Michael's in Southamptonſhire, was one of the ejected Miniſters in 1662; as was alſo Mr. Hughes's grandfather. (See Dr. Calamy's account of the ejected Miniſters, and Dr. Gibbons's Memoirs of Dr. Watts.

(4) From a MS. letter to Abp. Herring.

[N] *In 1744, the Siege of Damaſcus.*] In the winter of 1742, this tragedy was firſt acted by ſome of the young nobility of Weſtminſter-School, for ſeveral nights, at the Little Theatre in the Hay-Market. The late Dutcheſs of Queenſbury was the chief promoter of it, furniſhing the wardrobe, and dreſſing the characters. It was afterwards acted for twelve nights ſucceſſively by Mr. Rich's Company at Covent-Garden Theatre, Mrs. Cibber performing Eudocia and Quin Caled. Then the late Duke of Bedford, and ſome of his friends, acted it at Bedford Houſe, the Duke performing Caled; the Earl of Sandwich, Abudah; Mr. Gower (now the Marquis of Stafford) Phocyas; Miſs Gower (afterwards Lady John Sackville) Eudocia, &c. They alſo performed it ſeven times, in the ſummer of 1743, at Wooburn-Abbey.

on the Subject of the Union in 1706," and to the Sermon prefixed a preface, without his name, ſetting forth the advantages which have, in fact, accrued to the kingdom of Scotland by its union with England. About the ſame time he alſo printed, with a preface, a tract, entituled, "The Complicated Guilt of the Rebellion," which had been written by Mr. Hughes in the year 1716, but was then ſuppreſſed, as the inſurrection it related to was ſoon after quelled: this tract was loyally and reaſonably judged by by Mr. Duncombe to be equally applicable to the tranſactions of 1745. In the ſummer of 1749, being with his relation, Mr. Brooke, at York, Mr. Duncombe was accidentally inſtrumental to the detection of Archibald Bower, by tranſmitting to Archbiſhop Herring an account of that adventurer's eſcape from the inquiſition, taken by memory from his own mouth, which being publiſhed the year following by Mr. Barron, a diſſenting Miniſter, was diſavowed by Bower; though, when called upon, the miſtakes which he was able to ſpecify, were found to be few and trifling. This was the firſt impeachment of his integrity, and expoſed him to the attacks of that Ithuriel (*b*) who had before detected Lauder. To the periodical publication, called "The World," Mr. Duncombe contributed one paper, N° 84, "Proſperity and Adverſity, an Allegory." In 1753, he commenced an acquaintance, which ſoon ripened into a friendſhip, with John Earl of Orrery (ſoon after Earl of Corke): this connexion was productive of much pleaſure and emolument to them both, and in ſome degree alſo to the public, his Lordſhip's "Letters to Mr. Duncombe from Italy" having ſince appeared in print. In 1754, Mr. Duncombe drew up "Remarks on Lord Bolingbroke's Notion of a "God," with ſome occaſional notes; to which he annexed a tranſlation, from Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, of the arguments of Q. Lucilius Balbus, the Stoic, in proof of the being, and of the wiſdom, power, and goodneſs, of God. Theſe were read and approved by the Archbiſhop, and others of the author's friends, but were not publiſhed till 1763, when he allowed the late Dr. Dodd to inſert them in the "Chriſtian's Magazine." They have ſince been collected in the Appendix to Archbiſhop Herring's Letters. Horace having always been Mr. Duncombe's favourite author, he had amuſed himſelf for more than thirty years, at different times, with tranſlating ſeveral of his odes, but without any intention of publiſhing them, or of giving a verſion of the whole to the world, till his ſon offered his aſſiſtance for completing the work; and undertook ſome of the Odes and Satires, all the Epodes, and the firſt book of Epiſtles, and added ſeveral imitations from Sanadon, Dacier, &c. Mr. Duncombe compiled notes to the whole, and publiſhed one volume 8vo, in 1757, and the ſecond in 1759. Another edition, in four volumes, 12mo, with ſeveral additional imitations, appeared in 1764. On the death of his excellent, great, and good, friend, Archbiſhop Herring, our author, as a token of his gratitude and affection, collected, in one volume 8vo, the "Seven Sermons on "public occaſions," which his Grace had ſeparately printed in his life-time, and prefixed to them ſome memoirs of his life. This was his laſt publication. With a conſtitution naturally weak and tender, by conſtant regularity, and an habitual ſweetneſs and evenneſs of temper, his life was prolonged to the advanced age of ſeventy-nine; when, without any previous painful illneſs, he gradually ceaſed to live. His deceaſe happened on February 13, 1769. He died eſteemed, beloved, and regretted, by all who knew him. He was interred near the remains of his wife, in the burying place of his family, in Aldbury Church, Hertfordſhire, and left one ſon, to whom we are principally indebted for this article, and of whom we ſhall treat in our next. D. and K.]

(*b*) Dr. Douglas, ſince Biſhop of Saliſbury.

*** [Since this article was printed, the Editor, by favour of Anthony Highmore, Eſq. has had an opportunity of peruſing Mr. William Duncombe's "Lucius Junius "Brutus," which is become extremely ſcarce. It has been read with much ſatisfaction. Some of the ſpeeches may perhaps be deemed rather too long and too declamatory for the preſent taſte; but, in general, the work is far from being deſtitute of tragic energy and ſpirit. Titus's character is finely imagined, and well ſuſtained. The laſt act is particularly intereſting, and would afford much ſcope for admirable repreſentation. It was Mr. Duncombe's misfortune that his play appeared when dramatic action was in a very feeble ſtate.

It is not unſuitable to the ſubject before us, to recite a few remarks which the preſent writer has had occaſion to make in another place. They are as follows: "Dra-
"matic Poetry did not greatly flouriſh in the reigns of the firſt Princes of the Brunſ-
"wick Line. The Cato of Addiſon had introduced a falſe taſte with regard to tragic
"compoſition. Young, indeed, in his "Revenge," and his "Buſiris," the latter of
"which is very bombaſtic, wrote with a vigour that was his own, and which was not
"the reſult of imitation. But the greater part of thoſe who attempted tragedy, ſe-
"duced by the poetical excellences of Cato, and with the aſtoniſhing applauſe it had
"met with, unwiſely conſidered it as a model of perfection. Hence a cold and decla-
"matory manner became the faſhion. Our tragedies abounded with juſt, and ſome-
"times noble, moral ſentiments, and with fine ſpeeches in favour of liberty and the



"rights

" rights of mankind; but they were deſtitute of intereſt, animation, and pathos." Not " even Thomſon is to be exempted, in general, from this cenſure, though in his " Tancred and Sigiſmunda" he became nearer than uſual to the human heart. From " amongſt the numerous tragedies of the time, there are few indeed which could be " ſingled out as having riſen to any extraordinary dramatic excellence. During the " latter part of the reign of King George the Second, a different taſte began to pre- " vail. The folly of the declamatory and merely ſentimental tragedy was diſcerned; " and our writers aimed to diſtinguiſh themſelves by greater buſtle and variety, by " being more ſtriking, vehement, and pathetic. But ſtill no ſingle author can be " mentioned who redeemed the character of the age, and who deſerved to be ranked " with Otway, or even with Rowe. We are ſpeaking of the higher kind of tragic " compoſition; for, with regard to the tragedy of Low Life, Lillo attained to the ut- " moſt height of tenderneſs and pathos (*i*)."] K.

(*i*) A ſhort view of the ſtate of knowledge, literature, and taſte in this country, from the death of Queen ANNE, to the death of King George the Second, p. xiv, xv. prefixed to the "New Annual Regiſter," for 1781.

*** [DUNCOMBE (JOHN) *, the only child of William Duncombe, Eſq. by Miſs Elizabeth Hughes, was born Sept. 29, 1729, and was privately baptized by Dr. Herring, then preacher at Lincoln's Inn. Like his father, he was educated in two private ſchools, firſt at Rumford in Eſſex, under his relation the Rev. Mr. Philip Fletcher, afterwards Dean (his eldeſt brother being Biſhop) of Kildare; of whom and his family ſome particulars, by Mr. John Duncombe, may be ſeen in Nichols's Collection of Poems, vol. VI. p. 243; and, ſecondly, under the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, at Felſted, a larger ſeminary in the ſame county, as the abilities of the young ſcholar ſeemed to require a higher ſcope for learning than the firſt could afford. At this ſchool he was ſtimulated by emulation to an exertion of his talents; and, by a cloſe application, he became the firſt ſcholar as well as captain of the ſchool, and gained the higheſt reputation; and, by the ſweetneſs of his temper and manners, and by a diſpoſition to friendſhip, he acquired and preſerved the love of all his companions, and alſo the eſteem of his maſter and family. His early fondneſs for the claſſicks, his cloſe application to acquire knowledge, and great proficiency in the Greek and Latin languages, gained him high reputation, and gave unſpeakable delight to his fond father, who being alſo a very good ſcholar, aſſiſted his ſtudies when at home; and he daily enriched his mind, making a rapid progreſs in thoſe purſuits, which it was ſoon determined ſhould lead him to the clerical profeſſion; for which his inclination, virtuous turn of mind, and unqueſtionable abilities, concurred to render him peculiarly qualified. Archbiſhop Herring, whoſe long and particular friendſhip for Mr. Duncombe's father is already mentioned in the preceding article, having baptiſed and promiſed him his patronage, recommended the College where his Grace had received his own education. Mr. Duncombe was, accordingly, admitted Penſioner of Bene't, or Corpus Chriſti College, at Cambridge, on July 1, 1745; Dr. Green, afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln, being then Maſter; of whom Mr. Duncombe afterwards publiſhed ſome Memoirs in the Gentleman's Magazine (*a*). By the ſame recommendation he was placed under the tuition of the late Reverend Henry Heaton, B. D. afterwards one of his Grace's Chaplains and Prebendary of Ely, &c. Mr. John Duncombe at ſixteen years of age began his academical courſe of ſtudy, which his taſte, erudition, and urbanity, moſt happily rendered delightful to him; where he alſo enjoyed the ſociety and friendſhip of ſome valuable young men, with whom the affection of youth became matured by age, and ſubſiſted through life, ſupported by a correſpondence, literary and confidential. At the univerſity, he continued to riſe in reputation as a ſcholar and a poet, and was always irreproachable in his moral character. He had the happineſs of forming ſome connections there with men of genius and virtue, which laſted through life; but the firſt and ſtrongeſt attachment, in which he moſt delighted, and which reflected honour on his own merit, was the uninterrupted friendſhip, and conſtant correſpondence, which continued to the laſt, with Mr. Greene, a very reſpectable clergyman of the Dioceſe of Norwich, a man whoſe character for learning and abilities, goodneſs and virtue, have juſtly gained him the eſteem and love of all who have the happineſs of his acquaintance, whoſe teſtimony (*b*) is real praiſe, who acknowledged the worth of his valuable friend, " and loved his amiable and benevolent ſpirit." In 1750, Mr. Duncombe was with full reputation choſen Fellow of Bene't College, and took his degrees in Arts; and, entering into orders in 1753, was ordained at Kew chapel, in 1753, by Dr. Thomas, Biſhop of Peterborough; was appointed Chaplain to the Earl of Corke in 1754; and, by the recommendation of Archbiſhop Herring, was nominated to the Curacy of Sundridge, in Kent, where he principally reſided, and was much approved and beloved. In 1757, two months only before his Grace's death, the Archbiſhop collated Mr. Duncombe to the united rectories of St. Andrew's and St. Mary Bredman's, in the city of Canterbury, which vacated his Fellowſhip. On that occaſion, in a letter to Mr. Duncombe, ſen. the Archbiſhop ſaid, "That it was a good thing to begin with;" adding, " your ſon will have an opportunity there of ſhewing his talents." The

* For the principal materials of this article we are indebted to Mrs. Duncombe, and Anthony Highmore, Eſq.

(*a*) Vol. XLIX. p. 234.

(*b*) See Gent. Mag. XLVI. 190.

death of the good Prelate, which ſoon followed ſo valuable a proof of his eſteem, ſeemed to check all riſing hopes for the preſent of farther promotion in the church; but, excluſively of all intereſted conſiderations, the amiable friend, the confidential adviſer, the condeſcending and agreeable companion, and entertaining as well as reſpectable correſpondent, were all ſincerely deplored both by the father and ſon, in the loſs of ſo benevolent a character, who had the will and the power to encourage and reward the merit he had foſtered and brought into notice with the indulgence of an adopted relationſhip.

In 1758 and 1759, Mr. Duncombe was aſſiſtant preacher at St. Anne's, Soho, in which pariſh his father then lived, Dr. Squire being rector, who was ſoon after Biſhop of St. David's: he profeſſed great friendſhip for Mr. Duncombe, who was extremely acceptable to a very reſpectable congregation and neighbourhood. His learning and cultivated underſtanding, with a peculiar elegance of ſtyle, and a happy delivery, pathetic without affectation, and forcible without enthuſiaſm, rendered his diſcourſes inſtructive and pleaſing, procuring him a deſerved reputation.

April 20, 1761, Mr. Duncombe married Suſanna, daughter of Joſeph Highmore, Eſq. of Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, who was known to the world, not only by his pencil, but by his other extenſive knowledge, and literary purſuits (*c*). To this lady he had been long attached, his and her parents having lived very many years in great friendſhip and intimacy together; their children were conſequently playmates, and, having a ſimilarity of taſte, became early correſpondents, and naturally lovers. They were married at St. Anne's church, by the Biſhop of St. David's; and ſoon fixed their abode, much to their ſatisfaction, in a prebendal houſe within the precincts of the Cathedral of Canterbury.

(*c*) See his life, by Mr. Duncombe, in Gent. Mag. vol. L. p. 176; and an affectionate tribute to his memory, in the ſame vol. p. 144

He was ſoon after nominated among the juſtices for the county, and accepted that office; in which, as in the clerical character, he ardently deſired to perform his duty; and in the city, and afterwards at Herne, was a very diligent, uſeful, humane, and able, magiſtrate; giving up time and deep application to qualify himſelf for the important buſineſs he had undertaken, endeavouring always to be juſt and impartial in his deciſions, prudent and conciliating in his advice, and merciful on all occaſions to all the ſons of men, and all the daughters of affliction. The duties of this important office he performed ſeveral years, with great application to obſerve the laws of his country, to do juſtice, preſerve equity, and always remember mercy; for, no one in that department was more open to the poor and friendleſs, having the temper and inclination to propoſe and to act for the ſervice and relief of the diſtreſſed; with ſteadineſs to perſevere with judgment, where truth and right preponderated.

In 1763, Mr. Duncombe was preſented by John Serae, Eſq. of Tring Grove, Hertfordſhire, to the vicarage of Weſt Thurrock in Eſſex, which he held till 1769, by diſpenſation, being Chaplain to Biſhop Squire, which benefice he poſſeſſed confidentially for a minor, through the intereſt of Arnold Duncombe of Stockes, John Duncombe's firſt couſin. In 1766, one of the Six Preacherſhips in the Cathedral becoming vacant, Mr. John Duncombe was recommended for it; and his Grace, Archbiſhop Secker, appointed him to ſucceed to that reputable and eaſy piece of preferment tenable with every other.

In 1770, on the death of Sir John Head, Maſter of St. John's Hoſpital, Canterbury, and St. Nicholas, Harbledow; he applied for the Maſterſhip, which was readily granted by the Honourable and Reverend Frederick Cornwallis, then Archbiſhop, who was well acquainted with ſome of Mr. Duncombe's family. He employed much time and attention to inſpect into the ſtate and property of the paupers to whom he became guardian, endeavouring, as long as health co-operated with his pious inclination, to diffuſe comfort, and to diſpenſe juſtice, through the ſmall communities entruſted to his charge. He examined into the ſtate of the Hoſpitals, and endeavoured to do his duty in the office he had undertaken, with an attention and aſſiduity that accompanied his indefatigable deſire of being ſerviceable to all, and particularly to the loweſt of his fellow-creatures, wherever he had opportunity; which had been his principal inducement for becoming an acting magiſtrate. As there was no emolument, but much trouble annexed to the Maſterſhip, his Grace kindly conſidered that circumſtance; and the Eſſex living having been honourably reſigned to the gentleman for whom it had been held, he was preſented, in September 1773, to the vicarage of Herne, about ſix miles from Canterbury; the Archbiſhop alſo enabling him to hold the two livings, by granting him one of his own chaplainſhips. It was remarkable that three Archbiſhops in ſucceſſion had beſtowed favours on him enow to bear teſtimony to his merit, though inadequate to the expectations with which he had entered the miniſterial function under the auſpices of his firſt able and affectionate patron. Yet no diſappointments ever abated the ardour of his attachment to the profeſſion of his choice. He always chearfully purſued his duty, and felt as ſtrong a zeal to inſtruct his unlearned pariſhioners in a village as ever inſpired his eloquence in the Cathedral: in both and in all the churches, where he was called to exerciſe his abilities, he acquired that general popula-

rity which ſeldom fails to accompany the preacher whoſe heart is in earneſt, and whoſe underſtanding and cultivated mind enable him to expreſs that heart, and to enforce the doctrines of truth and righteouſneſs, with elegance, energy, and perſpicuity.

During the Archbiſhop's firſt viſitation in his dioceſe, 1774, he conſecrated St. Andrew's church, then juſt built, inſtead of the old one, which was neceſſarily taken down; for which ceremony Mr. Duncombe had officially ſome communications with his Grace, who was extremely eaſy of acceſs to him. The ſermon preached by Mr. Duncombe on the occaſion gave ſuch general ſatisfaction, that he was deſired to publiſh it.

Mr. Duncombe was ſuddenly taken ill, in the night, June 21, 1785; a ſuffocation rapidly coming on: but a ſurgeon being called, he was almoſt inſtantly relieved, by bleeding—a good ſleep enſued, but he awoke in the morning almoſt ſpeechleſs; a paralytic ſtroke, on the organs of articulation only, ſeemed to have taken place; medical aſſiſtance was applied; he partly recovered articulation; but great debility was perceivable, and he could no longer write as uſual: however, by ſlow degrees, he regained ſtrength, beyond the expectation of his diſtreſſed friends; and appeared, after the ſummer paſſed at Herne, to be quite reſtored to health and ſpirits, and purſued every avocation as before the ſtroke, and with the ſame power of mind. But thoſe who where moſt conſtantly with him, and watched with the tender eye of affection, never loſt the alarm, never reſted without apprehenſion, and perceived, by ſome ſudden ſtarts, and nervous complaints, that all was not ſound within. In January following he coughed much, two or three days, but without any dangerous ſyſtem, till, on the night of the 18th, a ſuffocation, as before, came on: aſſiſtance was immediately procured, but not with the former ſucceſs; the diſorder increaſed, and loſs of life enſued. His gentle ſpirit, as he had lived, departed, eaſy to himſelf in his exit; diſtreſsful alone to all that knew him, to thoſe moſt who knew him beſt—His family, his friends, the ſervants, and the poor, all, by their affliction, ſpoke his real worth. His temper never changed by any deprivation of the world's enjoyments, nor by any bodily ſuffering; no peeviſhneſs, no complaints, eſcaped; though, it is obſerved, that a great alteration often attends ſuch diſorders, and warps the temper naturally good. But he ſilently uſed his piety to the laudable purpoſe of regulating, not only his actions, but his words: yet this was diſcovered rather from obſervation than from his own profeſſion, as he was remarkably modeſt and humble on religious topics; and; for fear of oſtentation on that ſubject, might rather err on the oppoſite ſide from an awful timidity, which might not always give a juſt idea of his unaffected zeal and real faith. His friendſhip, where profeſſed, was ardent; he had a ſpirit in a friend's cauſe, that rarely appeared on other occaſions. He was amiable, affectionate, and tender, as a huſband and father; kind and indulgent, as a maſter; and a protector and advocate to the poor; benevolent to all, as far as his fortune could afford.

He left the amiable partner of his domeſtic comforts, and an only daughter, to lament his loſs.

As Mr. Duncombe had many leiſure hours, he paſſed much time in literary employments, though many were very chearfully given to ſociety. A liſt of his publications is ſubjoined.

A poem "On the death of Frederick Prince of Wales," 1751, printed in the Cambridge verſes on that event.

He publiſhed in 1754 "Horace, b. II. ſat. vii. imitated," and inſcribed to R. O. Cambridge, by Sir Nicholas Nemo, 4to. This is printed in his Horace.

Prefixed to Jeffery's Miſcellanies, 4to, 1754, is a poem to Mr. Duncombe; and in the preface to that volume is the following paragraph: "His couſin (i. e. Mr. Lewis Duncombe's) Mr. John Duncombe, a zealous and ſucceſsful ſolicitor of my intereſt, like his father, my friend before named, has obliged me with a tranſlation of the concluſion of Vaniere's fifth book, which places the author's filial piety in a very ſtriking light. The ſame gentleman's tranſlation of the 15th book, upon fiſhes, is a very good one, and cannot be overlooked whenever ſeveral hands may undertake the whole of that long and languid production, as a late writer has ſtyled it." His book on fiſhes has not been printed, and the original we believe is in the collection of Mr. Reed.

In vol. IV. of Dodſley's Poems, firſt publiſhed 1754, "An Ode to Health."

In vol. VI. publiſhed 1758, is "An Ode to the Genius of Italy;" occaſioned by the Earl of Corke's going abroad.

He firſt publiſhed "* The Feminead," 1754, which paſſed through two editions, and has been reprinted both in the Poetical Calendar, and in Pearch's Collection.

Four Odes appeared, 1753; viz. "The Prophecy of Neptune;" "On the Death of "the Prince of Wales;" "* Ode preſented to the Duke of Newcaſtle;" and one "* To the Hon. James Yorke," afterwards biſhop of St. David's, and now biſhop of Ely.

Between the year 1753 and 1756, came out ſeparately, "* An Evening Contempla- "tion in a College," being a Parody on Gray's Elegy; reprinted in "The Repoſitory," Other detached poems of Mr. Duncombe's are, "* Verſes to the Author of Clariſſa," publiſhed

publiſhed in that work; "* Verſes on the Campaign, 1759," (addreſſed to Sylvanus Urban, and originally printed in the volume for that year); "* To Colonel Clive, on "his arrival in England;" "* On the Loſs of the Ramilies, Captain Taylor, 1760;" "Surry Triumphant, or the Kentiſh mens Defeat, 1773," 4to; a parody on Chevy-Chace; which, for its genuine ſtrokes of humour, elegant poetry, and happy imitation, acquired the author much applauſe. This has been tranſlated into "Nichols's "Select Collections of Poems, 1782," where may be found, alſo, a poem of his on "Stocks Houſe;" a tranſlation of an elegant epitaph, by Biſhop Lowth; and an elegiac "Epitaph at the Grave of Mr. Highmore." Thoſe pieces marked with a ſtar are in The Poetical Calendar, vol. VII. together with a Prologue ſpoken at the Charter-houſe, 1752; a Poem on Mr. Garrick; and Tranſlations from Voltaire. And in vol. X. "The Middleſex Garden;" "Kenſington Gardens;" "Farewel to Hope;" "On a Lady's ſending the Author a Ribbon for his Watch;" "On Captain Corn-"wallis's Monument;" "Prologue to Amalaſont;" "Epigrams."

He publiſhed three Sermons; one "On the Thankſgiving, Nov. 29, 1759," preached at St. Anne's, Weſtminſter, and publiſhed at the requeſt of the pariſhioners; another, "preached at the Conſecration of the Pariſh-Church of St. Andrew, Canter-"bury," July 4, 1774 (*d*); and one, "On a General Faſt, Feb. 27, 1778," alſo preached at St. Andrew's, Canterbury (*e*); and ſo well approved, that by the particular deſire of the pariſh it appeared in print under the title of "The Civil War, between "the Iſraelites and Benjamites, illuſtrated and applied."

(*d*) Gent. Mag. vol. XLIV. p. 431.

(*e*) Ibid. XLVIII 131.

He publiſhed, with his father, in 1766, a tranſlation of Horace, in 8vo; and, in 1767, another edition, with many enlargements and corrections, in 4 vols. 12mo.

He tranſlated the Huetiana," in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1771.

In 1774, he tranſlated "Batteley's Antiquitates Rutupinæ (*f*)."

(*f*) Ibid. p. 128.

He wrote "The Hiſtorical Account of Dr. Dodd's Life," 8vo. 1777; and was the tranſlator of "Sherlock's Letters of an Engliſh Traveller," 1ſt edition, 4to. The 2d edition, 8vo, was tranſlated by Mr. Sherlock himſelf.

In 1778, he publiſhed "an Elegy, written in Canterbury Cathedral (*g*)."

(*g*) Ibid. XLIV. 133.

In 1784, he publiſhed Select Works of the Emperor Julian," 2 vols. 8vo.

In 1784, he was principally the author of "The Hiſtory and Antiquities of Reculver "and Herne," which forms the XVIIIth Number of the Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica (*b*); to which work he alſo contributed, in 1785, the XXXth number, containing, "The Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Three Archiepiſcopal Hoſpitals in and near Canterbury (*i*)," which he dedicated to the preſent Archbiſhop.

(*b*) Ibid. LIV. 39.

(*i*) Ibid. LIV. 615.

He was the Editor of ſeveral other works; all of which were elucidated by his critical knowledge and explanatory notes; viz. 1. "Letters from Several Eminent Perſons, "deceaſed, including the Correſpondence of John Hughes, Eſq. and ſeveral of his "Friends; publiſhed from the Originals, with Notes." Of theſe there have been two editions; the laſt in three volumes. 2. "Letters from Italy; by the late Right Hon. "John Earl of Corke and Orrery, with Notes," 1773. Theſe have gone through two editions. 3. "Letters from the late Archbiſhop Herring, to William Duncombe, Eſq. "deceaſed; from the year 1728 to 1757, with Notes and an Appendix, 1777."

He was alſo the author of a Letter ſigned "RUSTICUS," in "The World," vol. I. N° 36; of ſeveral Letters in "The Connoiſſeur," being the "Gentleman of Cam-"bridge, A. B." mentioned in the laſt number. And in the Gentleman's Magazine, his communications in biography, poetry, and criticiſm, during the laſt twenty years of his life, were frequent and valuable. Many of them are without a name; but his miſcellaneous contributions were uſually diſtinguiſhed by the ſignature of CRITO (*k*)].

(*k*) Ibid. LVI. 187—451.

N.

*** [DUNS (JOHN), ſurnamed SCOTUS, an eminent Scholaſtic Divine, who flouriſhed in the latter end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, was born at Dunſtance, in the pariſh of Emildun, near Alnwick in Northumberland. Some writers have contended that he was a Scotſman, and that the place of his birth was Duns, a village eight miles from England. Others again have aſſerted that he was an Iriſhman. The matter is of no great conſequence; but it is probable that he was a native of South Britain; for he is treated as an Engliſhman by all the early authors who ſpeak of him; and, in a copy of one of his manuſcripts, written nearly at the time in which he lived, his name, country, and the place where he was born, are given as ſtated above (*a*). When a youth, he joined himſelf to the Minorite Friers of Newcaſtle; and, being ſent by them to Oxford, he was admitted into Merton College, of which, in due time, he became fellow. Here, beſides the eminence he acquired in ſcholaſtic theology, he is ſaid to have been very eminent for his knowledge in the civil and canon law, and to have been well ſkilled in logic, natural philoſophy, metaphyſics, mathematics, and aſtronomy. Upon the removal of William Varron from

(*a*) Wharton's Appendix ad Hiſtoriam Literariam—Gulielmi Cave, p. 3. Tanner's Bibliotheca, p. 238.

Oxford to Paris, in 1301, Duns Scotus was chosen to supply his place in the Theological Chair; which office he sustained with such prodigious reputation, that more than thirty-thousand scholars came to the University to be his hearers. This number, though confidently asserted by several writers, we admit, with great hesitation. After John Duns had lectured three years at Oxford, he was called, in 1304, to Paris, where he was honoured with the degrees, first of Bachelor, and then of Doctor in Divinity. At a meeting of the Monks of his order at Tholouse, in 1307, he was created Regent; and about the same time he was placed at the head of the Theological Schools at Paris. Here he is affirmed to have first broached the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, and to have supported his position by two hundred arguments. Absurd and ridiculous as his reasons must have been, he did not want admirers. Such was his reputation, that the members of the University of Paris ran violently into the opinion; instituted the Feast of the immaculate Conception; and issued an edict, that no one, who did not embrace the same opinion, should be admitted to Academical Degrees. In the year 1308, Duns Scotus was ordered by Gonsalvo, the General of the Minorites, to remove to Cologn, on the road to which he was met in solemn pomp, and conducted thither by the whole body of the citizens. Not long after his arrival in this city, he was seized with an apoplexy, which carried him off, on the eighth of November, 1308, in the forty-third, or, as others say, in the thirty-fourth, year of his age (*b*). There is a melancholy story related concerning the mode of his death; which is, that when he fell down of his apoplexy he was immediately interred as dead; but that, afterwards coming to his senses, he languished in a most miserable manner in his coffin, beating his head and hands against its sides, till he died in good earnest. This story, though generally treated as a fable, is hinted at by Mr. Wharton, who says, "Apoplexiâ correptus, et festinato nimis, ut volunt, funere elatus (*c*)." The fact, whether true or not, gave occasion to the following epitaph:

(*b*) Wharton, ubi supra.

(*c*) Ibid.

"Quod nulli ante hominem accidit, viator,
"Hic Scotus jaceo, semel sepultus,
"Et bis mortuus: Omnibus Sophistis
"Argutus magis atque captiosus (*d*)."

(*d*) New Universal Dictionary, vol. V. p. 32, 33. Mackenzie, Vol. I. p. 229.

John Duns was at first a follower of Thomas Aquinas; but, differing from his master on the question concerning the efficacy of divine grace, he formed a distinct sect, which separation produced the denominations of the Thomists and Scotists, who were engaged for centuries in eager and trifling disputes. The names of the two sects still subsist in some of the Roman Catholic schools. On account of Duns Scotus's acuteness in disputation, he was called THE MOST SUBTILE DOCTOR; but his ingenuity was wholly employed in embarrassing, with new fictions of abstraction, and with other scholastic chimeras, subjects already sufficiently perplexed (*e*). He was the author of a vast number of works, several of which have been separately published. A list of them may be seen in Henry Wharton's Appendix to Cave's "Historia Literaria." In 1474, the English Franciscans printed an impression of the larger part of John Duns's writings. At length, the whole of them (some few still remaining in manuscript excepted) were collected together by Luke Wadding, illustrated with notes, and published at Lyons in 1639, in twelve tomes, folio (*f*). Scotus and his annotator are now equally neglected. Mackenzie has given an account of the subjects upon which John Duns has treated; whence it appears how absurd were many of the questions that called forth the exertions of his talents (*g*). But such was the spirit of the times. In a better age, genius and abilities like his might have been of lasting benefit to posterity.

(*e*) Enfield's History of Philosophy, Vol. II. p. 379, 380.

(*f*) Wharton, ubi supra, p. 3, 4.

(*g*) Lives and characters of the most eminent writers of the Scots Nation, Vol. I. p. 219—228.

It may not be unamusing to recite an example of the extravagant praises that have been bestowed upon Duns Scotus by his followers. "He was so consummate a philosopher, that he could have been the inventor of philosophy, if it had not before "existed. His knowledge of all the mysteries of Religion was so profound and perfect, that it was rather intuitive certainty than belief. He described the divine nature as if he had seen God;—the attributes of celestial spirits, as if he had been an "angel;—the felicities of a future state, as if he had enjoyed them;—and the ways "of providence, as if he had penetrated into all its secrets. He wrote so many books, "that one man is hardly able to read them; and no one man is able to understand "them. He would have written more, if he had composed with less care and accuracy. Such was our immortal Scotus, the most ingenious, acute, and subtile, of "the sons of men (*b*).] K.

(*b*) Henry's History of Great Britain, Vol. IV. p. 454.

DUPPA (*a*) (BRIAN), ſucceſſively Biſhop of Chicheſter, Saliſbury, and Wincheſter, in the XVIIth century, was born at Lewiſham in Kent [*A*], March 10, 1588-9 (*b*). He was educated at Weſtminſter-ſchool in the quality of a King's ſcholar; and learned Hebrew of Dr. Lancelot Andrews, then Dean of that church. Thence he was elected ſtudent of Chriſt Church, Oxon, in May, 1605 (*c*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, May 6, 1609 (*d*). In 1612 he was elected Fellow of All-Souls College (*e*); and, the 28th of May, 1614, took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*f*). Afterwards he went into Holy Orders; and travelled abroad, particularly into France and Spain (*g*). In 1619, he was unanimouſly elected one of the Proctors to that Univerſity; in which office he acquitted himſelf well, being an excellent ſcholar, and a genteel and diſcreet perſon (*h*). On the 1ſt of July, 1625, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity (*i*); at which time he was Chaplain to the Prince Palatine. He was alſo Chaplain to Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Dorſet, by whoſe intereſt and recommendation to the King he was appointed Dean of Chriſt's Church, in Oxford, June 30, 1629, and inſtalled the 28th of November following (*k*). To this church and college he was a great benefactor [*B*]. In 1632 and 1633, he was Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford (*l*), which office he diſcharged with great moderation and prudence. Being conſtituted, in 1634, Chancellor of the church of Sarum, he was collated thereto the 19th of June (*m*). Soon after he was made Chaplain to King Charles I, and appointed, in 1638 (*n*), Tutor to Charles Prince of Wales, and afterwards to his brother the Duke of York (*o*): which proved his future happineſs, being then accounted a moſt excellent man. On the 19th of May, 1638, he was preſented to the rectory of Petworth in Suſſex (*p*); and, about the ſame time, nominated to the biſhoprick of Chicheſter. He had reſtitution of the temporalities the 12th of June (*q*), and was conſecrated the 17th of the ſame month (*r*). In the year 1641, he was tranſlated to the See of Saliſbury, but received no benefit from it, on account of the enſuing confuſions (*s*). Upon the ſuppreſſion of Epiſcopacy, he went and waited on the King and Prince at Oxford, where he continued ſome time. After the ſurrendering of that city, he attended his Majeſty (with whom he was a great favourite) in other places; particularly during his impriſonment in the Iſle of Wight (*) [*C*]: and is ſaid, by ſome, to have aſſiſted him in compoſing his "Pourtraicture" (*t*) [*D*]. It is certain, the King intruſted him with matters of the greateſt moment and concern, eſpecially in ſupplying the vacant biſhopricks; and he was continued in the ſame truſt under King Charles II. during the uſurpation (*u*). After the barbarous death of his moſt gracious maſter, our worthy Biſhop retired to Richmond, in Surrey, where he ſpent moſt of his time in great devotion and ſolitude till the reſtoration of his royal pupil King Charles II. Then his paſt ſervices and ſuffering were not forgotten. For he was tranſlated to the rich biſhoprick of Wincheſter [*E*], to which he was elected September 10, 1660, and confirmed the 4th of October following. He was alſo made Lord Almoner (*w*). In the beginning of the ſame year, before his tranſlation, he was appointed one of the Viſitors of the Univerſity of Oxford, to put out thoſe, who had been thruſt into the places of the ejected Maſters and Fellows, during the times of confuſion (*x*). About the year 1661, he began an hoſpital at Richmond, which he tolerably well endowed [*F*]. He had deſigned ſome other works of piety and charity, but was prevented

(*a*) Or *de Upbaugh*. Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 269.

(*b*) *A. Domini* 1588 *exeunte*, as it is in his epitaph.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Id. Faſti, Vol. I. col. 183.

(*e*) Id. Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Id Faſti, col. 196.

(*g*) Athen. ubi ſupra. & Cl. Gul. Richardſoni Continuatio Fr. Godwini de Præſulibus. Cant. 1742, p. 243.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Id. Faſti, Vol. I. col. 232.

(*k*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 256.

(*l*) Id. Faſti, Vol. I. col. 254, 256.

(*m*) J. Le Neve, Faſti, &c. Lond. 1716, fol. p. 269.

(*n*) Genealogical Hiſtory of the Kings of England, &c. by F. Sandford and Stebbing, Lond. 1707. p. 612.

(*o*) W. Richardſon, &c. ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 270. He ſuppoſes that Dr. Duppa kept it for ſome time *in commendam* with his Sec.

(*q*) J. Le Neve, as above, p. 59. Pat. 14 Car. I. p. 19.

(*r*) G. Richardſon, ubi ſupra, p. 515.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 358.

(*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*t*) See Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, p. 652, 774.

(*u*) Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. by J. Walker, Lond. 1714, P. ii. p. 62.

(*w*) G. Richardſon, ut ſupra, p. 243. Wood, as above, and J. Le Neve, ubi ſupra, p. 288. He was then in the 72d year of his age.

(*x*) Biſhop Kennet, as above, p. 220.

[*A*] *Was born at Lewiſham in Kent.*] Moſt authors affirm, that he was born at Greenwich; and ſo it is in his epitaph, which may have occaſioned the general miſtake. But the Biſhop himſelf ſays in his will, that "he was born at Lewiſham;" of which place his father, Jeffry Duppa, was then vicar (1). Mr. Wood, in his "Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Univ. "Oxon." rightly affirms, that it was at Lewiſham, (though he ſays otherwiſe in his Athenæ): and ſo doth likewiſe David Lloyd, in his "Memoirs of the "Lives, Actions, &c. of thoſe noble, reverend, and "excellent, Perſonages, that ſuffered by Death, Se"queſtration, &c. in our late inteſtine Wars (2)."

[*B*] *To this church and college he was a great benefactor.*] He began wainſcoting the choir, and paving the cathedral, and glazing the windows with painted glaſs: all which were finiſhed by his ſucceſſor, Dr. Samuel Fell (3). He alſo bequeathed thereto, at his death, a handſome legacy, as will be ſhewn afterwards.

[*C*] *Particularly during his impriſonment in the Iſle of Wight.*] The diſtreſſed King uſed to ſay, That his confinement was much relieved by the good Biſhop's converſation (4).

[*D*] *And is ſaid, by ſome, to have aſſiſted him in compoſing his Pourtraicture.*] That is, 'Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, 'The Portraicture of his Sacred Majeſtie, in his 'ſolitudes and ſufferings.' One author ſuppoſes (5), that Mr. Gauden, the publiſher of that book, "pre"vailed with Biſhop Duppa to give him one chapter:" but is not poſitive in that point. However, the Biſhop is "thought by many to have been privy to the com"poſing of it (6)."

[*E*] *He was tranſlated to the rich biſhoprick of Wincheſter*]. "To the great joy and comfort, as Mr. "Wood obſerves (7), of many Lords and Gentlemen, "as well as the Clergy, who all had a deep ſenſe and "memory of his prudence and piety, owing to him a "laſting tribute, for his great example of virtue and "godlineſs, &c."

[*F*] *About the year* 1661, *he began an hoſpital at Richmond, which he tolerably well endowed.*] For the endowment of it, he purchaſed land in Sheperton, in Middleſex, of Dr. Bates, for *fifteen hundred and forty pounds*, which he ſettled for the maintenance of the poor people placed in that hoſpital, or alms-houſe; but the ground whereon that alms-houſe was built, not being ſettled at the time of his deceaſe, by reaſon of the death of the perſon intruſted, he directed his executors, in his will, to purchaſe that ground, and cauſe it to be ſettled for ever according to his intent (8). This almſhouſe is of brick, and ſtands on the hill above Richmond;

(1) See Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 269. 271. & Hiſtor. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 183.

(2) Page 598.

(3) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq. Vol. II. p. 408. 441.

(4) Hiſtory of the Church of Weſtminſter, &c. by Mr. Dart. fol. Vol. II. p. 10.

(5) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. as above, p. 774.

(6) See Dr. J. Barwick's Life, Eng. edit. 8vo. 1724, Appendix, p. 366.

(7) Athenæ, col. 270.

(8) From a copy of his Will, now before us.

vented by death: for, he enjoyed his new dignity little more than a year and a half. He died at Richmond, March 26, 1662, aged seventy-three years and sixteen days (*y*). A few hours before he expired, King Charles II. honoured him with a visit, and kneeling down by the bed-side begged his blessing, which the Bishop, with one hand on his Majesty's head, and the other lifted up to heaven, gave with a most passionate zeal (*z*). After his body had lain some time in state at York-house in the Strand, it was decently conveyed thence, the 24th of April following, to the abbey-church of Westminster, where it was buried on the north side of King Edward the Confessor's chapel (*a*). Soon after a large marble-stone was laid over his grave; and a monument, with an inscription, erected to his memory [*G*]. By his will, he bequeathed several sums to charitable uses [*H*]. He died as he lived, honoured and beloved by all that knew him, being a person of such exemplary piety, eminent candour, humility, and meekness; and of so clear a character, that he left not the least spot upon his life or function (*b*). Moreover, he was a man of excellent parts, a very good preacher, and an ornament to his profession, not only by the qualifications of his mind, but also by the comeliness of his person, and gracefulness to his deportment, which rendered him worthy the service of a Court, and every way fit to stand before Princes (*c*). He wrote a few things; of which we shall give an account in the note [*I*].

(*y*) Wood, as above, col. 270; 271.

(*z*) Bishop King's Sermon at the Funeral of Bishop Duppa, Lond. 1662, 4to.

(*a*) Wood, ubi supra; and The Antiquities of St. Peter's Westminster, &c. by J. Crull, edit. 1715, 8vo. p. 201, &c.

(*b*) Wood, ubi supra. See also Bishop King's Funeral Sermon on Bishop Duppa.

(*c*) Ibid.

Richmond; being the effect of a vow made by the founder, in the time of King Charles the Second's exile.——On the gate is this inscription.

"I will pay the vows which I made to God in my "trouble."

*In memoriam auspicatissimi*
*Reditus*
Caroli *secundi ad suos,*
*Hoc Ptochotrophium*
*Ad honorem Dei & Levamen Pauperum,*
*Extrui curavit*
B. D. E. Winton
*Regi*
*Ab Eleemosynis*
*Anno Domini*
1661.

In it are ten poor widows, who are allowed twenty-pence a week a-piece, and twenty shillings to buy coals, and a gown once in two years. The minister and churchwardens are overseers of it. But the poor widows, being alms-women, are not to have any benefit from the parish, and so live in a very mean condition (9). The Bishop had a more than ordinary affection for Richmond, because he had privately resided there several years during the times of confusion, and especially because he had educated the Prince in that place (10).

(9) The Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey, by J. Aubrey, Esq. Vol. I. p. 59, 60.

(10) Wood, ubi supra, col. 271.

[*G*] *A large marble-stone was laid over his grave; and a monument*, &c.] The stone over his grave is of black marble, nine feet nine inches in length, and five feet two inches in breadth; on which are engraved only these Latin words: "Hic jacet Brianus "Winton."

[*H*] *By his will, he bequeathed several sums to charitable uses.*] Particularly, lands in Pembridge in Herefordshire, which cost 250l. settled upon an almshouse there begun by his father. *Five hundred pounds* directed to be paid to the Bishop of Sarum, to be bestowed upon an organ in that church, or such other use as the Bishop shall think fittest. *Five hundred pounds* to the Dean and Chapter of Christ-Church in Oxford, towards the new buildings. *Two hundred pounds* to be bestowed on the cathedral church of Chichester, as the Bishop, and Dean and Chapter, shall think fit. And, to the cathedral church at Winchester, *two hundred pounds*. To the poor of Lewisham in Kent, where he was born, *forty pounds*. To the poor of Greenwich, in Kent, *forty pounds*. To the poor of Westram, in Sussex, *twenty pounds*; and *twenty pounds* more to provide communion-plate for that parish, if they want it, otherwise that 20l. also to the poor. To the poor of Witham in Sussex, *Twenty pounds*. *Ten pounds* per annum for ten years, to William Watts, to encourage him to continue in his studies. To ten widows of clergymen 500l. i. e. *fifty pounds* a-piece. To ten loyal officers that were not yet provided for, 500l. i. e. *fifty pounds* a-piece. To All-Souls College, Oxon. *two hundred pounds*. By a codicil he gave *three hundred pounds* to the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral in London. And, in several sums, to private friends and servants, above *three thousand pounds*,—&c. (11). So that the character given of him by Bishop Burnet (12) is neither kind nor just. "He had "been (says he) the King's tutor, though no way "fit for that post, but he was a meek and humble "man, and much loved for the sweetness of his temper; and would have been more esteemed, if he had "died before the Restoration; *for, he made not the use of "the great wealth, that flowed in upon him, that was "expected.*" It must be remembered that Bishop Burnet seldom or never speaks well of any of his order.

(11) From his Will.

(12) Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. p. 177.

[*I*] *He wrote a few things*, &c.] Namely, 1. "The "Soul's Soliloquie, and Conference with Conscience." A Sermon before King Charles I. at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, on the 25th of October, being the monthly fast, on Psalm xlii. 5. Lond. 1648, 4to. 2. "Angels rejoicing for Sinners repenting," a sermon on Luke xv. 10. Lond. 1648, 4to. 3. "A "Guide for the Penitent: Or, a model drawn up for "the Help of a devout Soul wounded with Sin." Lond. 1660, 8vo. and 12mo. 4. "Holy Rules and Helps to "Devotion, both in Prayer and Practice, in two "Parts." Lond. 1674, 12mo. with the author's picture in the beginning. Published by Benjamin Parry, of Corpus Christi College, Oxon. (13). The "Life "of Archbishop Spotswood" is likewise said by some to have been written by our author: but Mr. Wood justly observes, that could not be, because it was written by a native of Scotland. M.

(13) Wood, ubi supra, col. 207.

*** [It is awkwardly expressed in the text, that Dr. Duppa's being appointed tutor to Charles Prince of Wales, and afterwards to his brother the Duke of York, proved his *future happiness*. The appointment contributed more to his promotion than to his felicity. It cannot be said that he was happy in his royal pupils; since Charles became a profligate character, and the Duke of York a bigoted Papist. Fortunately for the good Prelate, he did not live to see these evils in their full magnitude; for, in that case, he would have sincerely lamented that his instructions had not produced a better effect.

It is not improbable that Bishop Duppa might be of some assistance to King Charles the First in the composition of the "Eikon Basilike." This was natural enough from the connection he had with that unfortunate Monarch, and the esteem in which he was held by him.

Irreligious as Charles the Second was, he must, when he kneeled down at Duppa's bed-side, have had a strong feeling of what he owed to his old and venerable tutor. The zeal and devotion, with which the Bishop bestowed his blessing upon him, must have been very affecting, and ought to have made a lasting impression upon his mind. It would be no bad subject for a picture.

The manner in which Burnet hath spoken of Dr. Duppa is a proof of the hasty way in which that histo-

rian

torian ſometimes wrote. As he did not come to reſide in London till more than ten years after Duppa's deceaſe, it is not probable that he could perſonally know much of that Prelate's character. Burnet, in ſaying that Duppa was no way fit for the poſt of King's tutor, ſeems to have been guilty of a raſh aſſertion. Granger, on the contrary, declares, that Duppa was in all reſpects well qualified for that important office. Nor was there any juſt reaſon for Burnet's aſſerting, that the Biſhop did not make the uſe of the great wealth which flowed in upon him that was expected. That he was a liberal and beneficent man is apparent from all his conduct. When he lived in retirement at Richmond during the Uſurpation, and was deprived of his epiſcopal revenues, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by being hoſpitable, generous, and charitable, to a degree beyond his fortune. 'It is 'certain,' ſays Mr. Granger, 'that he remitted no 'leſs than thirty thouſand pounds to his tenants, and 'that he left ſixteen thouſand pounds to be expended 'in acts of charity and munificence.' The ſums ſpecified in Note [*H*] amount to no more than ſix thouſand three hundred and ſeventy pounds. What enabled biſhop Duppa to exerciſe ſo great a degree of beneficence were the fines which were repaid to him for the renewal of leaſes, or granting freſh ones, after the Reſtoration. By theſe he is ſaid to have received fifty thouſand pounds. Though Dr. Burnet was blamable in what he ſays concerning our Prelate, it is not true, as is aſſerted in Note [*H*], that Burnet ſeldom or never ſpeaks well of any of his Order. Inſtances to the contrary appear in his writings, though perhaps they are not ſo frequent as might be wiſhed. When Dr. Duppa was biſhop of Chicheſter, he publiſhed "Jonſonius Verbius," which is a Collection of Verſes in praiſe of Ben Jonſon and his works, by above thirty different hands (14). This ſhews that the biſhop was a reader and admirer of our Poets, and is a preſumptive evidence that he was a man of taſte.] K.

(14) Granger's Biographical, Hiſtory. Vol. III. p. 234, 235.

DUREL (JOHN), a learned Divine in the XVIIth century, who wrote ſeveral pieces in vindication of the Church of England, was born at St. Helier's [*A*] in the Iſle of Jerſey, in the year 1625 (*a*). About the end of the year 1640, he was entered a Student of Merton-college in Oxford; but, when that city came to be garriſoned for King Charles I. and the ſeat of the Muſes was turned into a ſeat of war, Mr. Durel, after a ſtay of two years there, retired into France: and, having ſtudied for ſome time at Caen in Normandy, took the degree of Maſter of Arts, in the Sylvanian college of that place, on the 8th of July 1664 (*b*). Then he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, and aſſiduouſly purſued it above two years, at Saumur, under the famous Moſes Amyrault (*c*) Divinity Reader in that Proteſtant univerſity. In the year 1647 he returned into his native country, and continued there for ſome time among his relations (*d*). But, after the reduction of that iſland by the Parliament-forces in 1651, having been concerned in the defence of it for the King (*e*), he was forced to withdraw, or rather was expelled thence. Whereupon he withdrew to Paris, and received Epiſcopal Ordination in the chapel of Sir Richard Browne, Knt. then his Majeſty's (*f*) Reſident in France, from the hands of Thomas, Biſhop of Galloway, tranſlated after the King's Reſtoration to Orkney [*B*]. Not finding any employment in or about Paris, he came to St. Malo's; and had no ſooner acquainted his friends with the condition he was in, but the Reformed Church of Caen invited him very kindly, by an expreſs, to come and be one of their Miniſters, in the abſence of the moſt learned Samuel Bochart [*C*], who was going into Sweden. Not long after, the Landgrave of Heſſe having written to the Miniſters of Paris, to ſend him a Miniſter to preach in French at his Highneſs's Court, he was by them recommended to that Prince, of whom likewiſe he received a very kind invitation by ſeveral letters (*g*). But not thinking fit to accept of either of thoſe places [*D*], he choſe to be Chaplain to the Duke de la Force, father to the Princeſs of Turenne; in which ſtation he continued above eight years (*h*). Upon the Reſtoration of King Charles II. he came over to England, and was very inſtrumental in ſetting up the new Epiſcopal French church at the Savoy in London [*E*], wherein he

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 731.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Or *Amyraldus*, as his name is latinized. He was a learned Divine, and author of ſeveral good books. See our author's *View of the Government, &c. in the Reformed Churches*, p. 194.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) See *Cæſarea*, or Account of Jerſey, &c. by P. Falle, 2d edit. 1734, 8vo, p. 119.

(*f*) K. Charles II.

(*g*) See A View of the Government and Publick Worſhip of God in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas, &c. by our author, J. Durel. Lond. 1662, 4to. p. 93, 94.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 17, 94, 77.

[*A*] *Was born at St. Helier's.*] The chief town in the iſland; ſo named from Helerius, a pious hermit, martyred there: and not from Hilary, Biſhop of Poictiers, who never was in the iſland, or had any relation thereto (1). Therefore, the right name of that town is not St. Hilary, as it is called by A. Wood, Camden, and many other writers, but St. Helier.

(1) Account of Jerſey, &c. as above, p. 9, 10.

[*B*] *And received Epiſcopal Ordination——from the hands of Thomas, Biſhop of Galloway*, &c.] Being a native of Jerſey, ordained in France, and by a Scotch Biſhop, that made a certain writer (2) doubt, whether he was *Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Preſbyter*, a Preſbyter of the Church of England, as he ſtyles himſelf in his "Vindication, &c." But that author ſhewed therein both his ignorance and malice: for, the inhabitants of Jerſey being true and faithful members of the Church of England, any one of them that had received Epiſcopal ordination might juſtly call himſelf a Preſbyter of the Church of England.

(2) The author of *The Nonconformiſts vindicated from the abuſe put upon them by* Mr. Durel *and* Mr. Scrivener. Suppoſed to be H. Hickman, Lond. 1679, 8vo.

[*C*] *The moſt learned Samuel Bochart.*] Author of "Canaan, Phaleg, Hierozoicon," and other excellent books, intended for the explanation of the Holy Scriptures; wherein he ſhews a prodigious ſkill in the Oriental and other languages, and a fund of good ſenſe and exquiſite judgment. He was invited, about the year 1631, to Sweden, by Queen Chriſtina.

[*D*] *But not thinking fit to accept of either of thoſe places.*] He tells us, that 'the providence of God 'did not permit him to go to either of theſe places 'whither he was invited (3),' but aſſigns no other particular reaſon.

(3) View of the Government and Publick Worſhip of God, &c. as above, p. 94.

[*E*] *And was very inſtrumental in ſetting up the new Epiſcopal French church at the Savoy in London.*] We have a full account, in one of his books (4), of the origin and foundation of that Epiſcopal Church, which we ſhall give in his own words. 'About twenty years 'ſince (5) the Duke of Soubize, living near the 'Court, and finding it troubleſome, and ſometimes 'impoſſible for him, by reaſon of his infirmities, to 'go to church as far as Threadneedle-ſtreet, where 'the Walloons have their church, he had commonly 'a French ſermon preached before him in his own 'houſe every Sunday. Thither the French, who 'lived in thoſe parts, did uſually reſort, to ſave 'themſelves the labour and toil of going up ſo great 'a way into the city. This they found ſo commodi-'ous, that, after the Duke was dead, they reſolved to 'ſet up a French church about the Strand, and wholly

(4) Ibid. p. 73.

(5) *i.e.* about the year 1640.

to

he officiated first on Sunday, 14 July, 1661, and continued to officiate there for some years after, with great liking and applause (*i*). In April 1663, he was made Prebendary of North Aulton in the cathedral church of Salisbury, being then Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty (*k*); and, the 11th of February following, succeeded Dr. Hawles in a canonry of Windsor (*l*). On the 1st of July 1668, he was installed into the fourth prebend of Durham (*m*), and had a rich donative conferred on him (*n*). The 28th of February, 1669-70, he was actually created Doctor of Divinity (*o*), by virtue of the Chancellor's letters [*F*]. In 1677 King Charles II. gave him the deanery of Windsor, vacant by the death of Dr. Bruno Ryves, into which he was installed July 27 (*p*). He had also the great living of Witney in Oxfordshire conferred on him (*q*). All which preferments he obtained, partly through his own qualifications, being not only a good Scholar, but also 'a perfect Courtier, skilful in the arts of getting into the favour of 'great men;' and partly through his great interest with King Charles II, to whom he was personally known both in Jersey and France (*r*). Mr. Wood thinks (*s*), that, had he lived some years longer, he would undoubtedly have been promoted to a bishopric. He published several things [*G*]; and, among the rest, 1. 'The Liturgy of the Church "of England asserted, in a Sermon, preached [in French] at the Chapel of the Savoy, "before the *French Congregation*, which usually assembles in that Place, upon the first "day that Divine Service was there celebrated according to the Liturgy of the Church "of England." Translated into English by G. B. Doctor in Physick. Lond. 1662, 4*to*. II. 'A View of the Government and public Worship of God in the Reformed Churches 'of England, as it is established by the Act of Uniformity.' Lond. 1662, 4*to*. [*H*].

(*i*) Ibid. p. 73, & Wood, ubi supra, col. 732.

(*k*) Wood, ibid.

(*l*) Antiquit. of Berkshire, by El. Ashmole, Esq. Vol. III. edit. 1713, p. 279.

(*m*) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq. Vol I. edit. 1727. p. 267.

(*n*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*o*) Wood, Fasti. Vol. II. col. 180.

(*p*) Antiquit. of Berkshire, ubi supra, p. 242.

(*q*) From private information of a friend who knew him.

(*r*) From the same information.

(*s*) Ubi supra.

Exceptions

'to leave going to that of the city, except such men 'as continued to pay their usual stipend (as some there 'were that did) towards the maintenance of their 'ministers, and others sometimes upon occasion. 'But this notwithstanding, those of London so highly 'resented the erecting of that new church, that ever 'since they endeavoured by all means possible to pull 'it down. Their last assault against it was after the 'Restoration of King Charles II, when they made 'their addresses to his Majesty, to have the French 'congregation at Westminster (for so it was called, as 'being within the liberties thereof) broken, and for-'bidden ever to assemble any more; giving for reason 'of this their humble petition, that the said congre-'gation was not established by any lawful authority, 'and that by their privilege all those of the French 'language, wheresoever they lived, in either of the 'cities of London or Westminster, have but one only 'place where they are permitted to assemble for the 'publick worship of God in their own tongue. They 'of Westminster, to keep up their congregation, pre-'sented their humble suit to his Majesty, that he 'would be pleased to consider what trouble and toil 'it would be for them, especially such as had great 'families and young children, to go every Sunday to 'church at such a distance. The King, all things 'considered, found out a way to grant them both 'their requests; by breaking the French congrega-'tion of Westminster, according to the desire of those 'of the Walloons congregation of London, as being 'established indeed without any lawful authority; and 'by setting up a new church under the immediate 'jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, wherein 'divine service should be performed in French, ac-'cording to the book of Common-prayer; his Ma-'jesty being pleased to provide for the maintenance 'of a minister, to be therein a constant preacher; 'and leaving it to every one's liberty to join with 'those of the old Walloons congregation of London, 'or to become members of the new French church 'of Westminster, which was likewise permitted by 'his Majesty's letter to add to that Minister, for whom 'his Majesty was to provide, as many others as by 'them should be thought convenient, provided the 'said ministers be presented to the Bishop of London 'for the time being, to be by him instituted.'

[*F*] *By virtue of the Chancellor's letters.*] Wherein, among other commendations of him, his Lordship (6), said; 'his fame was so well known to them' [i. e. the 'University] especially for the great pains he had taken 'in the Church, that he could hardly propose to them 'any thing in his behalf, in which they would not be 'willing to prevent him.——Adding——that 'of his parts and learning they were better judges 'than himself, but had not so much experience of 'his loyalty, fidelity, and service to his Majesty as him-'self, &c. (7).'

(6) James Duke of Ormond.

(7) Wood, ubi supra.

[*G*] *He published several things.*] Namely, besides those mentioned above, these few following. 1. "*Theo-* "*remata Philosophiæ rationalis, moralis, naturalis, &* "*supernaturalis, quorum veritatem tueri conabitur in* "*Coll. Sylvano Acad. Cadomensis, &c.* 8 *Jul.* 1644. "*Cadom.* 1644. 4*to*." They were the Theses he maintained in the University of Caen, when he took his Master of Arts degree. 2. He published, a French, and Latin, Translation of the Common-prayer-book, upon the review of it at the Restoration. 3. The whole Duty of Man, translated into French; said to be by the Doctor's Lady, but very probably with his assistance (8). 4. He intended to publish a collection of the several Liturgies of all the Protestant Churches; but never did (9).

(8) Wood, ubi supra; and from private information.

See also our author's *View of the Government and Public Worship of God*, &c. as above, p. 187.

(9) View of the Government, &c. p. 14.

[*H*] *A view of the Government and public worship of God in the Reformed Churches, &c.*] In this book, the learned Author puts the Controversy between the established Church of England and the Dissenters upon its right foot. For, the Presbyterians having given out, 'That the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas 'were as much averse to the Government and publick 'Worship of God in the Church of England as them-'selves,' he shews, in Sect. 1, the conformity of the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas with the Reformed Church of England in these particulars; because, those Churches that follow the Confession of Augsburg, have the same Ceremonies with the Church of England; have subordination of Pastors, and, in some, Bishops and Archbishops, both name and thing; set Forms of Prayers; Holy-days, and Fast-days; magnificent Churches, Organs, Surplice, Church-Ornaments, Cross in Baptism, receiving the Communion kneeling, &c. All which he confirms by quotations from authentic writers, and by letters sent to him by the Ministers of most of the Reformed Congregations in the several parts of France. In Sect II. he maintains, that in those things, in which some Reformed Churches beyond the Seas differ from the Reformed Church of England, they do not pretend she should rather conform to them, than they to her, and that they never desired the abolition of our Church-government, or of our Book of Common-prayer, but that they approve of both, and wish we may ever enjoy the benefit of both in peace and quietness.—— At the end, there is an Appendix, containing, among other things, the Preface to the "Agenda," or Form of Prayer used in the Churches of Poland and Lithuania; and a letter of Dr. Peter Du Moulin, wherein he informs our author, that in 1651, Archbishop Usher told him, David Blondel had concluded his "*Apologia pro Hieronymi sententia*," (i. e. his book in favour of Presbytery) with words to this purpose: 'By all that we have said to assert the rights of the 'Presbytery, we do not intend to invalidate the 'antient and Apostolical Constitution of Episcopal 'Preeminence. But we believe, that wheresoever it 'is

Exceptions having been made to this book by the Nonconformiſts [*I*], our author publiſhed, III. "A Vindication of the Church of England againſt the unjuſt and impudent Accuſations of the Schiſmatics." Lond. 1669, 4*to* [*K*]. He died June 8, 1683, and was buried, the 12th day of the ſame month, about the middle of the north iſle joining to the choir of the collegiate chapel at Windſor, in a ſmall brick vault: over which, a flat marble ſtone was ſoon after laid (*t*), with a ſhort inſcription [*L*]. Mr. Wood gives the followiug character of him: 'He was a perſon of unbiaſſed and fixed principles, 'untainted and ſteady loyalty, as conſtantly adhering to the ſinking cauſe and intereſt of 'his Sovereign in the worſt of times; who dared with an unſhaken and undaunted re- 'ſolution to ſtand up and maintain the honour and dignity of the Engliſh Church, when 'ſhe was in her loweſt and deplorable condition. He was very well verſed alſo in all 'the controverſies on foot between the Church and the Diſciplinarian party: the juſtneſs 'and reaſonableneſs of the eſtabliſhed conſtitutions of the former, no one of late years 'hath more plainly manifeſted, or with greater learning more ſucceſsfully defended 'againſt its moſt zealous modern oppugners than he hath done, as by his works is 'manifeſt (*u*).' The ſame author calls him elſewhere (*w*), 'the judicious and laborious 'advocate for the Church of England, both in word and in deed.' Other writers have alſo ſpoken in his praiſe, and even his antagoniſt, Dr. Lewis Du Moulin, commends him for his civility and candour, and the ſmoothneſs and beauty of his language (*x*).

(*t*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 735.

(*u*) Ib. col. 732.

(*w*) Faſti, Vol II. col. 180.

(*x*) In familiari progreſſu vir civilis ingenio, ore probo, pectore niveo, oratione profluente, & lenocinante. *Patronus bonæ fidei*, &c. p. 1.

'is eſtabliſhed conformably to the antient Canons it 'muſt be carefully preſerved; and whereſoever, by 'ſome heat of contention or otherwiſe, it hath been 'put down or violated, it ought to be reverently re- 'ſtored.' But that book having been written at the earneſt requeſt of the Aſſembly of Weſtminſter, of the Scots eſpecially, who had their Agents at Paris to ſtrengthen their party by miſinforming the Proteſtants of France, and winning them to their ſide, when theſe Agents ſaw this concluſion of Mr. Blondel's manuſcript, they expoſtulated with him very loudly for marring all the good he had done in his book, and never left importuning him, till they had prevailed upon him to put out that concluſion.

[*I*] *Exceptions having been made to this book by the Nonconformiſts.*] Partly in a book entitled, "*Apologia "pro Miniſtris in Anglia (vulgò) Nonconformiſtis. Anno* "1662, *Aug.* 24. *Die Bartholomæo dicto, ejectis.* "*Adverſus argutiolas, putidaſque calumnias, Durelli,* "*Elliſi, aliorumque. Per Irenæum Eleutherium, A. M.* "*ex Acad. Cantab.* i. e. "An Apology for the Non- "conformiſt Miniſters in England, ejected Aug. 24. "1662. againſt the little ſubtilties and ſtinking calum- "nies of Durell, Ellis, &c." In which Mr. Durel is treated with great contempt, and called many hard names. The author of it was Henry Hickman (10); and it was viſibly printed beyond Sea.

(10) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 733, 895.

[*K*] *A Vindication of the Church of England, &c.*] The Apology having been written in Latin, our Author publiſhed this his vindication in the ſame language, under this title, "*Sanctæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ* "*adverſus iniquas atque inverecundas Schiſmaticorum* "*Criminationes, Vindiciæ.*" The Preſbyterians taking great offence at it, publiſhed theſe anſwers, "1. *Bona-* "*ſus* (11) *Vapulans:* or ſome caſtigations given to "Mr. John Durell for fouling himſelf and others in "his Engliſh and Latin book." Lond. 1672. 8vo. reprinted in 1676 under this title, "The Nonconfor- "miſts vindicated from the Abuſes put upon them by "Mr. Durell and Mr. Scrivner." 2. Dr. Lewis Du Moulin publiſhed alſo this anſwer thereto. "*Patronus* "*bonæ fidei, in cauſa Puritanorum, contra Hierarchas* "*Anglos: ut diſceptatur in ſpecimine confutationis vin-* "*diciarum clariſſ. Viri Joh. Durelli, cujus periculum* "*fit, cum paſſim in ejus opere, tum maxime in capite* "*primo, in quo agitur de authoribus nuperorum motuum* "*in Anglia.* Lond. 1672. 8vo.

(11) A wild beaſt like a bull, which, when purſued by the hunters, lets fly his ordure plentifully in their faces.

[*L*] *With a ſhort inſcription.*] As follows,

*Johannes Durell S. Th. D.*
*Windſorienſis Sacelli Decanus, hic*
*jacet, beatam expectans Reſurrectionem,*
*obiit Ann. Ætatis* 58. *A. Chr. Nat.* 1683.
8 *Id. Jun.*

i. e. Here lieth John Durell, D. D. Dean of Windſor, waiting for a happy Reſurrection. He died June 8, 1683. in the 58th of his age. M.

*** [DUREL (DAVID), a learned Divine, and Biblical Critic, of the Church of England, was a native of the Iſland of Jerſey (*a*). From this circumſtance it may reaſonably be conjectured that he was a relation, perhaps a deſcendant, of Dr. John Durel, of whom an account is given in the preceding article. That the Durells were a very reſpectable family in Jerſey is evident from there being ſeveral perſons of the name who received conſiderable promotions both in that Iſland and in England during the reign of King George the Second. From Dr. David Durell's age at the time of his deceaſe, it appears that he was born in 1728. After going through a proper courſe of Grammatical Education, he was matriculated at the Univerſity of Oxford, and became a Member of Pembroke College, where, on the 20th of June, 1753, he took the Degree of Maſter of Arts (*b*). After this, he was choſen a Fellow of Hertford College, and was admitted principal of the ſame, in the year 1757, in the room of Dr. William Sharp, who reſigned that office, and was afterwards Regius Profeſſor of Greek in the Univerſity, and Rector of Eaſt-Hampſtead in Berks (*c*). On the 23d of April, 1760, Mr. Durell took the Degree of Bachelor in Divinity, and that of Doctor on the 14th of January, 1764 (*d*). Previouſly to the taking his laſt Degree, he publiſhed, in 1763, his firſt learned work, entituled, "The Hebrew Text of the Parallel Prophecies of Jacob and "Moſes, relating to the Twelve Tribes; with a Tranſlation and Notes: and the "various Lections of near Forty MSS. To which are added, 1. The Samaritan Ara- "bic Verſion of thoſe Paſſages, and Part of another Arabic Verſion made from the "Samaritan Text, neither of which have been before printed. 2. A Map of the Land "of Promiſe. 3. An Appendix, containing Four Diſſertations on Points connected "with the Subject of theſe Prophecies." Oxford, Clarendon Preſs, Quarto. In this work

(*a*) Gent. Mag. Vol. XLII. p. 427.

(*b*) Catalogue of Oxford Graduats, p. 107.

(*c*) Wood's Hiſt. and Antiquities of Oxford. Mr. Gutch's edition, p. 647.

(*d*) Oxford Graduats, ubi ſupra.

work our author exhibited a valuable and decisive proof of his skill in Oriental Literature, and of his capacity and judgment in elucidating the sacred Scriptures. In 1767, he was made a Prebendary of Canterbury, in the room of Dr. Potter, who had resigned (*e*). The only remaining preferment, which Dr. Durell appears to have been possessed of, was the Vicarage of Tysehurst in Sussex (*f*). In 1772, he gave a farther evidence of his great proficiency in Biblical learning, by publishing "Critical Remarks "on the Books of Job, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles." Quarto. Oxford, printed at the Clarendon Press. In the Preface to this performance, the author pleads for a new translation of the Bible. 'In the mean time,' says he, 'hoping this very 'desirable period may not be far distant, I have thought it my duty to lay before the 'public some part of the materials which have laid by me for a considerable time. My 'motive for so doing is, that they may be duly weighed in the interval; in order, that, 'if they meet with approbation, they may be serviceable on that occasion, and that 'others, blessed with greater abilities and advantages, may hereby be induced to pur-'sue the same course.' Dr. Durell, having concluded that we have, on some accounts, advantages superior, in the present day, for the purpose of a new translation, to what were enjoyed in the beginning of the last age, adds as follows: "Is it pretended that the times will not bear a new version? I answer by another question. Is the temper of the people of these days totally different from that of their ancestors, at the distance of six generations? On the introduction of the present version into our Churches in the year 1611, we read of no tumult, clamour, nor discontent. The same pacific disposition prevailed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when more than one new translation received the Royal sanction. The godly, the learned, the ingenious, would doubtless rejoice; the gay, the thoughtless, the voluptuous, would still continue unconcerned and unaffected; but the Caviller, the Sceptic, and the Deist, would hereby find the sharpest and most trusty arrows of their quiver blunted; and the illiterate vulgar, who always depart reluctantly from old institutions, would soon be reconciled; when, instead of an invasion of their property, they experienced that the old debased coin was only called in, in order that they might be paid in new, of true sterling value. The minds of the people cannot be hereby unsettled. All the leading articles of religion will remain undisturbed. If there be any foundation for this plea, it seems to me (with due deference to Government may I be understood to hint it) to be derived from the legislature itself; which, in its acts of perpetual duration, does not appear to allow sufficiently for the mutability of human affairs, or the changes incident to time: whereas were it enacted, that these acts should all be revised at the distance of half a century, many of the inconveniences complained of would no longer exist; and the almost sacred veneration the people have for things, which not their merit, but antiquity alone, has consecrated, would gradually subside, and leave no traces in their minds. But may not the eagerness for reformation carry matters to too great a length? Innovations, it is confessed, are often dangerous; and the spirit of zealots the most uncontroulable of any other: but, in this case, the bounds would be clear and distinct; and there would be no cause to fear, when the commission expressly set forth the limits of its extent, that cool and discreet subjects would overleap them. But to give the argument its full force; would the innovator herewith rest satisfied? Would he not desire, after this, a revisal of the Liturgy, with the thirty-nine articles; and proceed from ecclesiastical to civil matters? These are not necessary, perhaps not probable, consequences; but, allowing they were, what nobler objection could the Parliament, could the Convocation, have under their contemplation, than the petitions of serious well-disposed men, presented, at proper intervals, with becoming humility? praying,—that means might be devised, the most efficacious for quieting their conscientious scruples, and setting them forward in the way of religious improvement (*g*)." In the body of the work, Dr. Durell, besides his criticisms on particular passages, has introduced some general observations on the books to which his Remarks are confined. What he has advanced with relation to the design of the book of Job, and the time in which it was written, is so candid and judicious, that we shall insert it below [*A*]. For the same reason, we shall add what he has said concerning Solomon's

(*e*) Gent. Mag. Vol. XXXVII. p. 48.

(*f*) Gutch, ubi supra.

(*g*) Monthly Review. Vol. XLVII. p. 120, 121.

[*A*] *We shall insert it below.*] 'Whether such a 'personage as Job ever existed is a matter of very 'doubtful disputation. The affirmative side of the 'question appears probable, when we find him ranked 'by Ezekiel with Noah and Daniel, and referred to 'by St. James. But, on the other hand, the silence of 'Moses, and all succeeding historians, concerning 'him, is apt to induce the contrary opinion. The 'prophet might, perhaps, chuse to mention Job pre-'ferably to Abraham, or any other righteous man, 'because the book had lately been published, and, 'particularly, because Job is there represented as 'having obtained his deliverance (as the two others 'had done, one from the flood, the other from the 'den of lions) by his righteousness. This suited the 'prophet's argument; and the instance would equally 'serve his purpose, whether the character were real 'or fictitious. The same holds likewise in regard to 'St. James; who, wanting to recommend patience by 'an example, would naturally refer his countrymen 'to this book. But, had there ever been such a per-'son as Job, from the age to which he lived (140 'years), we may probably fix his æra to the time of 'Abraham; and as he is said to have been an Idu-'mæan, (or an inhabitant of Arabia Deserta, which 'bordered upon Canaan), it might be expected that 'there would have been some intercourse between 'these great and good men; that Abraham, in his 'journeys to Egypt, would have taken an opportunity 'of doing him honour, as he did to Melchisedec; or 'that Job would gladly have embraced any oppor-'tunity of making himself known to *the Father of the Faithful*,

Solomon's Song [*B*]. Our author intended to publiſh ſome remarks on the prophetic writings; but this deſign he was prevented from accompliſhing, by his comparatively premature death, which happened when he was only forty-ſeven years of age. He died at his College, on the 19th of October, 1775, and was buried at St. Peter's in the Eaſt, Oxford, where there is an inſcription on his grave-ſtone, with his arms. By his laſt will, he bequeathed twenty pounds a year, ariſing from money by him lent for the building of Oxford Market; one half of which ſum is given to the principal of Hertford College; the other, to the two Senior Fellows. If there happens to be but one Senior Fellow, then, two thirds are allotted to the principal, and the remaining third to the Fellow, for Commons (*b*). From all that we have heard concerning Dr. Durell's character, we underſtand him to have been a gentleman of eminent piety and goodneſs.]

(*b*) Gutch, ubi ſupra, p. 644, 647.

K.

'*Faithful.* The ſame may be ſaid in regard to the ſucceeding patriarchs, if he be ſuppoſed to have lived later. But, if we bring him down to the time of Moſes (which is the lateſt period that can be aſſigned), it will appear ſtill more extraordinary that he, who lived in ſight of Mount Sinai, ſhould have continued to walk ſtill by the light of Nature only, when he muſt have had ſenſible demonſtration of God's revelation of his will, and might have put himſelf under the more immediate direction of Jehovah. Beſides, what would make Job's character ſtill more extraordinary is, that he ſhould always have retained his integrity amidſt the contagion of bad example; for, the wild Arabs, from the days of Iſhmael to theſe days, have uniformly been rovers and free-booters, as was predicted of them, Gent. xvi. 12. Whereas, if we ſuppoſe this poem to be merely of the dramatic kind (the eſſential requiſites of which it has), it would anſwer the author's purpoſe beſt to create a ſubject, that hiſtoric truth might not embarraſs him in any circumſtance conducing to the end he propoſed.

'Now, if we ſuppoſe the author to have been a Jew, and that he wrote his book with a deſign of comforting his captive brethren, the book will be found perfectly conſiſtent with this hypotheſis; which is to ſhew, that temporal evils are not always intended by Providence as puniſhments for paſt crimes, but alſo for trials of virtue, and for the benefit of inſtructive example to others; and that patience and ſubmiſſion to the will of Heaven is both the indeſpenſable duty of perſons under affliction, and the moſt probable means of procuring them deliverance and reſtoration. This exactly quadrates with the caſe of the Jews. They were carried to Babylon, not merely for the puniſhment of their idolatries and wickedneſs, but alſo that they might be tried *in the furnace of affliction, which thoroughly purified them* from idolatrous practices at leaſt; and with this farther view likewiſe, that the moſt conſpicuous part of the then known world might be more acquainted with their hiſtory and their ſacred books, which contained both the paſt diſpenſations of God's particular providence, and his future deſigns with reſpect to mankind. They were alſo taught by their prophets to look for a reſtoration after a ſtated period, and exhorted to wait patiently and quietly till the change ſhould come.

'It is ſurpriſing, that the name of the author of ſo excellent a compoſition ſhould always have been concealed from the world. What his motives for ſuch concealment were, or who he was, it would be loſt time to enquire, as it is now perhaps impoſſible to diſcover. That he wrote about the time of the captivity appears to me clearly from the many Chaldee words, and Chaldee termination of Hebrew words throughout the book; but a ſtill more forcible argument is, the frequent indirect alluſion to the Pentateuch, and other books of the Jewiſh Canon, whereby the author inadvertently betrays himſelf.' Of theſe texts Dr. Durell has added a liſt, collected by a late ingenious clergyman, together with ſome remarks and claſſical illuſtrations by the ſame hand, and concludes with 'thinking it clear that the author of this book was a Jew, and that he lived after the time of Moſes, and before the return of the Jews from their captivity (1).'

(1) Gent. Mag. Vol. XLII. p. 424—426.

[*B*] *We ſhall add what he has ſaid concerning Solomon's Song.*] 'This poem ſeems to be of a mixed 'nature, between the dramatic and the paſtoral. The 'unities of time, place, and characters, are not ſo 'ſtrictly obſerved as in later compoſitions of either 'kind. There are traces of ſeven different days, 'during which interval the marriage-feſtival laſted 'among the Jews; ſee Gen. xxix. 27. Judg. xiv. '12. The ſcene ſometimes repreſents the country, 'ſometimes the city, &c. and Solomon appears, at 'times, in his own real character, preſently after in 'that of a ſhepherd, then re-aſſumes his own again. 'The *Dramatis Perſonæ*, beſides the bridegroom and 'bride, are the watchmen, or ſuch perſons as are 'occaſionally met with on the road, and a chorus of 'maidens, attendants on the bride. The language is 'ſometimes lofty and ſpirited, ſometimes only ſuitable to ſhepherds. Many of the words, occurring 'in no other place, cannot have their preciſe ſenſe 'eaſily aſcertained; neither can we always ſee the 'juſtice of all the compariſons, which probably proceeds from our ignorance, not only of the terms, but 'of the manners, and other circumſtances.

'This poem is generally conſidered as an Epithalamium, compoſed by Solomon, on his marriage 'with the daughter of Pharaoh, the King of Egypt; 'and this appears to me the only point of view in 'which it ought to be conſidered. In reſpect to the 'myſtical ſenſe which it is ſuppoſed to contain, I muſt 'frankly acknowledge, that I cannot perceive the 'leaſt foundation for it. This notion, I ſuppoſe, 'was originally derived from the Targum, and adopted 'ſoon after by ſome of the Fathers, who, with more 'piety than judgment, thought, that, as St. Paul 'compares the union of Chriſt with his Church to 'a marriage, this poem ought alſo to be interpreted 'with reference to the ſame ſubject. But how is it 'conſiſtent with this idea, that neither the name of 'God, nor of Chriſt, ever occurs in it? that there 'is not one religious or moral ſentiment to be found? 'that it is not once either quoted, or moſt diſtantly 'alluded to, in any part of the ſacred writings? on 'which account, perhaps, it is not directed to be 'read in our churches. We find, alſo, that thoſe, 'who attempt to trace the allegory in every part, are 'ſoon loſt in an inextricable labyrinth.

'But I ſeem already to hear it objected, That it is 'great preſumption to venture to diſſent from an 'opinion which has been eſtabliſhed near twenty centuries, and has been abetted by great, good, and 'learned, men, during all that long interval, and 'that this novel opinion may tend to weaken the 'foundation of the Church of Chriſt. To this I 'reply, That mere length of time is but a ſandy 'foundation for the baſis of truth to reſt upon; that 'all it can, in reaſon, pretend to, is, to teach us caution before we quit eſtabliſhed opinions; but, ſurely, 'it ought not to preclude us from making due enquiries, and uſing our rational powers, or, upon due 'conviction of former errors, from publicly detecting 'them. In regard to any ſuppoſed inconvenience accruing to the Chriſtian religion, I really ſee none; 'on the contrary, as it is ſo well eſtabliſhed on the '*ſure word of prophecy*, which *thrones, principalities, and powers*, cannot prevail againſt, it appears to me 'more for the intereſts of religion to quit an untenable poſt, than to expoſe it to the aſſault of enemies, who muſt inevitably ſoon become maſters of 'it (2).'

(2) Ibid. p. 426—427.

K.

DYER

DYER (Sir JAMES), an eminent Lawyer, a worthy Patriot, and Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was the ſecond ſon of Richard Dyer, of Wymaulton in Somerſetſhire, Eſq. in which county this worthy perſon was born, at his father's ſeat of Roundhill (*a*), in the beginning of the XVIth century, as there is good reaſon to believe, in 1511 (*b*). He received part of his education at Broadgate-Hall, in the Univerſity of Oxford (*c*), where he was entered a Gentleman-Commoner; and removed thence without taking a degree, as being intended for the ſtudy of the Law, to the Middle-Temple, London. In that learned ſociety he very ſoon became remarkable, as well for the quickneſs of his parts as for his extreme diligence in his profeſſion; and, after having continued for ſome time in the degree of Barriſter, he was elected ſummer reader of that houſe, in the ſixth year of the reign of King Edward VI (*d*). He was, by the King's writ, bearing date the 19th of May, 1552, called to the degree of a Serjeant at Law (*e*), and was alſo Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, in the parliament which met the firſt of March the ſame year (*f*). On the 19th of October, 1553, he was, together with William Standford, made one of the Queen's Serjeants at Law (*g*). In this ſtation, he aſſiſted, with the gentleman before-mentioned, at the trial of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Knight, at the Guildhall of London, for high-treaſon, April 17, 1554 (*h*), at which time his colleague, Serjeant Standford, behaved with great warmth and bitterneſs againſt the priſoner; but Serjeant Dyer took very little or no ſhare in that proſecution, which certainly does honour to his memory, as that proſecution did none at all to the crown, or to thoſe who managed it (*i*). On the 8th of May, 1556, being then a Knight, and Recorder of Cambridge, as well as one of the Queen's Serjeants, he was conſtituted one of the Juſtices of the Common Pleas (*k*), and muſt therefore be the perſon mentioned by the Reverend Mr. Strype (*l*), though he is ſtrangely miſtaken as to his title [*A*]. April the 23d, 1557, he was removed to the King's Bench (*m*), and ſat as a Puiſne Judge there during the remainder of Queen Mary's reign. In the beginning of that of Queen Elizabeth, viz. November the 18th, 1559, he was again made one of the Judges of the Common Pleas, but he did not long continue in that ſtation; for, Sir Anthony Brown, who preſided in that court, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, being inflexible in his adherence to the Romiſh Communion, it was not thought proper to leave him any longer in ſo high an office (*n*), though, in all other reſpects, he was a moſt worthy perſon; neither indeed did himſelf deſire it, but rather choſe to ſerve in a leſs diſtinguiſhed place; and, therefore, on the 22d of January following, the Queen was pleaſed to conſtitute and appoint Sir James Dyer, Knight, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas (*o*); and, the very ſame day, Sir Anthony Brown was made one of the Judges of the ſame Court, in the room of Sir James Dyer (*p*). In this high office, few have ſerved with greater reputation during their lives, or left a greater character behind them, either in point of probity or ſufficiency (*q*). In 1572, he aſſiſted at the trial of Thomas Duke of Norfolk; and, upon the Duke's deſiring to have counſel allowed him, alleging it was no more than had been granted to Humphry Stafford in the reign of Henry VII, Sir James Dyer anſwered that it was true, but that it was no point of law, viz. whether he was legally taken out of ſanctuary or not; but that, as to point of fact, he neither had, nor could have, counſel, as the law ſtood (*r*). He continued in his office without the leaſt diminution, either of his own reputation or the Queen's favour, twenty-four years, which is longer than any who ſat, either before or after (*s*). At length, full of years, and in the juſt eſteem of all good men, he paid his laſt debt to nature, at Stowton in Huntingdonſhire, where he had purchaſed an eſtate, March 24, 1581, in the ſeventieth year of his age, and was buried in the pariſh-church there, on the ninth of April following (*t*). Of his family we ſhall give the reader ſome account in the notes [*B*]. He was the author

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies, Somerſetſhire, p. 25.

(*b*) From an original picture.

(*c*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Tom. I. col 210.

(*d*) E. Regiſt. Hoſpic. med. Templ.

(*e*) Chron. Jurid. p. 163.

(*f*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 210.

(*g*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 351.

(*h*) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II.

(*i*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 63.

(*k*) Spelman. Gloſſar. p. 344.

(*l*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 390.

(*m*) Chron. Jurid. p. 165.

(*n*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 152.

(*o*) Spelman. Gloſſ. p. 344.

(*p*) Chron. Jurid. p. 167.

(*q*) Tanner, Bibl. Britannico-Hibernica, p. 242.

(*r*) State-Trials, Vol. I. p. 86.

(*s*) Fuller's Worthies, Somerſetſhire, p. 25.

(*t*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 211.

[*A*] *Is ſtrangely miſtaken as to his title.*] It may be eaſily conceived, that ſo wiſe a man, and ſo great a lawyer, as Sir James Dyer, ſhould perfectly underſtand the conſtitution of the Church; and, without entering at all into the violences of parties, be willing to lay hold of any opportunity of doing a thing which he thought right in itſelf, whatever turn things might take, or which Church ſoever prevailed. We are, therefore, obliged to Mr. Strype, for ſetting down, and thereby preſerving, the memorial of the juſt and pious act done, by this learned and upright lawyer, though he ſeems, through ſome miſtake, to be willing to attribute it to another of the ſame name. But as there was no ſuch perſon, and as all the circumſtances of this fact perfectly agree with our Chief Juſtice's character and ſituation, there can be no doubt that he was the man. The ſtory, as related by Mr. Strype, runs thus (1). "I ſhall inſert into this hiſtory one particular matter, which, how little ſoever it may be thought, yet, becauſe of the ſtrangeneſs and rarity of it may deſerve to be recorded. It was the deappropriation of an impropriation, in the dioceſe of Bath and Wells; which was reſtored back to the Church, by Dyer, Lord Chief Juſtice, in the reign of King Philip and Queen Mary; and by James Dyer, and his heirs for ever, made preſentative, or preſentable, lawfully, and by royal authority. It was the church of Staplegrove juxta Taunton. And James Dyer, Knight, and Capital Juſticiar of the Bench, preſented Chr. Dyrling thereunto, Sept 17, 1575, void by the death of Walter Gardiner."

(1) Strype's Ann. Vol. II. p. 390.

[*B*] *In the notes.*] This worthy Judge married Margaret, daughter of Sir Maurice Abarrow, of Hampſhire, Knight, which Lady, at the time of his marriage with her, was the widow of Sir Thomas Elliot,

thor of a large book of reports, printed about twenty years after his deceaſe, and which have been highly eſteemed for their ſuccinctneſs and ſolidity. He left behind him alſo, ſome other writings, relative to his profeſſion, of all which, the reader will meet with a more full account, at the bottom of the page [C]. By theſe, in conjunction with the ſervices he rendered his country upon the bench, he came fully up to the character which Camden has given him, of being ever diſtinguiſhed by an equal and calm diſpoſition, which rendered him in all caſes, a moſt upright Judge, as his penetration made him a fit interpreter of the laws. "Jacobus Dierus, in communi Placitorum Tribunali Juſtitiarus primarius, qui animo ſemper placido & ſereno, omnes Judicis æquiſſimi partes implevit, & Juris noſtri prudentiam commentariis illuſtravit (u)."

(u) Annal. Eliz. p. 393.

liot, of Carlton in Cambridgeſhire, Knight, and deceaſed Auguſt 25, 1569, without having any iſſue by her ſecond huſband (2); ſo that a large eſtate, which our Sir James Dyer purchaſed in Huntingdonſhire, came, after his deceaſe, to his nephew, Richard Dyer, ſon to his brother, Lawrence Dyer, whoſe deſcendant was raiſed to the degree of a Baronet (3); by letters patent, dated June 8, 1627, and is therein ſtyled of Stowton in Huntingdonſhire, but that honour is now extinct.

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 211.

(3) Baronetage of England, Vol. V. p. 272.

[C] *At the bottom of the page.*] The firſt edition of our author's Reports was printed in 1601, again in 1606, in 4to. in 1621, in folio, in 1672, in folio; but the beſt edition is in 1688, and bears the following title, literally tranſlated from the French.

"Reports of ſeveral ſelect matters and reſolutions, of the reverend judges and ſages of the law, touching and concerning many principal points, debated by them in the ſeveral reigns of the moſt high and potent Princes, the Kings Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, and the Queens Mary and Elizabeth, collected and reported by that moſt reverend Judge, Sir James Dyer, Knight, heretofore Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; to which are now added, many thouſand references to other books of the Common Law, as well antient and modern, beſides a great number of caſes that were never before printed, with three tables, the firſt, containing the principal matters in the ſaid book; the ſecond, the names of all the caſes reported therein; and, the third, the names of the new caſes added in the margin."

That learned and worthy Judge, Sir Edward Coke, gives us the following ſhort and clear account of the progreſs of Reports, and of the characters of their authors, to his own time (4). "Right profitable alſo, are the antient books of the Common Laws yet extant, as Glanvil, Bracton, Britton, Fleta, Ingham, and Novæ Narrationes, and thoſe alſo of later times, as the old Tenures, old Natura Brevium, Littleton, Doctor and Student, Perkins, Fitzh. Nat. Br. and Stamford, of which the regiſter Littleton, Fitzherbert, and Stamford, are moſt neceſſary, and of greateſt authority and excellency; and yet the other alſo are not without their fruit. In reading of the caſes in the books at large, which ſometimes are obſcure, and miſprinted, if the reader, after the diligent reading of the caſe, ſhall obſerve how the caſe is abridged, in thoſe two great abridgments of Juſtice Fitzherbert, and Sir Robert Brooke, it will both illuſtrate the caſe, and delight the reader; and yet neither that of Statham, nor that of the book of aſſizes, is to be rejected: and, for pleading, the great book of Entries is of ſingular uſe and utility. To the former Reports, you may add the exquiſite and elaborate commentaries at large of Maſter Plowden, a grave man, and ſingularly well learned; and the ſummary and fruitful obſervations of that famous and moſt reverend Judge and Sage of the Law, Sir James Dyer, Knt. late Chief Juſtice of the Court of Common Pleas; and mine own ſimple labours: then have you fifteen books or treatiſes, and as many volumes of the Reports, beſides the Abridgments of the Common Law, for I ſpeak not of the ſtatutes and acts of parliament, whereof there be divers great volumes. And, for that, it is hard for a man to report any part or branch of any art or ſcience, juſtly and truly, which he profeſſeth not; and impoſſible to make a juſt and true relation of any thing that he underſtands not; I pray thee beware of Chronicle Law, reported in our Annals, for that will undoubtedly lead thee to error: for example, they ſay, that William the Conqueror decreed, that there ſhould be Sheriffs in every ſhire, and Juſtices of Peace to keep the countries in quiet, and to ſee offenders puniſhed; whereas the learned know, that Sheriffs were great officers, and miniſters of juſtice, as now they are, long before the Conqueſt; and Juſtices of Peace had not their being until almoſt three hundred years after, viz. in the firſt year of Edward III." The learned and loyal Judge Jenkins, in his preface to his Reports, ſpeaks alſo to this purpoſe (5). "Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, Sir William Stamford, Lord Broke, Lord Dyer, Sir George Croke, and Mr. Edmond Plowden, all remarkable great men, have illuſtrated our Law by their learned writings. They who would effectually read our laws, muſt again and again turn over whatever is to be found concerning them, whether in printed books, or among our written records: but, before they beſtow their pains upon the more antient writings, becauſe many things in them are grown obſolete, and gone into diſuſe; and many other points are diſtracted by variety of opinions; it is of importance to gentlemen, that, as ſoon as they have acquired the rudiments of the Law, they ſhould diligently collect and imprint on their minds, the ſolemn judgments and reſolutions of the Judges, that they may raiſe their ſuperſtructures of knowledge upon well-laid foundations, that they may not be forced to learn what they muſt unlearn again."

(4) Preface to the third Part of his Reports.

(5) Preface to his Centuries.

Our author has alſo written, "A Reading upon the Statute of 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 1. of Wills;" and, "upon the 34th and 35th Hen. VIII. cap. 5. for the Explanation of the Statute." Lond. 1648, 4to.

His Reports were abridged by Sir Thomas Ireland, and by another perſon. C.

*** [In the Latin inſcription to a print of Sir James Dyer, mentioned by Mr. Granger, he is ſaid to have been conſtituted Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, in the firſt year of Queen Elizabeth (6). But this is a manifeſt miſtake; for he was only a ſhort time one of the Puiſne Juſtices of that Bench, during Queen Mary's reign. The dates of his promotions are, in general, accurately given in the preceding article. We are only doubtful whether our predeceſſor be well founded in ſaying, that Sir James Dyer was again made one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas in November, 1559. We ſhould apprehend that it was in 1558; but we cannot be poſitive on this ſubject. If Dr. Campbell be right, and conſequently Sir James was not appointed Chief Juſtice till January the 22d, 1559-60, it is then evident that he preſided in the Court of Common-Pleas only ſomething more than twenty-two years, and not twenty-four years, as is generally aſſerted. That no one had ſitten ſo long at the Head of that Court either before or after, might be true when the article was written, but is not ſo at preſent; for Sir John Willes was promoted to be Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas on the twenty-ninth of January, 1737, and held the office till his death, which happened on the fifteenth of December, 1761 (7)]. K.

(6) Biographical Hiſtory of England, Vol. I. p. 234, 235.

(7) Beatſon's Political Index, Vol. I. p. 412. Gent. Mag. Vol. XXXI. p. 604.



*** [DYER

*** [DYER (JOHN), an ingenious poet, was born in the year 1700, and was the ſecond ſon of Robert Dyer, Eſq. a ſolicitor of great capacity and note, at Aberglaſney, in Carmarthenſhire, South Wales. The principal and finiſhing part of his grammatical education he received at Weſtminſter-School, under the care of Dr. Freind. From this ſchool he returned to his father, who deſigned him for his own profeſſion; which, however, was diſagreeable to young Dyer's inclination. He had been, from his childhood, fond of drawing, and, as he grew up, his attachment increaſed to the arts of deſign. By the ſpeedy deceaſe of his father, he was left at liberty to purſue the bent of his mind, and reſolved to turn painter, for which purpoſe he became a pupil to Mr. Richardſon, "an artiſt," ſays Dr. Johnſon, "then of high reputation, but now better "known by his books than his pictures." Mr. Dyer, having ſtudied awhile under his maſter, commenced itinerant painter, and, in that capacity, wandered about South Wales, and the Engliſh counties adjacent (*a*). What ſucceſs he met with in his profeſſion we are not able to ſay. If, in this reſpect, he did not greatly diſtinguiſh himſelf, he ſoon obtained reputation as a poet by the publication of "Grongar Hill," which, in its preſent form, firſt appeared in 1727. This poem, which can be no ſtranger to our poetical readers, has, in general, been much admired, and has been the ſubject of various critical remarks. Dr. Johnſon eſteems it to be the happieſt of Mr. Dyer's productions. "It is not indeed," adds the Doctor, "very accurately writ-"ten; but the ſcenes which it diſplays are ſo pleaſing, the images which they raiſe ſo "welcome to the mind, and the reflections of the writer ſo conſonant to the general "ſenſe or experience of mankind, that, when it is once read, it will be read again (*b*)." The happineſs with which the author, in this poem, has introduced pertinent moral reflections, is applauded by Dr. Warton. The Doctor, after having produced a fine inſtance of the kind from Virgil, ſubjoins as follows: "Of Engliſh Poets, perhaps, "none have excelled the ingenious Mr. Dyer in this oblique inſtruction, into which he "frequently ſteals imperceptibly in his little deſcriptive poem, entituled, "Grongar "Hill," where he diſpoſes every object ſo as it may give occaſion for ſome obſerva-"tion on human life. Denham himſelf is not ſuperior to Mr. Dyer in this particular. "After painting a landſcape very extenſive and diverſified, he adds:

(*a*) Duncombe's Letters by John Hughes, &c. Vol. III. p 60, 61. New Univerſal Dictionary, Vol. V. P. 50, 51. Johnſon's Lives of the Engliſh Poets, Vol. IV. p. 318, 319.

(*b*) Johnſon, ubi ſupra, p. 321.

"Thus is Nature's veſture wrought,
"To inſtruct our wandering thought;
"Thus ſhe dreſſes green and gay,
"To diſperſe our cares away.

"Another view from his favourite ſpot gives him an opportunity for ſliding into the "following moralites:

"How cloſe and ſmall the hedges lie!
"What ſtreaks of meadows croſs the eye!
"A ſtep methinks may croſs the ſtream,
"So little diſtant dangers ſeem;
"So we miſtake the Future's face,
"Ey'd through Hope's deluding glaſs.
"As yon ſummit's ſoft and fair
"Clad in colours of the air,
"Which to thoſe who journey near,
"Barren, and brown, and rough, appear,
"Still we tread the ſame coarſe way,
"The preſent 's ſtill a cloudy day.

"The unexpected inſertion of ſuch reflections, imparts to us the ſame pleaſure that "we feel, when in wandering through a wilderneſs or grove, we ſuddenly behold in "the turning of the walk, a ſtatue of ſome VIRTUE or MUSE (*c*)."

(*c*) Eſſay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, Vol. I. p. 34—36.

Notwithſtanding the general merit of the "Grongar Hill," Mr. Dyer, by failing in the accuracy of ſome few of his pictureſque delineations, has laid himſelf open to the criticiſm of an exquiſite judge upon the ſubject. We mean Mr. Gilpin, who, in his "Obſervations on the River Wye, and ſeveral parts of South Wales," when he comes to his deſcription of the Vale of Towy, makes the ſubſequent remarks. "This "is the ſcene, which Dyer celebrated, in his poem of "Grongar-Hill." Dyer was "bred a painter; and had here a pictureſque ſubject: but he does not give us ſo good "a landſcape as might have been expected. We have no where a complete formed "diſtance, though it is the great idea ſuggeſted by ſuch a vale as this: no where "any touches of that beautiful obſcurity, which melts a variety of objects into "one rich whole. Here and there we have a few *accidental* ſtrokes, which belong to "diſtance; though ſeldom maſterly; as where he deſcribes the beautiful form which

"removed

" removed cultivation takes, or a diſtant ſpire by ſun-ſet. I call them *accidental*; be-
" cauſe they are not employed in producing a landſcape; nor do they in fact unite
" in any ſuch idea; but are rather introductory to ſome moral ſentiment; which,
" however good in itſelf, is here forced and miſtimed. *Dinevawr-Caſtle* alſo is
" taken notice of by Dyer in his " Grongar-Hill;" and ſeems intended as an object
" at a diſtance. But *his* diſtances, I obſerved, are all in confuſion; and indeed it is
" not eaſy to ſeparate them from his fore-grounds. The landſcape he gives us, in which
" the Caſtle of Dinevawr makes a part, is ſeen from the brow of a diſtant hill. The
" firſt object, that meets his eye, is a wood. It is juſt beneath him; and he eaſily
" diſtinguiſhes the ſeveral trees of which it is compoſed:

" The gloomy pine, the poplar blue,
" The yellow beech, the ſable yew,
" The ſlender fir, that taper grows,
" The ſturdy Oak, with broad-ſpread boughs.

" This is perfectly right. Objects ſo near the eye ſhould be diſtinctly marked. What
" next ſtrikes him is a *purple-grove*; that is, I preſume, a grove which has gained its
" *purple-hue* from diſtance. This is, no doubt, very juſt colouring; though it is here,
" I think, introduced rather too early in the landſcape. The blue and purple tints be-
" long chiefly to the moſt removed objects; which ſeem not here to be intended.
" Thus far, however, I ſhould not greatly cavil. The next object he ſurveys is a
" level lawn, from which a hill, crowned with a caſtle, which is meant, I am informed,
" for that of Dinevawr, ariſes. Here his great want of *keeping* appears. His caſtle,
" inſtead of being marked with ſtill fainter colours than the *purple-grove*, is touched
" with all the ſtrength of a fore ground, you ſee the very ivy creeping upon its walls.
" Tranſgreſſions of this kind are common in deſcriptive poetry. Innumerable in-
" ſtances might be collected from much better poems than " Grongar Hill." But
" I mention only the inaccuracies of an author, who, as a painter, ſhould at leaſt have
" obſerved the moſt obvious principles of his art. With how much picturesque beauty
" does Milton introduce a diſtant caſtle:

" Towers and battlements he ſees
" Boſomed high in tufted trees.

" Here we have all the indiſtinct colouring which obſcures a diſtant object. We do
" not ſee the iron-grated window, the port-cullis, the ditch, or the rampart. We can
" diſtinguiſh a caſtle from a tree; and a tour from a battlement (*d*)."

(*d*) Obſervations on the River Wye, and ſeveral parts of South Wales, p. 101—104. Second Edition.

Beſides the incidental obſervations and ſtrictures that have been paſſed upon the " Grongar Hill," Mr. Scott, the poet of Amwell, has made it the ſubject of a diſtinct eſſay, in which he has copiouſly pointed out both its beauties and its blemiſhes. Some of his remarks are, perhaps, too faſtidious. On the whole, however, he concludes, that if Dyer had written nothing but the " Gronger Hill," which he ſays is the ſmalleſt proof of his ablilities, it would have obtained for him the name of a poet. Mr. Scott objects not only to this poem, but alſo to Milton's " L'Allegro" & " Il Penſeroſo," that the verſification, as being an irregular mixture of iambic and trochaic lines, is rather diſpleaſing to a nice ear. But other readers may be of opinion, that this defect, if it be one, is amply compenſated for by the additional ſtrength and variety which are hence given to theſe beautiful productions; and that the exactneſs of the iambic meaſure of eight ſyllables is more accommodated to pieces of a lighter nature. Mr. Scott has informed us of a circumſtance which before had been entirely overlooked. It is, that " Grongar Hill" was originally written, and even printed, as an irregular ode. There is a miſcellany-volume of poems, publiſhed by Richard Savage, in the year 1726, in which it appears in that form, very incorrect, and with the initial lines as follow:

" FANCY, nymph that loves to lie
" On the lonely eminence,
" Darting notice through the eye,
" Forming thought and feaſting ſenſe;
" Thou that muſt lend imagination wings
" And ſtamp diſtinction on all worldly things;
" Come, and, with thy various hues,
" Paint and adorn thy ſiſter muſe (*e*)."

(*e*) Scott's Critical Eſſays, p. 97—112.

Mr. Dyer, being probably unſatisfied with the progreſs he had hitherto made in the art which he profeſſed, determined, like other painters, on travelling to Italy for improvement. Here, beſides applying to the uſual ſtudy of the remains of antiquity, and the works of the great maſters, he frequently ſpent whole days in the country about Rome and Florence, ſketching the pictureſque proſpects that ſurrounded him with facility and ſpirit. While he improved himſelf as a painter, perhaps he ſtill more improved himſelf as a poet: for, he laid up a ſtore of images, which enabled him, after his return to England, to give to the world his ſecond principal poem, "The "Ruins of Rome." It was publiſhed in 1740 (*f*). Dr. Johnſon's praiſe of this poem is given with a very ſcanty, and, we muſt add, with a very unjuſt, hand. The idea of the "Ruins of Rome," he ſays, ſtrikes more, but pleaſes leſs, than "Grongar "Hill," and the title raiſes greater expectation than the performance gratifies. It is acknowledged, however, by the Doctor, that ſome paſſages are conceived with the mind of a poet; of which he condeſcends only to produce a ſingle inſtance, conſiſting of little more than two lines (*g*). But it may juſtly be aſſerted of the poem, that it has great merit, and that it abounds with beautiful ſentiments, and with noble images and deſcriptions [*A*].

(*f*) New Univerſal Dictionary, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Johnſon, ubi ſupra.

When

[*A*] *And that it abounds with beautiful ſentiments, and with noble images and deſcriptions.*] Mr. Scott, in the fifth of his "Critical Eſſays," has conſidered the poem at large, and, in general, has diſplayed, with much judgment, wherein it excels, and wherein it may be thought to be defective. As it would carry us too far out of our way to purſue this gentleman in his detail, we ſhall content ourſelves with producing a few of the paſſages pointed out by him, and with which we have always been delighted in our repeated peruſal of the "Ruins of Rome." The poetical power which can bear the reader to "Thebes, to Athens, when it will and where," has perhaps ſeldom been more ſtrongly exemplified than in the following paſſage.

Fallen, fallen, a ſilent heap; her heroes all
Sunk in their urns; behold the pride of pomp,
The throne of nations fallen; obſcur'd in duſt;
Even yet majeſtical: the ſolemn ſcene
Elates the ſoul, while now the riſing ſun
Flames on the ruins in the purer air—
Tow'ring aloft upon the glittering plain,
Like broken rocks, a vaſt circumference;
Rent palaces, cruſh'd columns, rifled moles,
Fanes roll'd on fanes, and tombs on buried tombs.

The introduction of a pilgrim hearing the noiſe of the falling towers is a beautiful circumſtance, and affects us much more forcibly than a ſimple aſſertion that they often fell. So fine an image has extorted praiſe even from Dr. Johnſon.

——————————— The pilgrim oft
At dead of night, 'mid his oriſon, hears
Aghaſt the voice of time, diſparting towers,
Tumbling all precipitate down daſh'd,
Rattling around, loud-thundering to the moon;
While murmurs ſooth each awful interval
Of ever-falling waters; ſhrouded Nile (1),
Eridanus, and Tiber with his twins,
And palmy Euphrates; they with dropping locks,
Hang o'er their urns, and mournfully among
The plaintive-echoing ruins pour their ſtreams.

(1) Fountains at Rome, adorned with the Statues of thoſe Rivers.

"Among the many ſubjects which Dyer has de-"ſcribed with the mind of a poet, the following," ſays Dr. Scott, "is not the leaſt conſpicuous. The "energetic expreſſion '*breathing forth darkneſs*,' had "it been found in Shakeſpeare, or ſome other popular "author, would never have been ſufficiently ap-"plauded:"

——————————— I raiſe
The toilſome ſtep up the proud Palatin,
Through ſpiry cypreſs groves, and tow'ring pine,
Waving aloft o'er the big ruin's brows,
On numerous arches rear'd: and, frequent ſtopp'd,
The ſunk ground ſtartles me with dreadful chaſm,
Breathing forth darkneſs from the vaſt profound
Of iſles and halls within the mountain's womb.

The common ſewers of Rome, which, in the hands of an ordinary writer would have been made ridiculous either with bombaſt or meanneſs, our author has deſcribed with a dignity that is ſuited to their extenſive plan and enormous magnitude. No place but Rome could have produced ſuch a ſcene as the following, and Mr. Dyer has given it with great force to the reader:

Hence over airy plains, by chryſtal founts,
That weave their glitt'ring waves with tuneful lapſe,
Among the ſleeky pebbles, Agate clear,
Cerulean Ophite, and the flow'ry vein
Of orient jaſper, pleas'd I move along,
And baſes boſs'd, and huge inſcriptive ſtones,
And intermingling vines; and figur'd nymphs,
Floras and Chloes of delicious mould,
Chearing the darkneſs; and deep empty tombs,
And dells, and mould'ring ſhrines, with old Decay,
Ruſtic and green and wide embow'ring ſhades,
Shot from the crooked cleſts of nodding towers:
A ſolemn wilderneſs!

The poet then conducts his readers through ſcenes, where

——————————— On each hand
Hiſtoric urns and breathing ſtatues riſe,
And ſpeaking buſts!

From which he takes occaſion to introduce ſome ſhort and forcible deſcriptions of character:

——————————— The ſpirit-ſtirring form
Of Cæſar, raptur'd with the charm of rule
And boundleſs fame; impatient for exploits,
His eager eyes upcaſt, he ſoars in thought
Above all height.———
——— Deſponding Brutus, dubious of the right,
In evil days, of faith and public weal,
Solicitous and ſad.———————
——— Tully's graceful attitude; uprais'd
With outſtretch'd arm he waves in act to ſpeak
Before the ſilent maſters of the world.———

We ſhould not forgive ourſelves were we to omit the following ſentimental lines, ſo ſweetly deſcriptive of the Author's turn of mind.

——————————— There is a mood,
(I ſing not to the vacant and the young)
There is a kindly mood of melancholy,
That wings the ſoul, and points her to the ſkies:
When tribulation clothes the child of man,
When age deſcends with ſorrow to the grave,
'Tis ſweetly-ſoothing ſympathy to pain,
A gently-waking call to health and eaſe.
How muſical! when all-devouring time,
Here ſitting on his throne of ruins hoar,
While winds and tempeſts ſweep his various lyre,
How ſweet thy diapaſon, Melancholy!

When Mr. Dyer came back to his own country, it was in a ſtate of bad health, the foundation of which, as we have been credibly informed, was laid in travelling through the Campagna of Italy. Hence he was, in ſome meaſure, diſqualified for a town-life, which he did not naturally reliſh: nor could he ſubmit to the aſſiduity required in his profeſſion. To all this it may be added, that his talent was rather for ſketching than finiſhing. He determined, therefore, to ſit down contentedly in the country with his little fortune, painting occaſionally a portrait or a landſcape, as his fancy dictated. His mind being of a ſerious turn, and his character and conduct having always been irreproachable, he was adviſed by his friends to enter into holy orders; in obtaining which, it is preſumed, there could be found no difficulty; ſince, though he had not gone through a completely regular education, his abilities could not be called in queſtion. He was ordained by Dr. John Thomas, Biſhop of Lincoln. About the ſame time, Mr. Dyer married a lady of the name of Enſor, "whoſe grandmother," he ſays, "was a "Shakeſpeare, deſcended from a brother of every body's Shakeſpeare." The progreſs of his eccleſiaſtical preferment was ſlow, and for a long time ſlender. His firſt patron was a Mr. Harper, who gave him the vicarage of Catthorp in Leiceſterſhire, of the value of eighty pounds a year. This living he quitted, in 1751, for Belchford in Lincolnſhire, to which he was preſented by the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, at the recommendation of Daniel Wray, Eſq. one of the deputy-tellers of the Exchequer, and a friend to Virtue and the Muſes. Belchford was worth only ſeventy-five pounds; but Mr. Dyer's condition now began to mend; for, in 1752, there was added to Belchford the living of Coningſby, in the ſame county, of a hundred and twenty pounds a year. For this preferment he was indebted to Sir John Heathcote (*b*). In the ſame year, the univerſity of Cambridge conferred upon him the degree of Bachelor of Laws, by virtue of the royal mandate (*i*). Through the continuance of Sir John Heathcote's favour, our author obtained, in 1755, without any ſolicitation on his part, from the Chancellor, Kirkby on Bane, being a hundred and ten pounds in annual value. "I was glad of "this," ſays he, in a letter to Mr. Duncombe, "on account of its nearneſs to me, "though I think myſelf a loſer by the exchange (of Belchford for Kirkby), through "the expences of the ſeal, diſpenſations, journeys, &c. and the charge of an old houſe, "half of which I am going to pull down." The houſe at Coningſby, which is a very good one, owes much of its improvement to Mr. Dyer. His ſtudy had a handſome window to the church yard, which he ſtopped up, and opened a leſs, that gave him a full view of the fine church and caſtle of Tatterſhall, and of the road leading to that place. This was gaining every advantage of proſpect which the low ſituation of Coningſby could afford. He improved, likewiſe, the garden belonging to the houſe. In 1757, he was again in mortar, being engaged in re-building a large barn, which a late wind had blown down at Coningſby, and in gathering materials for the re-building above half the parſonage-houſe of the other living. "Theſe," he ſays, "ſome years "ago, I ſhould have called trifles: but the evil days are come; and the lighteſt thing, "even the graſshopper, is a burden upon the ſhoulders of the old and ſickly (*k*)." When we reflect that Mr. Dyer had a family, and that his preferments, taken together, were not very conſiderable, it may, perhaps, be ſuſpected that his liberality, with reſpect to his parſonage-houſes, overſtepped the bounds of prudence. But it will not be deemed ſurpriſing that generoſity ſhould be the character of a poet.

(*b*) Hughes's Letters, New Univerſal Dictionary, and Johnſon's Lives, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Cantabrigienſes Graduati, p. 125.

(*k*) Hughes's Letters, ubi ſupra, p. 59—62. 70, 71. New Univerſal Dictionary, ubi ſupra, p. 51, 52.

Early in 1757, our author publiſhed his largeſt work, "The Fleece." It was finiſhed under ſome diſadvantages, which he himſelf mentions in a letter to Mr. Duncombe. "It is," he ſays, "now precipitated to the preſs, with ſuch faults, as muſt be im-"puted to the air of a fenny country, where I have been, for the moſt part, above "theſe five years, without health, without books, and without proper converſa-"tion (*l*)." Dr. Johnſon has related a ludicrous ſtory concerning the publication of "The Fleece." "Dodſley, the bookſeller, was one day mentioning it to a critical "viſitor, with more expectation of ſucceſs than the other could eaſily admit. In the

(*l*) Hughes's Letters, ubi ſupra, p. 65.

One paſſage more, which will fully juſtify the character of Dyer as a poet, ſhall conclude our extracts from the "Ruins of Rome."

Suffice it now th' Eſquiliam mount to reach
With weary wing, and ſeek the ſacred reſts
Of Maro's humble tenement; a low
Plain wall remains; a little ſun-gilt heap,
Groteſque and wild; the gourd and olive brown
Weave the light roof; the gourd and olive fan
Their amorous foliage, mingling with the vine,
Who drops her purple cluſters through the green.
Here let me lie, with pleaſing fancy ſooth'd;
Here flow'd his fountain; here his laurel grew;
Here oft the meek good man, the lofty bard,
Fram'd the celeſtial ſong; or ſocial walk'd
With Horace and the ruler of the world:
Happy Auguſtus! who, ſo well inſpir'd,
Could'ſt throw thy pomps and royalties aſide,
Attentive to the wiſe, the great of ſoul,
And dignify thy mind. Thrice glorious days,
Auſpicious to the Muſes! Then rever'd,
Then hallow'd, was the ſount, or ſecret ſhade,
Or open mountain, or whatever ſcene
The poet choſe to tune th' ennobling rhyme,
Melodious: even the ragged ſons of war,
Ev'n the rude hinds rever'd the poet's name.
But now—another age, alas! is ours.——
Yet will the Muſe a little longer ſoar,
Unleſs the clouds of care weigh down her wing,
Since Nature's ſtores are ſhut with cruel hand,
And each aggrieves his brother; ſince in vain
The thirſty pilgrim at the fountain aſks
Th' o'erflowing wave. Enough—the plaint diſdain (2).

(2) Johnſon's Poets, Vol. LIII. p. 7—21. Scott's Critical Eſſays, p. 113—150.

" converſation the author's age was aſked; and, being repreſented as advanced in life, " *He will*, ſaid the critic, *be buried in woollen*."

" Of The Fleece," adds Dr. Johnſon, " which never became popular, and is now " univerſally neglected, I can ſay but little that is likely to recall it to attention. The " woolcomber and the poet appear to be ſuch diſcordant natures, that an attempt to " bring them together is to *couple the ſerpent with the fowl*. When Dyer, whoſe mind " was not unpoetical, has done his utmoſt, by intereſting his reader in our native " commodity, by interſperſing rural imagery and incidental digreſſions, by cloathing " ſmall images in great words, and, by all the writer's arts of deluſion, the meanneſs " naturally adhering, and the irreverence habitually annexed to trade and manufacture, " ſink him under inſuperable oppreſſion; and the diſguſt which blank verſe, encum- " bering and encumbered, ſuperadds to an unpleaſing ſubject, ſoon repels the reader, " however willing to be pleaſed. Let me, however, honeſtly report whatever may " counterbalance this weight of cenſure. I have been told that Akenſide, who, upon " a poetical queſtion has a right to be heard, ſaid, " That he would regulate his " opinion of the reigning taſte by the fate of Dyer's ' Fleece;' for, if that were ill- " received, he ſhould not think it any longer reaſonable to expect fame from excel- " lence (*m*)." That there is ſome degree of truth in part of Dr. Johnſon's remarks cannot be denied; but, on the whole, his cenſure is as unjuſt as it is ſevere. The Doctor evidently appears to have been ſtrongly influenced by his antipathy to blank verſe, which, whatever may be ſaid againſt it (and we are not amongſt its moſt partial admirers), is well adapted to poems of length and dignity. That " The Fleece" is not very popular is acknowledged; and, in conſequence of the humble but unavoidable detail ariſing from certain parts of the ſubject, there are many paſſages which are far leſs ſtriking than others. Indeed, it is extremely difficult to render a didactic poem univerſally intereſting. It belonged to Virgil alone to be capable of doing this in the completeſt manner. Nevertheleſs, " The Fleece," taking it altogether, is a valuable production; and there are ſo many inſtances of poetical beauty in it, that we truſt it will not be ſo totally condemned to oblivion as Dr. Johnſon has repreſented. As it makes a part of the Doctor's collection of Engliſh Poets, it will of courſe be read by young people as they riſe up in the world; and ſome, we doubt not, will have taſte and diſcernment enough to peruſe it a ſecond time. So far as authority goes, the teſtimony to its merit, by ſuch a man as Akenſide, is calculated to awaken curioſity; and Mr. Scott has obſerved, that the " Ruins of Rome," and " The Fleece," however neglected by ſuperficial readers or degraded by injudicious critics, juſtly entitle Mr. Dyer to the higheſt praiſe (*n*). We have yet another poet to produce, in oppoſition to Dr. Johnſon; and, that is, the admirable tranſlator of Æſchylus. In reference to the ludicrous ſtory before related, Mr. Potter expreſſes himſelf as follows: ' Is this held up ' for wit? Is it intended as a ſarcaſm on Dyer? Is it not an inſult to the underſtanding ' of the reader? Let me ſtop a moment to ſpeak of this writer?' ' Dyer,' ſays Dr. Johnſon, ' is not a poet of bulk and dignity ſufficient to require an elaborate criti- ' ciſm.' ' Does Dr. Johnſon eſtimate poetical merit, as Rubens did feminine beauty, ' *by the ſtone?* Well then might he recommend Blackmore to us. If " The Fleece" be ' now univerſally neglected, let me join my teſtimony to that of Akenſide, that ſuch ' neglect is a reproach to the reigning taſte: the poem is truly claſſical. To ſay that ' Dyer's Mind was not unpoetical is parſimonious praiſe. He had a benevolent heart, a ' vigorous imagination, and a chaſtiſed judgment; his ſtyle is compact and nervous; ' his numbers have harmony, ſpirit, and force.

(*m*) Johnſon's Lives, ubi ſupra, p. 320—322.

(*n*) Critical Eſſays, p. iii.

——————' On they move,
' Indiſſolubly firm; nor obvious hill,
' Nor ſtrait'ning vale, nor wood, nor ſtream, divides
' Their perfect ranks.'—————— *

* An enquiry into ſome paſſages into Dr. Johnſon's Lives of the Poets, p. 45.

" The Fleece," when it firſt appeared, was ſpoken of in terms of great applauſe, and its excellences pointed out at large by a periodical critic [*B*].

Mr.

[*B*] *By a periodical critic.*] We refer to the ſixteenth volume of the " Monthly Review," where Mr. Dyer is commended for the choice of his ſubject, and for the united fancy and judgment with which he has conducted the work. Of this many examples are produced; beſides which the critic recommends, in a particular manner, Mr. Dyer's " Deſcription of a " Calm; of Perſia; of Tobol; and of Patagonia." It is added, that ſcarcely any Poet, ancient and modern, has ſurpaſſed the author of the " Fleece" in river-painting. The Reviewer farther obſerves, that our Poet has artfully varied his diction; the two firſt books having a mixture of the paſtoral; the third being rural, but elegant; and the fourth daring and ſublime (3). We ſhall gratify our poetical readers by inſerting a few paſſages from " The Fleece." Mr. Dyer, after mentioning the *climates* chiefly favourable to wool, breaks out into the following encomium on the moiſture of *our own*.

(3) Monthly Review, Vol. XVI. p. 328—340.

—— Thoſe ſlow-deſcending ſhowers,
Thoſe hovering fogs that bathe our growing vales
In deep November (loath'd by trifling Gaul,
Effeminate), are gifts the Pleiads ſhed

Britannia's

Mr. Dyer did not long ſurvive the publication of this poem. A conſumptive diſorder, with which he had long ſtruggled, carried him off in 1758, at the age of fifty-eight years. Mr. Gough, who viſited Coningſby in 1782, could find no memorial erected to him in the church. Mrs. Dyer, upon her huſband's deceaſe, retired to her friends in Caernarvonſhire. They had four children living in 1756, three girls and a boy; of whom the boy was the youngeſt (*o*). Sarah, one of the daughters, died ſingle. The ſon, a youth of the moſt amiable diſpoſition, who inherited his father's truly claſſical taſte, and who was heir to the eſtate of an uncle of three or four hundred pounds a year in Suffolk, devoted the principal part of his time to travelling; and, in April, 1782, died in London, at the age of thirty-two, when he was preparing to ſet out on a tour to Italy. His fortune was divided between two ſurviving ſiſters: one of them married to Mr. Alderman Hewitt, of Coventry; and the other, Elizabeth, to the Reverend John Gaunt, of Birmingham (*p*). Our author had ſeveral brothers, one of whom was the Reverend Thomas Dyer, who lived at Marybone. He was Yeoman of his Majeſty's Almonry, had a numerous family, and was living in 1776 (*q*).

(*o*) Hughes's Letters, and New Univerſal Dictionary, ubi ſupra.

(*p*) New Univerſal Dictionary, ubi ſupra.

(*q*) From perſonal knowledge.

Our poet appears to have been a gentleman of a very amiable and reſpectable character. "He was," ſays his brother, in a letter to the writer of this article, "an honeſt, humane, and good, man." His poems, ſeveral of which had been printed in different miſcellanies, were publiſhed together, in one volume, octavo, in 1761. They now, as we have already ſeen, make a part of Dr. Johnſon's collection. His ſmaller pieces are few in number. With one of them, which is a pleaſing delineation of the author's mind, our account of him ſhall be concluded.

### An Epiſtle to a Friend in Town.

Have my friends in the town, in the gay buſy town,
  Forgot ſuch a man as John Dyer?
Or heedleſs deſpiſe they, or pity, the clown,
  Whoſe boſom no pageantries fire?

No matter, no matter—content in the ſhades—
  (Contented? why every thing charms me)
Fall in tunes all adown the green ſteep, ye caſcades,
  Till hence rigid virtue alarms me.

Till outrage ariſes, or miſery needs
  The ſwift, the intrepid avenger,
Till ſacred religion or liberty bleeds,
  Then mine be the deed, and the danger.

Britannia's hand-maids. As the Beverage falls,
Her hills rejoice, her valleys laugh and ſing.
Hail, noble Albion! where no golden mines,
No ſoft perfumes, nor oils, nor myrtle bowers,
The vigorous frame, and lofty heart of man,
Enervate: round whoſe ſtern cerulean brows
White-winged ſnow, and cloud, and pearly rain,
Frequent attend with ſolemn Majeſty;
Rich queen of miſts and vapours! Theſe thy ſons
With their cool arms compreſs; and twiſt their nerves
For deeds of excellence and high renown.
Thus form'd, our Edwards, Henrys, Churchills, Blakes,
Our Lockes, our Newtons, and our Miltons, roſe.

Our author's exhortation to the Shepherd, to take particular care of new-fallen lambs, is beautifully pathetic:

Ah, gentle ſhepherd, thine the lot to tend,
Of all that feel diſtreſs, the moſt aſſail'd,
Feeble, defenceleſs: lenient be thy care:
But ſpread around thy tendereſt diligence
In flowery ſpring-time, when the new-dropt lamb,
Tott'ring with weakneſs by his mother's ſide,
Feels the freſh world about him; and each thorn,
Hillock, or furrow, trips his feeble feet:
O guard his meek ſweet innocence from all
Th' innumerous ills, that ruſh around his life.
Mark the quick kite, with beak and talons prone,
Circling the ſkies to ſnatch him from the plain:
Obſerve the lurking crows: beware the brake,
There the ſly fox the careleſs minute waits:
Nor truſt thy neighbour's dog, nor earth, nor ſky:
Thy boſom to a thouſand cares divide.
Eurus oft flings his hail: the tardy field
Pay not the promis'd food; and oft the dam
O'er her weak twins with empty udder mourns,
Or fails to guard, when the bold bird of prey
Alights, and hops in many turns around,
And tires her alſo turning: to her aid
Be nimble, and the weakeſt, in thine arms,
Gently convey to the warm cote, and oft,
Between the lark's note and the nightingale's,
His hungry bleating ſtill, with tepid milk:
*In this ſoft office may thy children join,*
*And charitable habits learn in ſport:*
Nor yield him to himſelf, ere vernal airs
Sprinkle thy little croft with daiſy flowers:
Nor yet forget him: life has riſing hills:
Various as Æther is the paſtoral care.

From the many fine paſſages that occur in the fourth book, we ſhall only ſelect a few lines, deſcriptive of a calm:

——————— With eaſy courſe
The veſſels glide; unleſs their ſpeed be ſtopp'd
By dead calms, that oft lie on thoſe ſmooth ſeas
While every zephyr ſleeps: then the ſhrouds drop;
The downy feather, on the cordage hung,
Moves not; the flat ſea ſhines like yellow gold
Fus'd in the fire; or like the marble floor
Of ſome old temple wide. But where ſo wide,
In old or later time, its marble floor
Did ever temple boaſt as this, which here
Spreads its white level many a league around!
At ſolemn diſtances its pillars riſe,
Sofal's blue rocks, Mozambic's palmy ſleeps,
And lofty Madagaſcar's glitt'ring ſhores (4).

(4) Johnſon's Poets, Vol. LIII. p. 35. 44, 45. 113, 114.

Alas! what a folly, what wealth and domain
We heap up in ſin and in ſorrow!
Immenſe is the toil, yet the labour how vain!
Is not life to be over to-morrow?

Then glide on, my moments, the few that I have,
Smooth-ſhaded, and quiet, and even;
While gently the body deſcends to the grave,
And the ſpirit ariſes to heaven (r).]

K.

(r) Johnſon's Poets, Vol. LIII. p. 143, 144.

# E

*** [EACHARD (JOHN), Maſter of Catharine-Hall, in the Univerſity of Cambridge, and author of ſeveral ingenious works, was deſcended from a good family in the county of Suffolk, and born about the year 1636 (a). Having been carefully inſtructed in grammar and claſſical literature, he was ſent to Catharine-Hall, in the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he was admitted on the 10th of May, 1653. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1656, was elected fellow of his college in 1658, and, in 1660, became Maſter of Arts (b). We meet with no farther particulars about him till the year 1670, when he publiſhed, but without his name, "The Grounds and Occaſions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion enquired into [A]. In a letter to

(a) New and Gen. Dict. 8vo. Vol. V. p. 53. edit. 1784. Account of the life and writings of Dr. John Eachard, prefixed to the edition of his works publiſhed by T. Davies in 1774, p. 4, 5.

(b) Davies's Account, ut ſupra.

[A] *The Grounds and Occaſions of the Contempt of the Clergy*, &c.] This piece, though written upon a very grave ſubject, abounds with wit and humour; but towards the beginning the author makes a declaration of his attachment to the church: 'I muſt moſt 'heartily profeſs, that for my own part I did never 'think, ſince at all I underſtood the excellency and 'perfection of a church, but that ours now lately 'reſtored, as formerly eſtabliſhed, does far outgo, as 'to all Chriſtian ends and purpoſes, either the pomp 'and bravery of Rome herſelf, or the beſt of free 'ſpiritual ſtates (1).' He alſo ſays, that he was 'an honeſt and hearty well-wiſher, that the beſt of 'our clergy might for ever continue as they are, 'rich and learned: and that the reſt might be very 'uſeful, and well eſteemed of in their profeſſion.' He afterwards proceeded to give it as his opinion, that whatever had heretofore, or did then, 'leſſen 'the value of our clergy, or render it in any degree 'leſs ſerviceable to the world than might reaſonably 'be hoped, it might be eaſily referred to two very plain 'things; the ignorance of ſome, and the poverty of 'others of the clergy (2).' This leads him to an inquiry into the education of the clergy; he thinks that too much time is ſpent, before they are ſent to the Univerſity, in attaining the Latin and Greek languages, and that more attention ſhould be paid to Engliſh literature. 'Suppoſe,' ſays he, 'ſome part 'of time was allotted them for the reading of ſome 'innocent Engliſh authors; where they need not go 'every line ſo unwillingly to a tormenting dictionary; 'and whereby they might come in a ſhort time to 'apprehend common ſenſe, and to begin to judge 'what is true; for, you ſhall have lads that are arch 'knaves at the nominative caſe, and that have a notable 'quick eye at ſpying out the verb, who, for want of 'reading ſuch common and familiar books, ſhall 'underſtand no more of what is plain and eaſy than 'a well-educated dog or horſe. Or ſuppoſe they were 'taught (as they might much eaſier be than what 'is commonly offered to them) the principles of arith-'metic, geometry, and ſuch alluring parts of learn-'ing: As theſe things undoubtedly would be much 'more uſeful, ſo much more delightful to them, than 'to be tormented with a tedious ſtory how Phaëton 'broke his neck; or how many nuts and apples 'Tityrus had for his ſupper (3).' He afterwards ſays, 'I am not ſenſible, that I have ſaid any thing in 'diſparagement of thoſe two famous tongues, the 'Greek and Latin, there is much reaſon to value 'them before others; becauſe the beſt of human 'learning has been delivered unto us in thoſe lan-'guages. But he that worſhips them, purely out of 'honour to Rome and Athens, having little or no 'reſpect to the uſefulneſs and excellency of the books 'themſelves (as many do) it is a ſign he has a great 'eſteem and reverence of antiquity, but I think him 'by no means comparable for happineſs to him who 'catches frogs or hunts butterflies (4).'

(1) Works of Dr. John Eachard, Vol. I. p. 2. Davies's Edit.

(2) Ibid. p. 3.

(3) Ibid. p. 4, 5.

(4) Ibid. p. 7.

Among the cauſes which brought diſreſpect on the clergy, Dr. Eachard ſtates 'the inconſiderate ſending of 'all kinds of lads to the univerſities, let their parts 'be never ſo low and pitiful, and the inſtructions and 'have lain under never ſo mean and contemptible, they 'the purpoſes of their friends never ſo ſhort to main-'tain them there. If they have but the commendation 'of ſome lamentable and pitiful conſtruing-maſter, it 'paſſes for ſufficient evidence that they will prove per-'ſons very eminent in the church. That is to ſay, if a 'lad has but a luſty and well-bearing memory, (this 'being the uſual and almoſt only thing whereby they 'judge of their abilities,) if he can ſing over very tu-'nably three or four ſtanzas of Lilly's poetry, be very 'quick and ready to tell what's Latin for all the in-'ſtruments belonging to his father's ſhop; if pre-'ſently, upon the firſt ſcanning, he know a ſpondee 'from a dactyl, and can fit a few of thoſe ſame with-'out any ſenſe to his fingers ends; if, laſtly, he can ſay 'perfectly by heart his Academic Catechiſm, in pure 'and paſſing Latin, i.e. *What is his name? Where went 'he to ſchool?* and *what author is he beſt and chiefly ſkilled 'in?* A forward boy, cries the ſchool-maſter, a very 'pregnant child! ten thouſand pities, but he ſhould 'be a ſcholar; he proves a brave clergyman, I'll 'warrant you. Away to the univerſity he muſt needs 'go; then for a little logic, a little ethics, and, God 'knows, a very little of every thing elſe, and the next 'time you meet him is in the pulpit (5).'

(5) Ibid. p. 10, 11.

'And, as many ſuch diſmal things are ſent forth 'thus with very ſmall tackling, ſo not a few are pre-'deſtinated thither by their friends, from the fore-'ſight of a good benefice. If there be rich paſture, 'profitable cuſtoms, and that Henry the Eighth has 'taken out no toll, the holy land is a very good land, 'and affords abundance of milk and honey: far be it 'from their conſciences the conſidering whether the 'lad is likely to be ſerviceable to the church, or to 'make wiſer and better any of his pariſhioners (6).'

(6) Ibid. p. 13, 14.

" to R. L." This piece had a very rapid ſale, and paſſed through many editions. It was attacked by an anonymous writer, the following year, in " An Anſwer to a Let-" ter of Enquiry into the Grounds," &c. and by Barnabas Oley, and ſeveral others; and particularly by the famous Dr. John Owen, in a preface to ſome ſermons of W. Bridge. Eachard replied to the firſt of his anſwerers [*B*], in a piece, entituled, " Some " Obſervations upon the Anſwer [*C*] to an Enquiry into the Grounds and Occaſions " of the Contempt of the Clergy: with ſome Additions. In a ſecond Letter to R. L." In 1671, he publiſhed, " Mr. Hobbes's State of Nature conſidered: in a Dialogue " between Philautus and Timothy [*D*]. To which are added, Five Letters from the Author

Our facetious author alſo obſerves, that 'it is a 'common faſhion of a great many, to compliment 'and invite inferior people's children to the univer-'ſity, and there pretend to make ſuch an all-bounti-'ful proviſion for them, as they ſhall not fail of com-'ing to a very eminent degree of learning: but, when 'they come there, they ſhall ſave a ſervant's wages. 'They took therefore heretofore a very good method 'to prevent Sizers over-heating their brains: bed-'making, chamber-ſweeping, and water-fetching, 'were doubtleſs great preſervatives againſt too much 'vain philoſophy. Now, certainly, ſuch pretend-'ed favours and kindneſſes as theſe are the moſt 'downright diſcourteſies in the world. For, it is ten 'times more happy, both for a lad and the church, 'to be a corn-cutter, or a tooth-drawer, or make or 'mend ſhoes, to be of any inferior profeſſion, than to 'be invited to and promiſed the conveniences of a 'learned education, and to have his name only ſtand 'airing upon the college tables, and his chief buſineſs (7)Ibid.p.15,16. 'ſhall be to buy eggs and butter (7).'

Speaking of the poverty of the clergy, Dr. Eachard ſays, 'Where the miniſter is pinched, as to the tole-'rable convenences of this life, the chief of his care 'and time muſt be ſpent not in an impertinent con-'ſidering what texts of ſcripture will be moſt uſeful 'for his pariſh, what inſtructions moſt ſeaſonable, 'and what authors beſt to be conſulted: but the 'chief of his thoughts and his main buſineſs muſt be 'to ſtudy how to live that week; where he ſhall have 'bread for his family: whoſe ſow has lately pigged; 'whence will come the next rejoicing gooſe, or the 'next cheerful baſket of apples; how far to lammas, 'or offerings; when ſhall we have another chriſten-'ing and cakes; and who is likely to marry or die. 'Theſe are very ſeaſonable conſiderations, and wor-'thy of a man's thoughts. For, a family cannot be 'maintained by texts and contexts: and the child, that 'lies crying in the cradle, will not be ſatisfied with-'out a little milk, and perhaps ſugar, though there 'be a ſmall German ſyſtem in the houſe.

'But, ſuppoſe he does get into a little hole over the 'oven, with a lock to it, called his ſtudy, towards 'the latter end of the week (for, you muſt know, Sir, 'there are very few texts of ſcripture that can be 'divided, at ſooneſt, before Friday night; and ſome 'there be that will never be divided but upon Sun-'day morning, and that not very early, but either a 'little before they go or in going to church); I ſay, 'ſuppoſe the gentleman gets thus into his ſtudy: one 'may very near gueſs, what is his firſt thought when 'he comes there, viz. that the laſt kilderkin of drink 'is near departed; and that he has but one poor 'ſingle groat in the houſe, and there is judgment and 'execution ready to come out againſt it for milk and 'eggs. Now, Sir, can any man think that one, thus 'racked and tortured, can be ſeriouſly intent half an 'hour to contrive any thing that might be of real ad-'vantage to his people? Beſides, perhaps that week 'he has met with ſome diſmal croſſes and undoing 'misfortunes. There was a ſcurvy-conditioned mole 'that broke into his paſture, and ploughed up the 'beſt part of his glebe: and, a little after that, came 'a couple of ſpightful ill-favoured crows, and 'trampled down the little remaining graſs: another 'day, having but four chickens, ſweep comes the 'kite, and carries away the fatteſt and hopefulleſt of 'all the brood. Then, after all this, came the jack-'daws and ſtarlings, (idle birds that they are!) and 'they ſcattered and carried away from his thin-thatched 'houſe forty or fifty of the beſt ſtraws. And, to make 'him completely unhappy, after all theſe afflictions, 'another day, that he had a pair of breeches on, com-'ing over a perverſe ſtile, he ſuffered very much in 'careleſsly lifting over his leg. Now, what pariſh 'can be ſo inconſiderate and unreaſonable as to look 'for any thing from one, whoſe fancy is thus checked, 'and whoſe underſtanding is thus ruffled and diſordered. 'They may as ſoon expect comfort and conſolation 'from him that lies racked with the gout and ſtone, 'as from a divine thus broken and ſhattered in his 'fortunes (8).'

(8) Ibid. p. 77, 78, 79.

Dr. Eachard has alſo given, in the courſe of his letter, a variety of inſtances of abſurdity in preaching, as one of the cauſes of contempt of the clergy; and it has been aſſerted, that " he took the inſtances of ab-" ſurdity and nonſenſe, in this letter, from his father's " ſermons (9)." But this charge againſt Eachard, which is very diſhonourable to him, ſhould not be admitted without proof; and no evidence of it is produced. It is, indeed, very improbable; for, the inſtances of abſurdity, exhibited in Eachard's piece, appear evidently to be taken from different preachers.

(9) New and Gen. Biog. Dict. edit. 1784.

Dr. Eachard has certainly attacked the abſurd mode of preaching which was practiſed by ſome Divines, both Churchmen and Diſſenters, with much reaſon, as well as wit and humour; but, when he has occaſion to ſpeak of the Diſſenters, it is generally with very little candour; and he was evidently no friend to religious liberty.

[*B*] *Replied to the firſt of his anſwerers.*] Dean Swift ſays, 'When Dr. Eachard writ his book about the 'contempt of the clergy, numbers of thoſe anſwerers 'immediately ſtarted up, whoſe memory if he had not 'kept alive by replies, it would now be utterly un-'known that he were ever anſwered at all (10).'

(10) Swift's Works, Vol. I. p. 9. 24mo. edit.

[*C*] *Some obſervations upon the Anſwer.*] In this piece are ſome facetious remarks on Mr. Hobbes and his followers. In one place he ſays, 'It was very 'well for this nation, that Mr. Hobbes was born at 'laſt; and half a dozen of us, of willingneſs and 'parts, to underſtand him, otherwiſe the world had 'continued in a brave blind condition.'—'Whereas 'heretofore it was a work of many years ſtudy and 'ſerioufneſs, that could entitle one but to be ſuſpected 'of Atheiſm; now he that has but ſeen Mr. Hobbes's 'boots, and can make but a mouſe-trap, is as fully 'privileged as if he could pluck up the earth by the 'roots or make a man (11).'

(11) Works, Vol. I. p. 295.

[*D*] *Mr. Hobbes's State of Nature conſidered*, &c.] This publication was dedicated by our author to Archbiſhop Sheldon; and, by way of apology to that prelate for the ludicrous manner in which he had treated Hobbes, he ſays, 'Since Mr. Hobbes, by affected 'garbs of ſpeech, by a ſtarched mathematical method, 'by counterfeit appearances of novelty and ſingula-'rity, by magiſterial haughtineſs, confidence, and 'the like, had cheated ſome people into a vaſt opi-'nion of himſelf, and into a belief of things very 'dangerous and falſe, I did preſume, with your 'grace's pardon, to think his writings ſo fond and 'extravagant, as not to merit being oppoſed in good 'earneſt; and thereupon I was very loth to give 'them too much reſpect, and add undue weight to 'them by a ſolemn and ſerious confutation.'

It appears to have been ſoon after the publication of this piece, that Mr. Eachard was introduced to archbiſhop Sheldon, and it happened that Anthony Wood was alſo introduced to that prelate on the ſame day. It was on the 11th of February, 1671-2; and Wood has thus mentioned it in his Diary: 'Sunday, Sir 'Leol. Jenkyns took with him in the morning, over 'the

Author of "The Grounds and Occaſions of the Contempt of the Clergy." In theſe letters he animadverted, with his uſual facetiouſneſs, on ſeveral of the anſwerers of his firſt performance. He ſoon after publiſhed ſome farther remarks on the writings of Hobbes, in "A ſecond Dialogue between Philautus and Timothy [*E*]." On the death of Dr. John Lightfoot, in 1675, Mr. Eachard was choſen, in his room, Maſter of Catharine-Hall; and, in the year following, he was created Doctor of Divinity, by royal mandamus (*c*). It does not appear, that he produced any literary works after being raiſed to this ſtation; but, it is ſaid, that he executed the truſt repoſed in him of Maſter of his College, with the utmoſt care and fidelity, and to the general ſatisfaction of the whole Univerſity (*d*). He was extremely deſirous to have rebuilt the greateſt part if not the whole of Catharine-Hall, which had fallen into decay: but he died before he could accompliſh that deſign. He contributed, however, largely towards it himſelf; and was very aſſiduous in procuring donations for it from his learned or wealthy friends. He died on the 7th of July, 1697, and was interred in the chapel of Catharine-Hall, the following inſcription being placed upon his tomb:

(*c*) Davies, ut ſupra, p. 7, 8.

(*d*) Ibid, p. 17, 18.

Tibi habeas, Catharina, hoc mortale depoſitum
Et in penetralibus tuis requieſcere ſinas
Viri vere magni
Tenues haſce exuvias:
Si quæras cujus ſint, vix lapides tacere poterunt
Fundatorem ſuum
Johannem Eachard S. T. P.
Academiæ Cantabrigienſis bis Pro-Cancellarium,
Hujus aulæ cuſtodem vigilantiſſimum,
De utraque optime meritum.
Videſne lector, novam hanc collegii faciem
Quam pulchra ex ruinis aſſurgit!
Totum hoc muſarum non indecorum domicilium,
Secundus hujus Romæ Romulus,
Poſſet vocare ſuum.
Huic operi intentus, liberalitate partim ſua
Illaque maxima, (cum pauperis inſtar viduæ
In hoc Gazophylacium totum ſuum conjeciſſet.)
Partim aliena, quam vel amicitia inter doctiores
Vel ſuadela (quâ plurimum pollebat)
Inter divitiores unde quaque acciverat,
Huc uſque reſtauravit collegium.

'the water to Lambeth, A. Wood, and after prayers 'he conducted him up to the dining-room, where 'archbiſhop Sheldon received him, and gave him his 'bleſſing. There then dined, among the company, 'Joh. Eachard, the author of *The Contempt of the Clergy*, who ſat at the lower end of the table, 'between the archbiſhop's two chaplains, Samuel 'Parker and Thomas Tomkins, being the firſt time 'that the ſaid Echard was introduced into the ſaid 'archbiſhop's company. After dinner, the Archbiſhop went into his withdrawing room, and Eachard, 'with the chaplains, and Ralph Snow, to their lodgings, to drink and ſmoke. Sir L. Jenkyns took 'then Anthony Wood by the hand, and conducted him 'into the withdrawing-room to the archbiſhop (12).' From this paſſage, Archbiſhop Sheldon has been charged, by the right reverend commentator on Pope's Works, with a want of diſcernment and taſte, in preferring the company of Wood to that of Eachard. But no ſuch inference can fairly be drawn from this paſſage of Wood. Archbiſhop Sheldon might have a juſt ſenſe of the merit of Eachard; and yet, as this prelate 'was a friend and patron of the univerſity of 'Oxford, he might think himſelf under a neceſſity to 'pay a little compliment to the man, who was employed in writing the hiſtory of that learned ſociety, 'and to encourage him in the proſecution of that undertaking; and ſurely ſome marks of civility were 'due to a writer, who, by indefatigable induſtry, had 'almoſt accompliſhed a very laborious as well as uſeful work (13).'

(12) Lives of Leland, Hearne, and Wood, Vol. II. p. 247.

(13) Life of Eachard, ut ſupra, p. 10, 11.

[*E*] *A ſecond Dialogue*, &c.] It has been obſerved, that, 'in this as well as the former dialogue, he has 'employed all the powers of his wit to expoſe the falſe 'reaſoning and ſpecious ſophiſtry of the philoſopher 'of Malmeſbury. And ſurely the graveſt reader cannot help being highly diverted with the happy ſtrokes 'of fine humour and keen raillery, with which he has 'attacked, and entirely confuted, the abſurd and dogmatical lectures of this inveterate enemy of true religion and ſound morals. All the ſerious and ſyſtematical books, written by the moſt eminent and 'learned of our divines, could never have rendered 'the philoſophy of Hobbes ſo contemptible as the incomparable dialogues of Eachard, which contain the 'moſt judicious arguments, united with the moſt 'ſpirited ſatire and the livelieſt mirth (14).'

Dryden, in his life of Lucian, prefixed to the tranſlation of his works publiſhed in 1711, has alſo the following paſſage relative to our author's dialogues: 'The way which Lucian choſe of delivering theſe 'profitable and pleaſing truths was that of dialogue. 'A choice worthy of the author, happily followed by 'Eraſmus, and Fontenelle particularly, to whom I may 'juſtly add a triumvir of our own, the reverend, ingenious, and learned, Dr. Eachard, who, by uſing 'the ſame method, and the ſame ingredients of raillery and reaſon, has more baffled the philoſopher of 'Malmeſbury, than thoſe who aſſaulted him with 'blunt heavy arguments drawn from orthodox divinity: for, Hobbes foreſaw where thoſe ſtrokes would 'fall, and leapt aſide before they could deſcend; but 'he could not avoid thoſe nimble paſſes which were 'made on him by a wit more active than his own, 'and which were within his body before he could 'provide for his defence (5)."]

(14) Life prefixed to Davies's Edition of his Works, p. 6, 7.

(15) Life of Lucian, p. 44, 45.

Et ſi diutius fata peperciſſent
Antiqua Ædificia diruendo,
Nova extruendo,
Nullum non movendo lapidem,
(Quæ erat optimi hominis indefeſſa induſtria,)
Quod ſordidum, ruinoſum
Et vix collegii nomine indigitandum
Invenerat,
Elegans, magnificum
Et ab omni parte perfectum
Reliquiſſet.
Obiit Julii 7mo 1697.
Ætatis LXI(*e*).

(*e*) Ibid. p. 19, 20.

Dr. Eachard's pieces, excepting his ſecond Dialogue on the Writings of Hobbes, have been ſeveral times printed together in one volume, 8vo. but the moſt complete edition, and which contains that Dialogue, is that publiſhed by T. Davies, in 1774, in three volumes, 12mo.

Though Dr. Eachard's works abound with wit and humour, he is ſaid to have failed remarkably, when he attempted to write in a ſerious manner. Mr. Baker, of St. John's College, Cambridge, in a blank leaf of his copy of Eachard's "Letter to R. L." obſerves, that he went to St. Mary's with great expectation to hear him preach, but was never more diſappointed (*f*). And Dean Swift ſays, "I have known men happy "enough at ridicule, who, upon grave ſubjects, were perfectly ſtupid; of which "Dr. Eachard, of Cambridge, who writ "The Contempt of the Clergy," was a "great inſtance (*g*)." It is remarked by Mr. Granger, that the works of Dr. Eachard had been evidently ſtudied by Swift (*h*).

(*f*) Granger's Biographical Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 276. 8vo. edit.

(*g*) Works, Vol. XII. p. 279.

(*h*) Biog. Hiſt. ut ſupra.

In the catalogue of the printed books in the Britiſh Muſeum, a piece is attributed to Dr. Eachard, which was publiſhed in 1673, in 12mo. under the following title: "A "free and impartial Enquiry into the Cauſes of that very great Eſteem and Honour "that the Nonconforming Preachers are generally in with their Followers. In a Let-"ter to his honoured Friend, H. M. By a Lover of the Church of England and "unfeigned Piety." But, upon an inſpection of the piece, we are convinced, that it was not written by Dr. Eachard. It has not his wit, nor is it in any reſpect in his manner.] T.

*** [ECHARD (LAURENCE), a Clergyman, and author of ſeveral hiſtorical and other works, was nearly related to Dr. John Eachard [*A*], of whom an account has been given in the preceding article. He was born at Caſſam, near Beccles, in Suffolk, about the year 1671, and was the ſon of a Clergyman, who, by the death of an elder brother, became poſſeſſed of a good eſtate in that county (*a*). Having paſſed through a courſe of grammar-learning, he was ſent to Chriſt's College, Cambridge, and, in 1691, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and that of Maſter in 1695 (*b*). He afterwards entered into holy orders, and was preſented to the livings of Welton and Elkinton, in Lincolnſhire, where he ſpent above twenty years of his life; and, during that time, he publiſhed a variety of works.

(*a*) New and Gen. Dict. 8vo. Vol. V. p. 57. edit. 1784.

(*b*) Cantabrigienſes Graduati, p. 126.

One of his firſt publications was, "The Roman Hiſtory, from the building of the "City to the perfect Settlement of the Empire by Auguſtus Cæſar." This was extremely well received, ſo that the fourth edition, in one volume 8vo, was publiſhed in 1699. He alſo publiſhed "The Hiſtory, from the Settlement of the Empire, by Au-"guſtus Cæſar, to the Removal of the Imperial Seat of Conſtantine the Great." This was ſaid, in the title, to be "for the uſe of his Highneſs the Duke of Glouceſter," to whom it was dedicated; and the ſecond edition, in 8vo. was printed in 1699. Two continuations of this work, one of which was reviſed by Mr. Echard, were afterwards publiſhed in three volumes, 8vo.

In 1702, our author publiſhed, in folio, with a dedication to Queen Anne [*B*], "A "General Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, from the Nativity of our bleſſed Saviour to the firſt "Eſtabliſh-

[*A*] *Nearly related to Dr. John Eachard.*] This appears to have been the caſe, though his name is ſpelt differently: for, in his Hiſtory of England, ſpeaking of Dr. Eachard, he ſays, that he was "a perſon "ſo nearly related to the author, that he cannot give "him his juſt character without ſuſpicion of par-"tiality (1)."

(1) Hiſt. of Eng. Vol. III. p. 401. edit. 1718.

[*B*] *With a dedication to Queen Anne.*] In his dedication Mr. Echard tells the Queen, that he was encouraged to offer that addreſs and to lay his hiſtory before her Majeſty, "as the great protector and "nurſing-mother of the nobleſt branch of the church "here treated of and deſcribed," and the true Defender of the Faith. He adds, 'your Majeſty having 'ſhewn a hearty love for your ſubjects, and a gene-'rous regard for your allies; is become not only the 'joy and delight of other nations, but alſo the very 'hopes and life of Europe; and the eyes of its inha-'bitants

" Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity by Human Laws, under the Emperor Conſtantine the " Great. Containing the Space of about 313 Years. With ſo much of the Jewiſh " and Roman Hiſtory as is neceſſary and convenient to illuſtrate the Work. To which " is added, a large Chronological Table of all the Roman and Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, " included in the ſame Period of Time." This Work was ſo well received, that the ſixth edition of it was publiſhed, in two volumes, 8vo. in 1722. Dean Prideaux ſays, that " the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Mr. Laurence Echard is the beſt of its kind in the " Engliſh tongue (*c*)."

(*c*) Connection of the Hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament, Vol. II. Part. II. p. 658.

In 1707, when he was become Prebendary of Lincoln, and Chaplain to the Biſhop of that Dioceſe, he publiſhed, in one volume, folio, " The Hiſtory of England: from " the firſt Entrance of Julius Cæſar and the Romans to the End of the Reign of " King James the Firſt." He dedicated this work to the Duke of Ormond; and obſerves, in the dedication, that he was excited to engage in the undertaking by that nobleman. In his preface, he gives ſome account of the materials and authors from which his work was collected. He particularly enumerates the Roman, Saxon, Engliſh, and Monkiſh Hiſtorians; together with Hall, Grafton, Polydore Vergil, Holinſhed, Stow, Speed, Baker, Brady, and Tyrrell; and, among the writers of particular lives and reigns, he mentions Barnes, Howard, Goodwin, Camden, Bacon, Herbert, and Habington. " From all theſe ſeveral writers," ſays he, " and many others, " I have collected and formed this preſent hiſtory; always taking the liberty either to " copy or to imitate any parts of them, if I found them really conducing to the uſe- " fulneſs or the ornament of my work. And, from all theſe, I have compiled an " hiſtory as full, comprehenſive, and complete, as I could bring into the compaſs of " the propoſed ſize and bigneſs. And, that nothing might be wanting, I have all " the way enriched it with the beſt and wiſeſt ſayings of great men, that I could find " in larger volumes, and likewiſe with ſuch ſhort moral reflections [*C*], and ſuch pro- " per characters of men, as might give life as well as add inſtruction to the hiſtory."

In 1712, Mr. Echard was inſtalled Archdeacon of Stowe; and, in 1718, he publiſhed the ſecond and third volumes [*D*] of his Hiſtory of England, which brings it down to the Revolution. To theſe volumes he prefixed a dedication to King George the Firſt. The ſame year, Dr. Edmund Calamy publiſhed, in 8vo, " A Letter to Mr. " Archdeacon Echard, upon occaſion of his Hiſtory of England: wherein the true " Principles of the Revolution are defended, the Whigs and Diſſenters vindicated, ſe- " veral Perſons of Diſtinction cleared from Aſperſions, and a Number of Hiſtorical " Miſtakes rectified." In this piece the author has made a variety of juſt remarks on

' bitants are fixed upon your Majeſty, looking out ' for protection and aſſiſtance, as from a deliverer ' ſent from heaven to break their chains, to diſſipate ' their fears, and to ſecure to them the bleſſings both ' of peace and liberty. Theſe are noble acts, the ' completing of which Providence ſeems to have re- ' ſerved for your Majeſty's reign, to render it glorious ' and triumphant. But your Majeſty's tender and af- ' fectionate care for the church of God, and thoſe ' freſh endeavours to deſtroy its greateſt enemies, ' vice and immorality, raiſe your Majeſty's fame to ' the full height, and cauſe it to triumph above all ' the glories of this world.'

[*C*] *Short moral reflections.*] Mr. Echard's moral reflections were not always ſhort, and ſometimes ſeemed not very neceſſary. In the Introduction to his account of the reign of King Charles the Firſt, he ſays, that 'to give a clear and comprehenſive account ' of ſuch a remarkable and melancholy reign, it is ' highly requiſite to trace the main ſteps, and lay ' open the chief ſprings of thoſe actions and events, ' that at length not only proved uncommon, but even ' prodigious, and beyond the reach of the moſt pene- ' trating foreſight.'—' In order to compaſs a work of ' ſuch ſurprizing variety, it may be very proper, firſt ' to take a tranſient and impartial view of human ' nature in general, as it has been uſually diſcovered, ' and experimentally found in all ages of the world: ' to conſider that great and extenſive maſs, with all its ' numerous frailties, corruptions, and deviations from ' the dignity of its firſt creation; and to look upon ' the majority of men of all nations, as men, not as ' ſaints, much leſs as angels (2).' Theſe introductory obſervations are followed by a variety of others on human nature, and on the characters and paſſions of men.

(2) Hiſt. of Eng. Vol. II. p. 1.

[*D*] *The ſecond and third volumes*, &c.] In the preface to his ſecond volume, he ſays, " Above two " hundred writers, of all ſorts, have been uſed in this " volume; which, for the ſmall number of years, " contains more ſurprizing variety than the hiſtory of " any other nation known to this part of the world." He then gives the names of many of the authors whom he had made uſe of; and adds, ' The trouble I had in ' collecting, ranging, and digeſting theſe materials, ' though great, and not eaſy to be judged of, was ' ſtill ſhort of what I met with from my ſedulous ap- ' plication to living aſſiſtants. For, at my firſt enter- ' ing upon this volume, I was infinitely deſirous to ' receive the beſt advice and inſtructions, and to ob- ' tain any publiſhed memoirs, letters, records, and ' other papers, that were likely to improve and en- ' rich the work. Accordingly I did, as much as I ' could with decency, get into the acquaintance of ' thoſe in London and the two univerſities, beſides ' others, that appeared moſt capable of aſſiſting me; ' and, ſo far as I durſt, or could meet with oppor- ' tunity, I applied myſelf to men of all ranks and ' parties; ſometimes to argue and debate upon par- ' ticular points and difficulties, other times to get a ' ſight of uncommon books and manuſcripts, and at ' all times to acquire new lights and ſupports for the ' clearing and eſtabliſhing the truth. To arrive at ' which, I made no ſcruple as to their opinions and ' perſuaſions, but endeavoured to enter into the con- ' verſation of all that were ſenſible and knowing in ' my buſineſs; without conſidering what notions they ' taught, or what profeſſions they made, either as to ' religion or politics.'

In the preface to his third volume, he ſays, ' Be- ' ſides the uſe of all printed tracts, ſuch as annals, ' collections, memoirs, letters, trials, pamphlets, ' ſpeeches, gazettes, &c. I had, as in the laſt volume, ' the advantage of ſeveral manuſcripts and private ac- ' counts, from perſons of unqueſtioned knowledge ' and credit, which have ſerved much to enrich and ' enlighten the work.'

the misrepresentations in Echard's History [*E*]; though, he acknowledges it to be, in several respects, a work of considerable merit. "When I became your reader," says he, "I was ready to make all the candid allowances you can desire. According to "your own motion, I perused your work in order as it was written; and not by leaps, "and starts, and distant parcels. And, now I have gone through the whole, am so "little inclined to detract from you, that I can freely say a great deal in your com- "mendation. The clearness of your method, and the perspicuity of your language, "are two very great excellences, which I admire. I am singularly pleased with the "refreshing divisions of your matter, and the chronological distinction of the several "parts of your history. I neither make any objections against the form of it as irre- "gular or disproportionate, nor the general method as intricate and confused, nor the "colouring as weak and unaffecting, nor the style as mean, flat, and insipid; which "are the things about which you appear peculiarly concerned. And yet I thought a "public animadversion both proper and necessary, and can meet with none of your "readers, how different soever in their sentiments, views, and principles, but what "herein agree (*d*)." Dr. Calamy also speaks of the "smooth and polite way" in which Mr. Echard's History is written; and says, that it has several beauties above many that had gone before him. But he adds, that he reckons his first volume to be by much the best of the three (*e*).

(*d*) Letter to Mr. Archdeacon Echard, p. 7.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 8. 10.

Mr. Echard's History of England was at first, in general, well received, and passed through several editions; but it appears to have greatly sunk in reputation after the publication of Tindal's Translation of Rapin. Echard related facts with perspicuity, though often with great partiality. He frequently vindicates or palliates the most unjust and oppressive measures of government, especially during the reigns of the Stuarts; nor does he ever do justice to the efforts of those who exerted themselves in support of the rights of the people. His observations are also often injudicious; but his work is rendered somewhat the more entertaining by short characters of the most eminent literary men in the different periods of his history.

An epigram was printed in the first volume of the Collection of Poems published by Dodsley, on the histories of Echard and Burnet, which may not improperly be inserted here, as the design of it is to give an idea of both those historiographers. It is as follows:

"Gil's history appears to me
"Political anatomy,
"A case of skeletons well done,
"And malefactors every one.
"His sharp and strong incision pen
"Historically cuts up men,
"And does with lucid skill impart
"Their inward ails of head and heart.
"Laurence proceeds another way,
"And well-dress'd figures does display:
"His characters are all in flesh,
"Their hands are fair, their faces fresh;
"And from his sweet'ning art derive
"A better scent than when alive;
"He wax-work made to please the sons,
"Whose fathers were Gil's skeletons."

[*E*] *Remarks on the misrepresentations*, &c.] Dr. Calamy particularly takes notice of his misrepresentations relative to the Nonconformists, and the unjust and rigorous proceedings against them during the reigns of the Stuarts. He also charges him with inconsistency, in pretending to approve the Revolution, and at the same time condemning those principles upon which it was grounded. He likewise accuses him of deficiencies and redundancies. One of his redundancies was "a long and very incredible story "about Cromwell's conference and contract with the "devil, on the very morning of the memorable day "of the fight at Worcester." After relating this story at some length, which is given on the pretended testimony of an officer named Lindsey, Echard gravely says, "How far Lindsey is to be be- "lieved, and how far the story is to be accounted in- "credible, is left to the reader's faith and judgment, "and not to any determination of our own (3)."

(3) Hist. of Eng. Vol. II. p. 713. edit. 1718.

Dr. Calamy also very justly objects to Mr. Echard's method of citing his authorities. He says, 'I neither 'admire many of the authors which you cite, nor 'your way of citing them: and I have some reason to 'think I am not singular in either. Many of the 'authors that are cited by you have so little credit 'in the world as to be far from giving sufficient 'warrant to justify your inserting things, from them, 'into an history that should give an account to pos- 'terity of past transactions. And your way of citing 'them is liable to very great objections. You mention 'a number of names in your margin, at the begin- 'ning of a section: but as to the particulars produced, 'there is no distinction between what you had from 'one, and from another. So that if your reader is 'desirous to know your authority for any particular 'that occurs, he may still be to seek for it, and not 'find it without a great deal of pains in searching. 'Nay, I cannot perceive there is any certain way 'of distinguishing what is purely your own, from 'what you produce authors for. This is a method 'that looks suspicious: and though perhaps your 'taking it might be some ease to yourself, yet it 'naturally adds to the trouble of your readers, who 'many times must look into all your authors, before 'they can be fully satisfied where you had a passage 'which they inquire after, and whether, your author 'is fairly cited, or misrepresented (4).'

(4) Letter to Mr. Archdeacon Echard, p. 118, 119.

Besides Dr. Calamy, our author's History was also attacked by Mr. Oldmixon, in his "Critical History "of England," and in his "History of England," "during the Reigns of the Stuarts."

This is very well as a *jeu d' éſprit*; but it does not give a very accurate idea of Echard's Hiſtory. For, though Echard often gave a very favourable account of perſons who had been repreſented in an unfavourable light by Burnet, particularly of ſuch as had been active in promoting the deſpotic views of the Stuarts; yet he was frequently guilty of groſs injuſtice to very illuſtrious characters, as was remarkably the caſe with reſpect to Hampden, Lord Ruſſell, and Algernon Sidney.

In 1719, Mr. Echard publiſhed, in a thin volume, 8vo, "Maxims and Diſcourſes, "moral and divine: taken from the Works of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, and methodized "and connected." This publication was inſcribed by him, in a very humble ſtyle, "To the moſt excellent, moſt pious, and beneficent Lady, Caſſandra, Counteſs of Car-"narvon, illuſtrious in her Family and Fortune, and more ſo in her Merits and "Virtues."

Mr. Echard was preſented by King George I. to the livings of Rendleſham, Sudborn, and Alford, in Suffolk; at which places he lived about eight years; but in a continual ill ſtate of health. Finding himſelf grow worſe, and being adviſed to go to Scarborough for the benefit of the waters, he ſet out, and got as far as Lincoln; but, declining very faſt, he was unable to proceed farther. Soon after his arrival at Lincoln, going out to take the air, he died in his chariot, on the 16th of Auguſt, 1730, and was interred in the chancel of St. Mary Magdalen's church, but without any monument or memorial of him (*f*). He was a member of the Society of Antiquaries. He married two wives; firſt, Jane, daughter to the Reverend Mr. Potter, of Yorkſhire; and, ſecondly, a daughter of Mr. Robert Wooley, a gentleman of Lincolnſhire: but he had no children by either of them (*g*).

(*f*) New and Gen. Biog. Dict.

(*g*) Birch's MSS in the Britiſh Muſeum, No. 4222. 72. Ayſcough's Cat.

Beſides the works already mentioned, Mr. Echard was alſo the author of "A Hiſtory "of the Revolution, in 1688," in one volume, 8vo, and of "The Gazetteer's or "Newſman's Interpreter, being a Geographical Index of all the conſiderable Cities, "&c. in Europe," &c. of which the eleventh edition, in 12mo, was publiſhed in 1716. He likewiſe publiſhed a tranſlation of three Comedies of Plautus, being the Amphitryon, Epidicus, and Rudens. Of this the ſecond edition was publiſhed in 1716. Thomas Cooke, in the notes to his tranſlation of the Amphitryon, ſays, that "Echard is "very injudicious, and groſsly low and vulgar (*b*)." This charge is too well grounded. Mr. Echard had alſo ſome ſhare in a tranſlation of Terence. In the tranſlations both of Plautus and Terence, he made the characters ſpeak ſuch language as is uſed in common Engliſh farces, which, though diſguſting to readers of a good taſte, probably rendered his tranſlations the more acceptable to readers of the lower order. The ninth edition of the tranſlation of Terence, which is ſaid to be "by Mr. Lawrence "Echard, and others," was publiſhed in 12mo in 1741.] T.

(*b*) P. 59.

EDMONDES (*a*), EDMONDS, or EDMUNDS, (Sir THOMAS), Knt. memorable for his embaſſies at ſeveral Courts, was born at Plymouth in Devonſhire (*b*), about the year 1563 (*c*). He was the fifth and youngeſt ſon of Thomas Edmondes, Head-cuſtomer of that port, and of Fowye in Cornwall, by Joan his wife, daughter of Antony Delabare, of Shirbourn in Dorſetſhire, Eſq. who was third ſon of Henry Edmondes, of New Sarum, Gent. [*A*], by Juliana his wife, daughter of William Brandon, of the ſame place (*d*). Where he had his education is not known. But we are informed, that he was introduced to Court by his name-ſake, Sir Thomas Edmonds [*B*], Comptroller of the Queen's Houſehold (*e*): and, being initiated into public buſineſs, under that moſt accompliſhed Stateſman, Sir Francis Walſingham, Secretary of State (*f*), he was, undoubtedly through his recommendation, employed by Queen Elizabeth in ſeveral embaſſies. In 1592, that wiſe and diſcerning Princeſs, appointed him her Reſident at the Court of France, or rather Agent for her affairs in relation to King Henry IV. with a ſalary of twenty ſhillings a day (*g*) [*C*]. And, on the 17th of May, 1596, made

(*a*) So he generally writ his name, as appears from ſeveral Orders of Council in the author's poſſeſſion.

(*b*) Mr. Weſtcot, Deſcr. of Devon. in Pedig Sir W. Pole, Stateſmen of Devon. See Prince's Worthies of Devon. edit. 1701, p. 287.

(*c*) Hiſtorical View of the Negotiations between England, &c. from the State Papers of Sir Tho. Edmondes, by T. Birch, Lond. 1749, p. 12 of Introduction.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid. and D. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, 8vo. p. 962.

(*f*) Birch, ubi ſupra. Introduct. p. 12. and Hiſtorical View, as above, p. 323.

(*g*) Introduct. ibid. and View of the Negotiations as above, p. 1. 11. 18.

[*A*] *Who was third ſon of Henry Edmondes, of New Sarum, Gent.*] Sir Thomas Edmondes, as the Rev. Mr. Birch obſerves (1), was deſcended of a good family, different branches of which ſettled in ſeveral counties; but the books in the Heralds Office are ſo defective in his pedigree, that it is not to be traced higher than his grand-father, Henry Edmondes of New Sarum, abovementioned; who had three ſons Laurence, *Henry*, and Thomas, and three daughters.

(1) Introduction, as above, p. xi.

[*B*] *By his name-ſake, Sir Thomas Edmonds.*] Ant. Wood takes Sir Thomas Edmondes, who is the ſubject of this article, to have been *the ſon* of this Sir Thomas Edmonds, and *brother* to Sir Clement Edmonds, tranſlator of Cæſar's Commentaries (2). But Mr. Prince aſſures us (3), that they had different coats of arms, and conſequently were of two diſtinct families.

(2) Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 472.

(3) Worthies, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *With a ſalary of twenty ſhillings a day.*] But this allowance was ſo ill-paid, or ſo inſufficient for his ſubſiſtence, that he was obliged to repreſent, in moſt pathetic terms, his diſtreſs to the Lord-Treaſurer, in a letter dated 21 Dec. 1593. Wherein, after repreſenting how much he was indebted to one Mr. Smyth's charity and pity, who had not only lent him, but alſo given him extraordinary credit for money; he adds, 'It is to many known the poor life I do here lead, 'under the burden of this heavy expence, far above 'my power to bear, proteſting to your Lordſhip, in 'the faith of a Chriſtian, ſuch to be my preſent miſery, 'as I have not the means wherewith to put a good 'garment on my back, to appear in honeſt company; 'my

made him a grant of the office of Secretary to her Majesty for the French tongue, 'in consideration of his faithful and acceptable service heretofore done (*b*).' Towards the end of that year he returned to England, when Sir Anthony Mildmay was sent Embassador to King Henry; but he went back again to France in the beginning of May following, and in less than a month returned to London (*i*) [*D*]. In October, 1597, he was dispatched again as Agent for her Majesty to the King of France (*k*); and returned to England about the beginning of May, 1598, where his stay was extremely short, for he was at Paris in the July following (*l*). But, upon Sir Henry Neville being appointed Embassador to the French Court, he was recalled, to his great satisfaction, and arrived at London in June, 1599 (*m*). Sir Henry Neville gave him a very great character (*n*), and recommended him to the Queen in the strongest terms [*E*]. Before the end of that year, namely, about December the 26th, he was sent to Archduke Albert, Governor of the Netherlands, with a letter of credence, and instructions to treat of a peace. The Archduke received him with great respect; but not being willing to send Commissioners to England, as the Queen desired, Mr. Edmondes went to Paris, and, having obtained of King Henry IV. Boulogne for the place of treaty, he returned to England, and arrived at Court on Sunday morning, February 17 (*o*). The 11th of March following, he embarked again for Brussels (*p*); and, on the 22d, had an audience of the Archduke, whom having prevailed upon to treat with the Queen, he returned home, April 9, 1600, and was received by her Majesty with great favour, and highly commended for his sufficiency in his negotiation (*q*). Soon after, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the treaty of Boulogne, together with Sir Henry Neville, the Queen's Embassador in France, John Herbert, Esq. her Majesty's second Secretary, and Robert Beale, Esq. Secretary to the Council in the North; their commission being dated the 10th of May, 1600. The two last, with Mr. Edmondes, left London the 12th of that month, and arrived at Boulogne the 16th, as Sir Henry Neville did the same day from Paris. But, after the Commissioners had been above three months upon the place, they parted, July the 28th, without ever assembling, by reason of a dispute about precedency between England and Spain (*r*). Mr. Edmondes, not long after his return, was appointed one of the Clerks of the Privy-Council: and, in the end of June, 1601, was sent to the French King, to complain of the many acts of injustice committed by his subjects against the English merchants. He soon after returned to England; but, towards the end of August, went again, and waited upon King Henry IV. then at Calais; to whom he proposed some measures, both for the relief of Ostend, then besieged by the Spaniards, and for an offensive alliance against Spain (*s*). After his return to England, he was appointed one of the Commissioners, for settling, with the two French Embassadors, the depredations between England and France, and preventing them for the future (*t*). The 20th of May, 1603, he was knighted by King James I; and, upon the conclusion of the peace with Spain, on the 18th of August, 1604, was appointed Embassador to the Archduke at Brussels (*u*). He set out for that place the 19th of April, 1605 (*w*); having first obtained a reversionary grant of the office of Clerk of the Crown (*x*). And, though absent, was chosen one of the representatives for the Burgh of Wilton, in the parliament which was to have met at Westminster, Nov. 5, 1605, but was prevented by the discovery of the Gunpowder-plot (*y*) [*F*]. During his embassy, he promoted, to the utmost of his power, an accommodation between the King of Spain and the States-General of the United Provinces (*z*) [*G*]. He was recalled in 1609, and came back to England about the end

(*b*) Rymer, Vol. XVI. p. 290.

(*i*) View of the Negotiations, &c. as above, p. 47, 49, 50.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 52.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 176.

(*m*) Ib. p. 183, 189. and Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. published by Edm. Sawyer, Esq. Lond. 1725. fol. Vol. I. p. 44, 45, 46, 50.

(*n*) Memorials, &c. p. 44, 45.

(*o*) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 139; and Letters of the Sidney family, Vol. II. p. 165, 166, 169.

(*p*) Letters of the Sidney family, ibid. p. 178, 179.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 186.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 194; and Memorials, as above, p. 186, 187, 188, 192—224.

(*s*) View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 200, 201; and Memorials, &c. p. 346, 348.

(*t*) Memorials, &c. p. 394.

(*u*) Memorials, Vol. II. p. 26. View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 217, 218.

(*w*) Ib. p. 219.

(*x*) Memorial, &c. as above, p. 58.

(*y*) View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 235.

(*z*) Ibid. p. 263, &c.

'my horses the most part spoiled and spent, what by 'accidents, and the length of time; and generally 'never suffered, in my poor particular, the like ex-'tremity of penury (5).' Mr. Birch observes upon that occasion, That complaints of Queen Elizabeth's parsimony were not at all unusual among her Ministers, both at home and abroad. And it is remarkable, that the Lord-Treasurer himself, in a letter still extant in the paper-office, written in the critical year 1588, while the Spanish Armada was expected against England, excuses himself to Sir Edward Stafford, then Embassador in France, for not writing to him oftner, on account of her Majesty's unwillingness to be at the expence of messengers (6).

[*D*] *And in less than a month returned to London.*] The occasion of these frequent and sudden voyages, was, King Henry's requiring Queen Elizabeth, to send 4000 men to his assistance, according to treaty: and his refusing to give up Boulogne for a caution (7).

[*E*] *And recommended him to the Queen in the strongest terms.*] Namely, in these words.——'I should 'be very ungratefull, yf I should not yeald a true 'testimony unto this gentleman Mr Edmonds, and 'acknowledge the great light I have receaved, by his 'frendly and reall communicating with me his know-'ledge of the affaires of this state; which I assure 'your Majestie to be very exquisite, and his judg-'ment and sufficiency suche withall, as I hold him 'to have bin a worthy minister of your Majestie's 'here, and to be very able to do you good ser-'vice, whersoever yt shall be your gracious plea-'sure to make further use of him (8).

[*F*] *But was prevented by the discovery of the Gunpowder-plot.*] Sir Thomas sent to our Ministry several notices about that plot, which he learned at Brussels; and, among the rest, That the English regiment, in the service of the Archduke, was to be brought over to England, for seconding the enterprizes of the conspirators, after the execution of that hellish design (9).

[*G*] *During his embassy, he promoted an accommodation between the King of Spain and the States-General.*] It appears from some of his dispatches, that Prince Maurice was extremely averse to an accommodation; and used all the efforts imaginable, to persuade Henry IV, to prevent the success of the treaty about the truce. And, while it was negociating, he was of a very *craving* humour; for, not satisfied with the large treatments granted by the States, not contented with the

(5) View of the Negotiations, &c. as above p. 11, 12.

(6) Ibid. p. 21.

(7) Ibid. p. 50.

(8) Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. as above, Vol. I. p. 44.

(9) View of the Negotiations, &c as above, p. 248—255, 257.

end of Auguſt, or the beginning of September (*a*). In April, 1610, he was employed as one of the Aſſiſtant-Commiſſioners, to conclude a defenſive league with the Crown of France (*b*): and, having been deſigned, ever ſince the year 1608, to be ſent Embaſſador into that kingdom [*H*], he was diſpatched thither in all haſte, in May, 1610, upon the news of the execrable murder of King Henry IV. in order to learn the ſtate of affairs there (*c*). He arrived at Paris, May the 24th, where he was very civilly received [*I*], and, on the 27th of June, had his audience of Mary de Medicis, Queen Regent; the young King [Lewis XIII.] being preſent (*d*). In November following, he cauſed an Italian to be apprehended at Paris, for having ill deſigns againſt his maſter, King James I (*e*) [*K*]. There being, in 1613, a competition between him and the Spaniſh Embaſſador, about precedency (*f*), we are told, that he went to Rome privately, and fetched a certificate out of the Pope's Ceremonial, ſhewing that the King of England is to precede the King of Caſtile (*g*). He was employed, the ſame year, in treating of a marriage between Henry Prince of Wales, and the Princeſs Chriſtine, ſiſter of Lewis XIII, King of France; but the death of that Prince, on the 6th of November, 1612, put an end to this negotiation (*h*). And yet, on the ninth day of the ſame month, orders were ſent him, to propoſe a marriage between the ſaid Princeſs and our Prince Charles: however, he had more diſcretion than to open ſuch an affair ſo ſoon after the brother's death (*i*) [*L*]. About the end of December, 1613, Sir Thomas deſired leave to return to England, but was denied till he ſhould have received the final reſolution of the Court of France, about the treaty of marriage; which having obtained, he came to England towards the end of January, 1613-14. Though the Privy Council ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this match, becauſe they had not ſooner been made acquainted with ſo important an affair; yet, ſo zealous was the King for it, that he ſent Sir Thomas again to Paris, with inſtructions, dated July 20, 1614, for bringing it to a concluſion. But, after all, it appeared that the Court of France were not ſincere in this affair, and only propoſed it to amuſe the Proteſtants in general (*k*). In 1616, Sir Thomas aſſiſted at the conference at Loudun, between the Proteſtants and the oppoſite party; and, by his journey to Rochelle, diſpoſed the Proteſtants to accept of the terms offered them, and was of great uſe in ſettling the pacification (*l*). About the end of October, in the ſame year, he was ordered to England; not to quit his charge, but, after he ſhould have kiſſed the King's hand, and received ſuch honour as his Majeſty was reſolved to confer upon him, in acknowledgment of his long, painful, and faithful, ſervices, then to go and reſume his charge; and continue in France, till the affairs of that kingdom, which then hung in a ſlippery and uncertain ſtate, ſhould be better eſtabliſhed. Accordingly, he came over to England in December; and, on the 21ſt of that month, was made Comptroller of the King's Houſehold; and, the next day, ſworn a Privy-

(*a*) Ibid. p. 301, 308.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 310.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 301. 308, 312.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 313.

(*e*) Memorials, as above, Vol. III. p. 234.

(*f*) Ibid p. 350.

(*g*) Lloyd's State Worthies, as above, p. 963.

(*h*) View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 352—372.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 373.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 375, 376. and Memorials as above, Vol. III. p. 488, 492, 497.

(*l*) View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 390.

the reſtitution from the Archdukes of all the Prince of Orange's land in Burgundy, and the Netherlands; he farther demanded ſatisfaction for certain pretenſions, grounded upon grants to his father from the States of Brabant and Flanders, which carried with them no ſhow of equity (10). In his conduct he appeared to have been of a very warm temper; apt to fly out upon contradiction, and to embrace haſty reſolutions, from which he was afterwards obliged to recede, in a manner that did him no credit (11).

(10) Ibid. p. 286, 288, 289, 294.

(11) Ibid. p. 286, 287.

[*H*] *And, having been deſigned, ever ſince the year* 1608, *to be ſent Embaſſador into that kingdom.*] His abilities, integrity, and faithfulneſs in his maſter's and country's ſervice, were ſuch a terror to the French Court, that they endeavoured to prevent his coming, and to have another appointed. For, Mr. de Puiſieux, one of their Prime-Miniſters, takes notice in a letter to their Embaſſador in England, that they would get nothing by having him in the room of Sir George Carew, ſince Sir Thomas Edmondes underſtood them too well. 'If he ſhould be ſent,' adds Mr. de Puiſieux, 'it is only with a deſign to make a fuller diſ-'covery of our affairs. We cannot nor ought to 'oppoſe openly the appointment of him; but who-'ever can underhand divert this ſtroke would, in my 'opinion, do a good ſervice.' And Secretary de Villeroy, in a letter to the abovementioned Embaſſador, has theſe words: 'Let me know, —whether 'there is a means of procuring Sir Thomas Edmondes 'to be employed elſewhere; which would be a great 'relief to the Queen.———However, I am not 'of opinion that you ſhould make this propoſal; for, 'if it does not ſucceed, it will only ſerve to exaſpe-'rate *this little man*, who has ſpirit and courage 'enough (12).'

(12) Lettres à Monſ. de la Boderie, edit. Amſterd. 1733, 8vo. Tom. I. p. 247, 251, 252. & Tom. II. p. 266.

[*I*] *Where he was very civilly received.*] Though his perſon was not very agreeable to the French Court, as is manifeſt from the laſt note, yet his coming at that juncture was well taken. 'For, the next day af-'ter his arrival, he was viſited by the Maſter of the 'Ceremonies, from the young King and the Queen 'Regent, to bid him welcome, and to make their 'acknowledgments to King James for that kind of-'fice of ſending thither his Embaſſador. Sir Thomas 'was the firſt in the performance of his office to the 'new King, for which he received many congratula-'tions, and was viſited with great affection by all the 'foreign Miniſters at Paris, eſpecially thoſe who were 'profeſſed friends to Great Britain (13).'

(13) View of the Negotiation, &c. p. 313.

[*K*] *He cauſed an Italian to be apprehended——— for having ill deſigns againſt King James I.*] The fellow had maintained ſeveral times, that, if he had killed the King of England, he would think himſelf abſolved of all his ſins: and added, that he had a purpoſe ſhortly to go into England (14).

(14) Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 234.

[*L*] *However, he had more diſcretion than to open ſuch an affair ſo ſoon.*] And, when he excuſed himſelf to our Court for that omiſſion, King James approved of his conduct in that point; as appears from a letter of his Majeſty, dated December 11, to Sir Thomas, wherein are theſe words: ——'Wee do 'very weall allow of your carriage thairin, as fully 'agreeing with our meaning in our former direction, 'thogh peradventure ſum words thairin might cauſe it 'to be miſtaken. For, it had been a very blunt thing 'in us, that you, our Miniſter, ſhould, ſo ſoone after 'ſuch irreparable loſſe receaved by us, have be-'gunne to talk of mariage, the moſt contrary thing 'that could be to death and funeralls. But becauſe 'we doubted not, that that motione would be re-'newed againe unto you, if not by Villeroy, at leaſt 'by the Duke of Buillon, our meaning was thairfor, 'that you ſhould intertayn the motione (15).'

(15) Ib. p. 373.

Counſellor. He returned to the Court of France in April, 1617; but took his leave of it towards the latter end of the ſame year. And, on the 19th of January, 1617-18, was advanced to the place of Treaſurer of the Houſehold (*m*): which was all the preferment he enjoyed, though he deſerved the poſt of Secretary of State that he had been recommended for (*n*), and which none was better qualified to diſcharge. He was elected one of the Burgeſſes for the Univerſity of Oxford, in the firſt parliament of King Charles I. which met June 18, 1625, and was alſo returned for the ſame in the next parliament, which aſſembled at Weſtminſter the 26th of February following; but, his election being declared void (*o*), he was choſen for another place. Some of the ſpeeches, which he made in parliament, are printed [*M*]. On the 11th of June, 1629, he was commiſſioned to go Embaſſador to the French Court, on purpoſe to carry King Charles's ratification, and to receive Lewis the Thirteenth's oath, for the performance of the treaty of peace, then newly concluded between England and France; which he did in September following (*p*). And, with this honourable commiſſion, he concluded all his foreign employments. Having, after this, enjoyed a creditable and peaceful retreat for about ten years, he departed this life, September 20, 1639 (*q*). His Lady was Magdalen, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir John Wood, Knight, Clerk of the Signet, by whom he had one ſon, and three daughters [*N*]. She died at Paris, December 31, 1614, with a character amiable and exemplary in all reſpects. Sir Thomas had with her the manor of Albins, in the pariſhes of Stapleford-Abbot, and Naveſtoke in Eſſex, where Inigo Jones built for him a manſion-houſe, delightfully ſituated in a park, now the ſeat of the Abdy family (*r*). As to his perſon, Sir Thomas was ſmall of ſtature (*s*), but great in underſtanding. He was a man of uncommon ſagacity, and indefatigable induſtry, in his employments abroad; always attentive to the motions of the Courts where he reſided, and punctual and exact in reporting them to his own [*O*]: of a firm and unſhaken reſolution in the diſcharge of his duty, beyond the influence of terror, flattery, or corruption. The French Court, in particular, dreaded his experience and abilities, as hath been ſhewn above; and the Popiſh and Spaniſh party there could ſcarcely diſguiſe their hatred of ſo zealous a ſupporter of the Proteſtant intereſt in that kingdom. His letters and papers, in twelve volumes in folio, were once in the poſſeſſion of Secretary Thurloe, and afterwards of the Lord Chancellor Somers [*P*]. The ſtyle of them is clear, ſtrong, and maſculine, and entirely free from the pedantry and puerilities, which infected the moſt applauded writers of that age, namely, Lord Bacon, Sir Henry Wotton, Dr. Donne, &c. (*t*).

(*m*) Ibid. p. 399. 400, 401, 405.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 373. 374, 379, 405.

(*o*) Wood, Hiſt. & Ant. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 443.

(*p*) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIX. p. 86. View of the Negotiations, &c. in the Introduction, p. xv.

(*q*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. B. xiv.

(*r*) View of the Negotiation, &c. in the Introduction, p. xv.

(*s*) Ibid. in the body of the book, p. 64, 331, 333.

(*t*) Ibid. in the Introduction, p. xv. xvi.

[*M*] *Some of the Speeches, which he made in parliament, are printed.*] The firſt was on the 22d of March, 1627, when he ſpoke to this effect: 'The King congratulating this preſent Parliament, he prays for a bleſſed *ſupply*; he aſſures us of his gracious inclination towards us, and of the conſequence of this meeting; doth intimate how much the ſafety of ourſelves and confederates abroad depends upon the good ſucceſs thereof; and he wiſheth a general oblivion of things that are paſt, leſt they cauſe diſtractions anew, without a primary and free ſupply to his Majeſty (16).' The ſecond was January the 28th 1628, being as follows: I am ſorry this houſe hath given occaſion of ſo many meſſages about *tunnage and poundage*, after his Majeſty hath given us a full ſatisfaction. You may perceive his Majeſty is ſenſible of the neglect of his buſineſs; we, that know this, ſhould not diſcharge our duties to you, if we ſhould not perſuade you to that courſe, which ſhould procure his Majeſties good opinion of you. Yourſelves are witneſſes how induſtrious his Majeſty was to procure you gracious Laws in his father's time, and, ſince that, what enlargement he hath made of our Liberties (*), and yet, ſtill we give him cauſe to repent him of the good he hath done. Conſider how dangerous it is to alienate his Majeſties heart from Parliaments (17).' David Lloyd tells us (18), alluding in all likelihood to theſe ſpeeches, that Sir Thomas angered the faction againſt the Court, with his principles, that the King was to be truſted: that the revenue was to be ſettled: that the Proteſtant cauſe was to be maintained: that jealouſies were to be removed, and things paſt were to be forgotten.——— Beſides theſe two ſpeeches, there are ſeveral letters of his publiſhed, in the three Volumes of Memorials of Affairs of State (19).

(16) Ephemeris Parliamentaria, fol. Lond. 1654, p. 30.

(*) By granting the Petition of Right.

(17) Ibid. p. 241.

(18) State Worthies, as above, p. 963.

(19) Publiſhed by Edm. Sawyer, Eſq. Lond. 1725.

[*N*] *By whom he had one ſon, and three daughters.*] The ſon, named Henry, was born in 1600, and died in 1635, being ſunk into the moſt inveterate and incorrigible habit of drunkenneſs (20). He was Knight of the Bath (21). The daughters were, Iſabella, born at Bruſſels in November, 1607, who had her name from the Archduchеſs her Godmother, and was married, about March 1624-5, to Henry Lord Delawar. 2. Mary, married to Robert Mildmay, Eſq. by whom ſhe had Benjamin Lord Fitz-walter, father of the late Earl Fitz-walter. 3. Louiſa, born at Paris in 1611, and baptized the 15th of September, Lewis XIII. ſtanding godfather, and the Queen-Regent godmother, by their proxies the Princeſs of Orange and the Duke of Bouillon. In March, 1635-6, ſhe married clandeſtinely one of her father's genteeler ſervants (22).

(20) Letters and Diſpatches of Thomas Earl of Stafford, Vol. I. p. 463.

(21) Weſtcot, Pedig. MS.

(22) View of the Negotiations, as above, in the Introduction, p. xiv. xv.

[*O*] *And punctual and exact in reporting them to his own.*] Sir Robert Cecil, in ſome letters of his, gives this character of Sir Thomas: That he was 'very 'truſty and ſufficient (23): That her Majeſty was well 'pleaſed with his carriage in all things: and that his 'letters ſatisfied the Queen in every thing committed 'to his charge (24).'

(23) Ibid. in the body of the book, p. 134.

(24) Ibid. p. 183, 184.

[*P*] *His letters and papers, &c.*] Several of them, together with abſtracts from the reſt, were publiſhed by the Rev. Mr. Thomas Birch, F. R. S. in a book intituled, "An Hiſtorical View of the Negotiations "between the Courts of England, France, and "Bruſſels, from the year 1592 to 1617. Extracted "chiefly from the MS. State-papers of Sir Thomas "Edmondes, Kt. Embaſſador in France, &c. and of "Anthony Bacon, Eſq. Brother to the Lord Chan-"cellor Bacon. London 1749. 8vo. M.

*** [Though Dr. Birch's "Hiſtorical View" is the principal ſource of information concerning Sir Thomas Edmondes's abilities, negotiations, and character, ſome farther confirmation of his eminence in theſe reſpects may be deduced from more recent publications. Several extracts of letters, written by him in the early part of his political life, and during his reſidence in France, occur in Birch's "Memoirs of "the Reign of Queen Elizabeth." The letters taken notice of in that work were addreſſed partly to the Lord

Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, and partly to the Earl of Eſſex; and it appears from them how diligent Mr. Edmondes was in communicating every ſpecies of intelligence. A jealouſy and diſlike ſubſiſted between him and the intriguing Antonio Perez, of whom mention is made in the additions to Lord Bacon's article (25). Though Mr. Edmondes correſponded with the Earl of Eſſex, it was underſtood that he was more attached to Secretary Cecil than to that nobleman. This gave great offence to the Earl's party. One of Eſſex's agents (a Monſ. Combes) ſtyles Mr. Edmondes "a mere JUDAS, and more corrupt than any "Jeſuit; and affirms, that he had ſaid, that the "Earl would ſpoil every thing, and ruin himſelf, as "being much more proper for throwing a court into "diſorder than contributing to its order; and never "was nor would be long without being involved in "ſome trouble at court (26)." It was in 1598 that this charge was brought againſt Mr. Edmondes; before which time there is reaſon to believe that he had ceaſed to correſpond with the Earl of Eſſex: for, the laſt letter to him of which we have an account was dated on the 31ſt of December, 1595 (27). It will be no impeachment of Mr. Edmondes's wiſdom that he dropped his connection with a nobleman of ſo impetuous a character, eſpecially as he has never been accuſed of behaving with ingratitude to the Earl, which was the caſe with ſome of his Lordſhip's friends.

(25) Memoirs of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. I. p. 345, 353.

(26) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 392.

(27) Vol. I. P. 357.

In Mr. Lodge's "Illuſtrations of Britiſh Hiſtory," publiſhed in 1791, we find a number of Sir Thomas Edmondes's letters, all of which were written to the Earl of Shrewſbury. They chiefly relate to the affairs of France, Spain, and the Low Countries. Some few of them, however, which Sir Thomas wrote from London, or its vicinity, contain the domeſtic news of the time. We learn from one of them, that James the Firſt, upon his acceſſion to the throne of England, had much ſquabbling with his Queen, about the appointment of her Majeſty's houſehold. The lady was very reſtive in the affair. "I underſtand," ſays Sir Thomas, "that the King is "verie ill ſatisfied with the Duke of Lenox for not "having more effectually employed himſelf to diſ"ſwade the Queene from ſome courſes which ſhe hath "taken, which doe verie muche diſcontente the Kinge; "namelie, for conferringe the place of her Chamber"leyn (to the which Sir George Carew was recom"mended) on one Mr. Kennedy, a Scottiſhe gentell"man, of whom the King hath very ill conceipt, "and, as it is ſaid, uſed theſe wourdes againſt him; "that if he ſhould fynd that ſhe doe bring him thither "to attend her in that place, that he woulde breake "the ſtaffe of his Chamberleynſhipp on his hedd, and "ſo diſmiſſe him; but we underſtand, that, upon a "comandement ſince ſent unto him for his returne, "he is gone backe into Scotland. It is ſayd, that "the Kinge taketh the like offence at the coming of "dyvers others that be in her companie; and, there"fore, the Duke of Lenox was yeſternight ſent back "in poſt unto her concerning all thoſe particulars. It "is ſaid that ſhe hath hitherto refuſed to admitt my "Ladye of Kildare, and the Ladye Walſingham, to "be of her privye chamber; and hath onlie as yett "ſworne my Ladye of Bedfourd to that place (28)." Our predeceſſor aſſerts, in the text, upon Sir Thomas Edmondes's being made Treaſurer of the Houſehold, that this was all the preferment he enjoyed. But, we are informed by Mr. Lodge, that in 1620 he was appointed Clerk of the Crown in the Court of King's Bench (29)]. K.

(28) Illuſtrations of Britiſh Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 163, 164.

(29) Ibid. p. 95.

EDWARDS (THOMAS), a famous Preſbyterian writer in the XVIIth century, and a bitter enemy to the Independents, who then bore ſway in this kingdom, was educated in Trinity College, in Cambridge [A], where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in the year 1605, and that of Maſter in 1609 (a). He was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford, July 14, 1623 (b). Where and what his preferments were, we do not find: but we learn from himſelf (c), that, though he conformed, yet he was always a Puritan in his heart [B]. He exerciſed his miniſtry, chiefly as a Lecturer, at Hertford, and at ſeveral places in and about London (d); and was ſometimes brought into trouble for oppoſing the received doctrines, or not complying duly with the eſtabliſhed Church [C]. When the long Parliament declared againſt King Charles I. our author embarked

(a) From the Univerſity-Regiſter.

(b) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. Faſti, col. 226.

(c) Gangræna, Part i. 2d edit. 1646, 4to. p. 75, 76.

(d) Gangræna, P. iii. edit. 1646. in the Preface.

[W] *Was educated in Trinity College, in Cambridge.*] He muſt have removed from ſome other College to Trinity; for, he was not admitted there, according to their books, till 1605, the very year when he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (1).——There was another Thomas Edwards, born at Huntingdon, educated there in grammar-learning, and admitted into Sidney College, October 16, 1614. But he did not take any degree in that College (2), nor, as it ſeems, in the Univerſity; and conſequently could not be the ſame with our author. However, after all, though we have taken great care to inform ourſelves, which of theſe two was the perſon we are writing of, yet we could come at no certainty therein. Mr. Wood aſſures us, that he was a Cambridge man (3).

(1) From the College-books.

(2) From the Admiſſion, and other books of that college.

(3) Faſti, ubi ſupra.

[B] *Yet he was always a Puritan in his heart*]. Of which take the following account in his own words. 'I never had a canonicall coat, never gave a penny to 'the building of Pauls, took not the canonicall oath, 'declined ſubſcription for many years before the Par'liament, (though I practiſed the old conformity) 'would not give *ne obolum quidem* to the contributions 'againſt the Scots, but diſſuaded other Miniſters; 'much leſſe did I yeeld to bow to the altar, and at the 'name of Jeſus, or adminiſter the Lords Supper at a 'table turned altarwiſe, or bring the people up to rails, 'or read the book of ſports, or highly flatter the 'Archbiſhop in an epiſtle dedicatory to him, or put 'articles into the High-Commiſſion-Court againſt any, 'but was myſelf put into the High-Commiſſion-Court, 'and purſevants with letters miſſive, and an attach'ment, ſent out to apprehend me, for preaching a 'ſermon at Mercers Chapel, on a faſt-day in July, '1640, againſt the Biſhops and their faction, ſuch a 'free ſermon as, I believe, never a ſectary in England 'durſt have preached in ſuch a place and at ſuch a 'time (4).'

(4) Gangræna, as above, P. i. p. 75, 76

[C] *And was ſometimes brought into trouble, &c.*] He gives us the following relation of it. 'Many years 'ago when I was perſecuted by ſome Prelates and 'their creatures, in no poſſibility nor capacity by my 'principles and practices of preferment, I preached 'againſt, and upon all occaſions declared myſelf againſt, 'the Browniſts, Separatiſts, Antinomians, and all er'rors in that way, as well as againſt Popiſh Innova'tions and Arminian Tenets. There are many who 'were my Auditors in thoſe times can and will wit'neſs what I have preached at London and at Hart'ford againſt thoſe errors, when I have in the ſame 'places preached ſuch ſermons againſt the prevailing 'opinions, innovations, and corruptions of the Pre'lates, that many thought I ſhould never have preached 'again, and indeed was not without many ſufferings 'and troubles, being put out of places, ſtopped from 'coming into others, and at laſt letters miſſive with 'an attachment ſent out to bring me into the High-'Commiſſion-Court. About thirteen years ago at 'Magnus Church, I, preaching againſt forſaking the 'publick aſſemblies, had, on a lecture-night at the 'ſame church, a bill given me up (among the bills

embarked himſelf, with wife, children, eſtate, and all that was dear to him, in the ſame ſhip with them [*D*], and by all his actions, ſermons, prayers, praiſes, and diſcourſes, earneſtly promoted their intereſt (*e*). But, when the independent party began to appear, and eſpecially to be uppermoſt, he became as furious againſt them as he had been againſt the Royaliſts; and oppoſed them with great virulence, both by writing and acting. The ſeveral pieces he publiſhed againſt them, were as follows: I. "Reaſons againſt the Independant Government of particular Congregations," &c. Lond. 1641, 4to (*f*). II. "Antapologia [*E*]:" or, a full anſwer to the "Apologeticall "Narration of Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Simpſon, Mr. Burroughs, Mr. Bridge, "Members of the Aſſembly of Divines. Wherein is handled many of the Controverſies of theſe Times: viz. 1. Of a particular viſible Church. 2. Of Claſſes and "Synods. 3. Of the Scriptures, how farre a Rule for Church Government. 4. Of "Formes of Prayer. 5. Of the Qualifications of Church-Members. 6. Of Submiſſion "and Non-Communion. 7. Of Excommunication. 8. Of the Power of the Civill "Magiſtrate in Eccleſiaſticals. 9. Of Separation and Schiſme. 10. Of Tolerations, "and particularly of the Toleration of Independencie. 11. Of Suſpenſion from the "Lord's Supper. 12. Of Ordination of Miniſters by the people. 13. Of Church "Covenant. 14. Of Non-reſidencie of Church-Members." Lond. 1644, 4to (*g*). III. "Gangræna: or, a Catalogue and Diſcovery of many of the Errours, Hereſies, "Blaſphemies, and pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this Time, vented and "acted in England in theſe four laſt Years: as alſo a particular Narration of divers "Stories, remarkable Paſſages, Letters; an Extract of many Letters, concerning the "preſent Sects; together with ſome Obſervations upon, and Corollaries from, all the "forenamed Premiſſes." Lond. 1646, 4to. reprinted afterwards. IV. "The Second "Part of Gangræna," &c. Lond. 1646, 4to. V. "The Third Part of Gangræna:

(*e*) See Gangræna, P. i. in the Epiſt. Dedic. p. 2, 3.

(*f*) This was anſwered, the ſame year, by a woman named Catharine Chidley.

(*g*) This was publiſhed the laſt week in June, or the firſt in July, 1644. See preface to Gangræna, P. i. in the beginning.

'to pray for the ſick) ſpeaking bitterly for ſo doing. 'At Hartford about ten years ago, when independency and the church way began to be fallen too by 'ſome men of note, and ſome people to look after 'it, I preached againſt it early, and by all wayes laboured to preſerve the people. About eight yeares 'ago when errors on the right hand tooke with many, 'I did at a lecture in the city, at Aldermanbury, and 'Coleman-Street preach againſt apoſtaſie and falling 'to errors on the right hand, and more particularly 'at Coleman-Street (many in that pariſh being then 'leaning that way) gave ſome conſiderations againſt 'errors on the right-hand.——I never yet ſought 'any great things for myſelf, great livings, or coming 'into publick places of honour and reſpect, to be of 'the Aſſembly, or to preach in any publicke places before the Magiſtrates either at Weſtminſter or London, but have contented myſelfe with ſmall meanes, 'and to preach in private places in compariſon, having 'refuſed many great livings and places, preaching 'here in London for a little, and that but badly paid '(as many well know) minding the worke and ſervice, little the maintenance. I can ſpeak it truly 'that in theſe open times when many young men, 'raw preachers, men who never bore the heat of the 'day, have got great livings of two or three hundred 'a yeere well ſituated with houſes and all accommodations, I have for the publick good declined all 'ſuch offers, ſpent my owne temporall eſtate to miniſter to my neceſſities, not having had for almoſt theſe 'two laſt years forty pounds per annum, notwithſtanding my conſtant preaching on Lords dayes, week-dayes, and all extraordinary occaſions of faſtings and 'thankeſgiving——(5).'

(5) Gangræna, P. iii. in the Preface, p. 14, 15, 16.

[*D*] *When the long Parliament declared againſt King* Charles I. *our author embarked himſelf—— in the ſame ſhip with them.*] He declares this himſelf, in the firſt part of his Gangræna, in the epiſtle dedicatory to the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament (6). 'All my actions from the beginning 'of your ſitting, my ſermons, prayers, praiſes, diſcourſes, actings for you, ſpeak otherwiſe [i. e. than 'faucineſs and diſreſpect]. I am one who out of 'choiſe and judgement have embarked myſelfe, with 'wife, children, eſtate, and all thats dear to me, in 'the ſame ſhip with you, to ſinke and periſh, or to 'come ſafe to land with you, and that in the moſt 'doubtfull and difficult times, not only early in the 'firſt beginning of the war and troubles, in a malignant 'place among courtiers and thoſe who were ſervants 'and had relations to the King, Queen, and their 'children, pleading your cauſe, juſtifying your wars, 'ſatisfying many that ſcrupled: but when your affairs were at loweſt, and the chance of war againſt 'you, and ſome of the grandees and favourites of 'theſe times were packing up and ready to be gone, 'I was then higheſt and moſt zealous for you, preaching, praying, ſtirring up the people to ſtand for you, 'by going out in perſon, lending of money, in the 'later going before them by example; and as I have 'been your honours moſt devoted ſervant, ſo am I 'ſtill yours, and you cannot eaſily loſe me.'——

(6) Page 2.

[*E*] *Antapologia, &c.*] This is 'Humbly ſubmitted' (by the author) 'to the Honourable Houſes 'of Parliament.' And, in the Preface, he ſays (7), 'That he had drawn up that anſwer, for their ſakes 'in ſpeciall who were apt to be troubled with many 'doubts and feares about the conſtitution and government of the viſible church, and the way of worſhip 'and Communion in it: and, as to undeceive them in 'the Apologiſts, the Apologie, and their church-way, 'ſo to ſatisfie his readers in their ſcruples and doubts 'about Preſbyterie.'——A little after, he adds, —— 'This Antapologia I here recommend to 'you for a true glaſſe to behold the faces of Preſbyterie and Independencie in, with the beauty, order, 'ſtrength of the one, and the deformity, diſorder and 'weakneſſe of the other: and good reader, I have 'ſome reaſon to beleeve and hope, that if you will 'indeed reade and conſider, looke impartially and 'throughly into this glaſſe, you may be either changed 'into the image of it, or at leaſt ſo ſtumbled at independencie, as to be kept from falling into it.'—— The book which this Antapologia anſwereth, was 'An Apologeticall Narration of ſome Miniſters (8), 'formerly in exile, now members of the Aſſembly of 'Divines.' 'Tis inſerted in the Antapologia, and anſwered there paragraph by paragraph. In one place (9), our author pleads ſtrongly for the lawfulneſs of ſet-forms of prayer preſcribed. 'I muſt tell you,' ſays he, 'this great controverſie upon it is raiſed only 'by yourſelves (10), and the Browniſts, there being 'no divines, nor no Reformed churches that I know 'of, but doe allow the lawful uſe of ſet-formes of 'prayer, compoſed and framed by others (as by ſynods and aſſemblies) and doe make uſe of ſuch ſometimes, as the churches of France and Holland in the 'adminiſtration of Sacraments uſually doe, and thoſe 'who practice them not ſo much, yet at leaſt hold 'them lawfull. And I challenge you in all your reading to name one divine of note and orthodox that 'ever held ſet formes of prayer preſcribed unlawfull; 'excepting only Independents.'. In another place (11) he lays down many reaſons againſt an univerſal toleration.

(7) Page 1.

(8) Namely, Goodwin, &c. as above, in the title of the book.

(9) Antapologia, P. 97, &c.

(10) i. e. the Independents.

(11) Ib. p. 279, &c.

"or,

" or, A new and higher Diſcovery of the Errors, Hereſies, Blaſphemies, and inſolent " Proceedings, of the Sectaries of theſe Times; with ſome Animadverſions, by way of " Confutation, upon many of the Errors and Hereſies named [*F*]." In theſe three parts of Gangræna, he gives catalogues of the errors of the Independents, and other ſectaries of his time; and expreſſes himſelf againſt them with great ſharpneſs [*G*]. He alſo

[*F*] *With ſome Animadverſions, by way of Confutation, upon many of the Errors and Hereſies named.*] The reſt of the title, which is very long, is as follows. 'As alſo a particular relation of many remarkable 'ſtories, ſpecial paſſages, copies of letters written by 'Sectaries to Sectaries, copies of letters written from 'godly Miniſters, and others, to Parliament-men, Mi-'niſters, and other well-affected perſons; an extract 'and the ſubſtance of divers letters, all concerning the 'preſent Sects: together with ten corollaries from all 'the forenamed premiſes. Briefe animadverſions on 'many of the Sectaries late pamphlets, as *Lilburnes* 'and Overtons books againſt the Houſe of Peeres, Mr. '*Peters his laſt report of the Engliſh Warres, the Lord Mayors farewell from his Office of Maioralty, M. Goodwins thirty eight Queres upon the Ordnance againſt Hereſies and Blaſphemies*, M. Burtons *Conformities Deformity, M. Dells* Sermon before the 'Houſe of Commons; wherein the legiſlative and ju-'diciall power of the Houſe of Peeres over Commoners is maintained and fully proved againſt the Sectaries, the power of the Houſe of Commons clearely 'demonſtrated to be overthrowne upon the mediums 'brought by the Sectaries againſt the Lords; the late 'remonſtrance of the City of London juſtified, the late Lord Mayor (12) and the City vindicated from 'unjuſt aſperſions, our brethren of Scotland cleered 'from all the calumnies and reproaches caſt upon 'them, and the Magiſtrates power in ſuppreſſing hereſies and blaſphemies aſſerted. As alſo ſome few 'hints and briefe obſervations on divers pamphlets 'written lately againſt me and ſome of my books, as 'M. Goodwins pretended reply to the Antapologie, 'M. Burroughs Vindication, Lanſeters Lance, Gangræna playes Rex, Gangræna Chreſtum, M. Saltmarſhes anſwer to the ſecond part of Gangræna. A 'juſtification of the manner and way of writing theſe 'books called Gangræna, wherein not onely the lawfulneſſe but the neceſſity of writing after this manner is proved by Scripture, Fathers, the moſt eminent Reformed Divines, Caſuiſts, the practice and 'cuſtome of all ages' Lond. 1646. 4to.

(12) Sir Iſaac Pennington.

[*G*] *In theſe——he gives Catalogues of the errors of the Independents, and other ſectaries of his time; and expreſſes himſelf againſt them with great ſharpneſs.*] The Errors, Hereſies, and Blaſphemies, he particularly takes notice of, are by him referred to theſe ſixteen heads or ſorts of Sectaries (13), viz. 1. Independents. 2. Browniſts. 3. Chiliaſts, or Millenaries. 4. Antinomians. 5. Anabaptiſts. 6. Manifeſtarians, or Arminians. 7. Libertines. 8. Familiſts. 9. Enthuſiaſts. 10. Seekers, and Waiters. 11. Perfectiſts. 12. Socinians. 13. Arians. 14. Antitrinitarians. 15. Antiſcripturiſts. 16. Scepticks and Queſtioniſts, who queſtion every thing in matters of religion; namely all the Articles of Faith, and firſt principles of Chriſtian Religion, holding nothing poſitively nor certainly, ſaving the doctrine of pretended liberty of conſcience for all, and liberty of propheſying.——Some of their errors, as ſet down by our author, are as follow: 'That the 'Scriptures cannot be ſaid to be the word of God; 'there is no word but Chriſt, the Scriptures are a dead 'letter, and no more to be credited than the writings 'of men, not divine but human inventions. That the 'Scriptures are unſufficient and uncertain, there is no 'certainty to build any doctrine upon them, they are 'not an infallible foundation of faith (14). That the 'holy writings and ſayings of Moſes and the Prophets, 'of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and the proper names, perſons, and things, contained therein, are allegories, 'and theſe allegories are the myſtery and ſpiritual 'meaning of them. That the New Teſtament, nor 'no place of Scripture in it, binds any further than 'the Spirit for preſent reveals to us that ſuch a place 'is the word of God (15). That God hath a hand 'in, and is the Author of the ſinfulneſſe of his people; 'that he is the Author not of thoſe actions alone, in 'and with which ſin is, but of the very pravity, ataxy, 'anomy, irregularity, and ſinfulneſſe itſelf which is in 'them. That all lyes come forth from out of the 'mouth of God. That no man was caſt into hell for 'any ſin, but only becauſe God would have it ſo. 'That the ſoul dies with the body, and all things 'ſhall have an end, but God only ſhall remaine for 'ever (16). Every creature in the firſt eſtate of creation was God, and every creature is God, every 'creature that hath life and breath being an efflux 'from God, and ſhall return into God again, be ſwallowed up in him as a drop is in the ocean (17). 'That by Chriſts death, all the ſins of all the men in 'the world, Turks, Pagans as well as Chriſtians, committed againſt the morall law and firſt covenant, are 'actually pardoned and forgiven, and this is the everlaſting Goſpel. That no man ſhall periſh or go to 'hell for any ſin, but unbelief only (18). That the 'leaſt truth is of more worth than Jeſus Chriſt himſelf (19). That there is a perfect way in this life, 'not by Word, Sacraments, Prayer, and other ordinances, but by the experience of the Spirit in a man's 'ſelf. That a man baptized with the Holy Ghoſt 'knows all things, even as God knows all things; 'which point is a deep myſtery and great ocean, 'where there is no caſting anchor, nor founding the 'bottome. That if a man by the Spirit knew himſelf 'to be in the ſtate of grace, though he did commit 'murther or drunkenneſſe, God did ſee no ſin in him. 'There is no free-will in man either to good or evil, 'either in his naturall or glorified eſtate (20). That 'the morall law is of no uſe at all to believers, that 'tis no rule for believers to walk by, nor to examine 'their lives by, and that Chriſtians are freed from the 'mandatory power of the law. Neither faith, nor 'repentance, nor humiliation, nor ſelf-denial, nor uſe 'of ordinances, nor doing as one would be done to, 'are duties required of Chriſtians, or ſuch things as 'they muſt exerciſe themſelves in, or they can have 'no part in Chriſt. That the doctrine of repentance 'is a ſoul-deſtroying doctrine. That 'tis as poſſible 'for Chriſt himſelfe to ſin, as for a child of God to 'ſin. That God doth not chaſtiſe any of his children 'for ſin; and, let believers ſin as faſt as they can, there 'is a fountain open for them to waſh in (21). That 'God's children are not to aſk the pardon and forgiveneſſe of their ſins, they need not, they ought 'not, and 'tis no leſſe than blaſphemy for a childe of 'God to aſke pardon of ſins, 'tis infidelity to aſke 'pardon of ſins, and David's aſking forgiveneſſe of 'ſin was his weakneſſe. That the ſoul of a man is 'mortall as the ſoul of a beaſt, and dies with the body '(22). There is no reſurrection at all of the bodies 'of men after this life, nor heaven, nor hell, nor devils, after this life (23). That in points of Religion, 'even in the Articles of Faith and principles of Religion, there's nothing certainly to be believed and 'built on, only that all men ought to have liberty of 'conſcience, and liberty of propheſying (24). 'Tis 'as lawful to break any of the ten commandments as 'to baptize an infant: yea, 'tis as lawful to commit 'adultery and murther as to baptize a child. That 'the Church of England and the Miniſtry thereof is 'Antichriſtian, yea of the devill, and that 'tis abſolutely ſinfull and unlawful to hear any of their Miniſters preach in their Aſſembjies (25). That all 'ſettled certain maintenance for Miniſters of the Goſpel; eſpecially that which is called Tithes, is unlawfull, Jewiſh, and Antichriſtian. That 'tis unlawfull to worſhip God in places conſecrated, and in 'places where Superſtition and Idolatry have been 'practiſed, as in our Churches. That there is no need 'of human learning, nor for reading authors, for 'preachers, but all books and learning muſt go down; 'it comes from the want of the Spirit, that men write 'ſuch great volumes, and make ſuch adoe of learning '(26). 'Tis unlawfull for the Saints to joyn in prayer 'where

(13) Gangræna, P. i. p. 16.

(14) Ib. p. 18, p. 112.

(15) Ib. p. 19.

(16) Ib. p. 20, & 110.

(17) Ib. p. 21.

(18) Ib. p. 22.

(19) Page 23.

(20) Ib. p. 24.

(21) Ib. p. 25.

(22) Ib. p. 26.

(23) Ib. p. 27.

(24) Page 28.

(25) Page 29.

(26) Page 30.

alſo publiſhed, VI. "The caſting down of the laſt and ſtrongeſt hold of Satan: or, a "Treatiſe againſt Toleration." Part I. Lond. 1647, 4to. VII. "Of the particular "Viſibility of the Church." VIII. "A Treatiſe of the Civil Power of Eccleſiaſticals, "and of Suſpenſion from the Lord's Supper." Lond. 1642, 1644 (*b*). He promiſed ſeveral other pieces [*H*], but it doth not appear that he publiſhed them. The time and place of his death are to us unknown.

(*l*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

'where wicked men are, or to pray with any of the 'wicked (27). That there are Revelations and 'Viſions in theſe times; yea to ſome they are more 'ordinary, and ſhall be to the people of God generally 'within a while. That the gift of miracles is not 'ceaſed in theſe times, but that ſome of the ſectaries 'have wrought miracles. 'Tis ordinary for Chriſtians 'now in theſe dayes, with Paul to be wrapt up to the 'third Heavens, and to hear words unutterable, and 'they cannot well have aſſurance of being Chriſtians, 'that have not found and had experience of this (28). 'All the earth is the ſaints, and there ought to be a 'community of goods, and the ſaints ſhould ſhare in 'the lands and eſtates of gentlemen and rich men. 'That 'tis lawfull for a man to put away his wife up'on indiſpoſition, unfitneſſe, contrariety of mind, &c. 'Tis unlawful for Chriſtians to fight, and take up 'arms for their laws and civil liberties. That uſing 'of ſet formes of prayer preſcribed is Idolatry (29). 'That 'tis not lawful for a Chriſtian to be a Magiſ'trate, but upon turning Chriſtian he ſhould lay down 'his Magiſtracy (30). That God hath a bodily ſhape 'and proportion (31). The ſouls of the ſaints de'parted now in Heaven are on earth every where 'preſent with their friends, and with all the affairs of 'this world, ſeeing and knowing them; and do now 'with Chriſt govern and rule the kingdoms of the 'Earth, and all the affairs here below (32). That 'there is no need of univerſities, that univerſities are 'of the devill; that human learning is fleſh oppoſed 'to the ſpirit, and that if men be anointed with the 'ſpirit, and accepted amongſt the ſaints, they are ſuf'ficiently qualified (33). That all ſhall be ſaved at 'laſt, both all men and devils: and ſhall ſee, feel, 'and poſſeſs, bleſſedneſs, to their everlaſting ſalvation 'and comfort (34). That Chriſt ſhed his bloud for 'kine and horſes, and all other creatures, as well as for 'men, &c. (35).' Theſe, and many more, are ſome of the blaſphemies and horrid impieties, advanced and maintained in theſe unhappy kingdoms, during thoſe lawleſs diſtracted times, when every one did what ſeemed right in his own eyes. And no wonder; if we do but obſerve, what ſort of creatures ſet up for the great reformers of religion and inſtructors of mankind; namely (to uſe our author's words) 'ſwarms of illiterate mechanicks, as ſmiths, 'taylors, ſhoemakers, pedlars, weavers, women-'preachers, &c. (36).' And, by name, 'one Heath 'the collar-maker of Watton, one Rice the tinker 'of Aſton, one Field the bodies-maker of Hertford, 'one Crew the taylor of Stevenage,' all in Hertfordſhire: and the like in other counties (37).

(27) Page 31.
(28) Page 32.
(29) Page 34.
(30) Page 35.
(31) Gangræna, P. iii. p. 2.
(32) Ib. p. 4, 6.
(33) Ib. p. 9, 45, 80.
(34) Page 10, 11.
(35) Ib. & p. 36.
(36) Gangræna, P. i. p. 116, and Epiſt. Dedicat. p. 8.

He quotes his authorities and vouchers all along; and affirms, that the 'truth of the maine ſubſtance 'and matter of whatever he relates, both for opinions 'and matters of fact, is plainly demonſtrated; by his 'quoting books known to hundreds, by naming per'ſons known for witneſſes, by relating things common 'in the times, and theſe ſet by the errors in the mar'gents, or joyned to the matter, ſo manifeſt that he 'that runs may read it (38).' Nay, he makes this declaration, —— 'I can ſay of it, that of all the 'particulars in this kind that I have related in theſe 'three books [of Gangræna], beſides many matters 'of fact in Antapologia, (which in all amount to ſome 'thouſands,) I do not know of any one particular re'lated by me, excepting one, that I have reaſon to 'ſuſpect was not true, and yet that was written me in 'a letter by a reverend and godly Miniſter, and was 'the voice of the country (39).'

(37) Gangræna, P. iii p. 81; as Paul Hobſon the Taylor, and Lieut. Col. Hewſon the one-ey'd Shoemaker.
(38) Ib. Preface, p. 6.
(39) Ib. p. 9.

But it muſt be remembered, that among the errors above-mentioned, our author places many doctrines maintained by the Arminians, (and not taken notice of by me,) which, though condemned by the Synod of Dort, time hath ſhewn to be moſt plain and unqueſtionable truths.

It is not only by ſuch quotations out of the books of independent writers, as are ſet down above, that Mr. Edwards ſhews his great inveteracy againſt that whole party. But he doth it likewiſe by cenſuring their actions; and diſplaying, their inſolences, pride, and arrogance; their covetouſneſs, and ambition: their ſubtilties, and hypocriſy; their tumults and riots even in the moſt ſacred places (40); their libertiniſm and atheiſm; their inceſts, and other uncleanneſſes: their looſeneſs, immorality, and drunkenneſs; their deceitfulneſs, lying, and ſlandering; their horrible affronts to authority (41); their contempt of all that is ſacred and ſerious, witneſs their baptizing of a horſe, &c. (42).——He likewiſe endeavours to expoſe them to the utmoſt, by relating ſome of their abſurd and nonſenſical ſayings: as for inſtance —— 'Chriſt judges not by the eye, or eare, he regards 'not mens prayers or duties; if they have Chriſt in 'their heart, though they do not read and pray, and 'trade in duties, Chriſt judges them according to their 'heart (43).'—— 'I rejoyce that Chriſt is be'ginning to ſet up houſe-keeping, and his ſaints ſhall 'not want while Chriſt have one penny; come buy 'without money, gold tried and white raiment, and 'anoint thine eies with eie-ſalve that thou maieſt ſee' (44)——One, preaching on John 20. 17. 'Touch 'me not, I am not yet aſcended; collected from thoſe 'words theſe three tranſcendent points: Firſt, That 'laymen, weavers, tinkers, and coblers, being gifted, 'might be preachers. Secondly, learning was not 'any means or help to underſtand the meaning of the 'Scriptures. Thirdly, that any chamber, barne, or 'ſtable, or other place, was as holy as the church; 'and that there was no holineſs in the temple, for 'God deſtroyed it; nor in any church (45).'—— But, when he comes to ſpeak of a toleration, (which the independents were then making ſtrong intereſt for, in order to work themſelves into all places of truſt or profit,) he loſes all patience. 'This land, ſaith he, 'is become already in many places a chaos, a babel, 'another Amſterdam, yea worſe, we are beyond that, 'and in the highway to Munſter; but, if a general to'leration ſhould be granted, ſo much written and 'ſtood for, England would quickly become a Sodom, 'an Egypt, Babylon, yea, worſe than all theſe (46). '—A toleration is the grand deſigne of the devil, his 'maſter-peece, and chief engine he works by at this 'time to uphold his tottering kingdome; it is the 'moſt compendious, ready, ſure, way to deſtroy all 'religion, lay all waſte, and bring in all evil; it is 'a moſt tranſcendent, catholique, and fundamentall, 'evill, for this kingdom, of any that can be imagined. 'As originall ſin is the moſt fundamentall ſin, all ſin; 'having the ſeed and ſpawn of all in it, ſo a tolera'tion hath all errors in it, and all evils—— (47). 'Independency is become a compound of many er'rors, as Antinomianiſm, Browniſm, Anabaptiſm, Li'bertiniſm; and, if independency could once get a to'leration, we ſhould then ſee it ſpeak out to purpoſe. 'And as Independency is in this ſenſe all error, being 'the great cauſe of them, ſo many errors are for In'dependency, that is the love of errors cauſes many 'to become Independents—— (48)' ——One remarkable particular in theſe books muſt not paſs without obſervation: and it is, that, as early as the year 1646, the Independents had formed deſigns againſt the life of King Charles I. and reſolved to cauſe him to be beheaded (49).——Finally, we learn thence, that at firſt 'the Independents would 'preach freely, aſking nothing (50).' But they have ſince altered their minds; and maintain, as firmly as the Miniſters of the Eſtabliſhed Church, that they who preach the goſpel muſt live of the goſpel.

(40) Gangræna, P. i. Epiſt. Delic. p. 3. 61, &c.
(41) Ib. P. iii. p. 185, 186, 187—240.
(42) Ib. p. 17. 18, &c.
(43) Ib. p. 45.
(44) Ib. p. 53.
(45) Ib. p. 62.
(46) Ib. p. 152.
(47) Ib. p. 153.
(48) Ib. p. 157.
(49) Gangræna, P. ii. p. 131; and P. iii. p. 97, 172, 183, 184, 195, 237.
(50) Ib. p. 121.

[*H*] *He promiſed ſeveral other pieces.*] Particularly, 1. A Fourth Part of his Gangræna (51). 2. An Hiſtorical Narration of all the proceedings and ways of the Engliſh Sectaries (52). 3. Catalogue of the Judgments of God upon the Sectaries within theſe four years

(51) See Gangræna, P. iii.
(52) Gangræna, P. i. p. 42.

years last past (53). 4. Many Tractates against the Errors of the Times (54). 5. He promised, to be like that tree spoken of in the Revelation, to yield fruit every month; i. e. to be often setting forth one Tractate or other (55). But he was not as good as his word.——As for his character: he professes himself 'a plain, open-hearted, man, who hated 'tricks, reserves and designs' (56): zealous for the Assembly of Divines, the Directory, the use of the Lord's Prayer, singing of Psalms, &c. (57). and so earnest for what he took to be truth, that he was usually called in Cambridge *young Luther* (58). M.

(53) P. iii. p. 96, 97.

(54) Ib. Preface, p. 16.

(55) Part i. Preface 2.

(56) Ib. in the body of that book, p. 41.

(57) P. iii. p. 147.

(58) Ib. p. 41.

*** [It is difficult to account for the motive which could induce our learned predecessor to give an article of this Mr. Edwards. If it was candour, it was candour carried to an excess. In himself, Mr. Thomas Edwards ill-deserved a place in the Biographia. The account of him, however, is not altogether without its utility; since it serves to display the wretched absurdities that prevailed amongst the sectaries of the time, and the equal absurdities which, on the other hand, were maintained by Edwards. He not only had all the narrow principles of the most bigoted Presbyterians of that age, but superinduced upon them an additional malignity, arising from the violence of his own temper. For, that his temper was violent in a very high degree, is plain from all that he says of himself in the notes. His bitterness against the doctrine of Toleration rose almost to madness. If he had been possessed of power; he would have been as great a persecutor as any that is recorded in the History of the Church of Rome. From no one's having thought it worth his while to record the time or place of his death, it may be conjectured that he fell into contempt with all parties.] K.

*** [EDWARDS (JOHN), a Divine of the Church of England, who flourished at the latter end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. Finding that he was the author of a great number of publications, we solicited information concerning him through the medium of the "Gentleman's Magazine." The consequence of this was, our being favoured, by an anonymous benefactor, with a manuscript life of him, which appears to have been principally written by himself. Having received this intelligence relating to him, we cannot deny him an article, though we are now convinced that his works, notwithstanding their being undoubtedly learned, are too scholastic and calvinistical to be in any considerable degree the objects of present attention. He was born at Hertford, on the twenty-sixth of February, 1637, and was baptized in All-Hallows church in that town. His father was the Reverend Mr. Thomas Edwards, and, from the circumstances which are related concerning him, it is undeniable that he was the very Thomas Edwards, the violent Presbyterian Divine, of whom an account is given in the preceding article. The manuscript, that ascertains this fact, records, likewise, the time of his death, which, as well as the place of it, was unknown to our predecessor. He departed this life on the twenty-fourth of August, 1647, and in the forty-eighth year of his age. It appears that he died of a quartan ague in Holland, whither he had fled to avoid the resentment of the Independents, after Oliver Cromwell had come with his army in triumph into the city. By his wife, who was an heiress of a very considerable fortune, he left one daughter and four sons, the second of whom was John, the subject of the present narrative. After having received his grammatical education at Merchant-Tailors School in London, he was removed, in the year 1653, to the University of Cambridge, and was admitted of St. John's College, then under the government of Dr. Anthony Tuckney, a Presbyterian Divine of consequence at that period, and a gentleman of acknowledged character and learning. Dr. Tuckney was particularly distinguished for the wise and exact discipline of his college; so that it flourished in an eminent degree. Mr. Edwards, soon after his admission, was chosen scholar of the house, and he was quickly taken notice of for his exercises both in his tutor's chamber and in his college-hall. Towards the close of his undergraduateship, the senior Proctor being then of the college, he was appointed one of the *Moderators* for the year. When he was Middle Bachelor he was elected a fellow of his college, for which he was principally indebted to the exertions of Dr. Tuckney in his behalf. During the time of his senior bachelorship he was again chosen Moderator in the schools, and his performances were long remembered with esteem and praise. In 1661, Mr. Edwards was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts (*a*); soon after which event, Sir Robert Carr took him with him to Bugden, and presented him to Dr. Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln, who conferred upon him the order of Deacon. That learned prelate engaged him, at the same time, to preach a sermon at the next Ordination of Priests, which was then approaching. This service he performed, and, together with the other candidates, entered into the second degree of the sacred ministry. In 1664, he undertook the duty of Trinity Church in Cambridge, and went through the whole work both parts of the day. In his preaching he affected not any flaunting eloquence, but studied to be plain, intelligible, and practical, and to edify all his hearers; yet so as that his Discourses were mixed with choice and uncommon remarks. His church was much frequented by the gown, and by persons of considerable standing in the University. Dr. Sparrow, Master of Queen's, Dr. Beaumont, Master of Peter-House, and Dr. Pearson, Master of Trinity College, were often heard to applaud his pulpit performances. In 1665, during the time of the plague, he quitted his residence in the College, and dwelt all that year, and part of the next, in the town, that he might devote himself entirely to the edification and comfort of the parishioners of Trinity church, in that season of calamity. A little after this, Sir Edward Atkins offered him a good

(*a*) Cantabrigienses Graduati, p. 127.

a good living near Cirenceſter, in Glouceſterſhire, but he choſe to continue in his ſtation at Cambridge. In 1668, he was admitted to the degree of Bachelor in Divinity. About the ſame time, through the intereſt of Sir Robert Carr with Sir Thomas Harvey, Mr. Edwards was unanimouſly choſen Lecturer at St. Edmund's Bury, with a ſalary of a hundred pounds a year. This office he diſcharged with great reputation and acceptance, notwithſtanding which, after a period of twelve months, he reſigned it, and returned to his College. Here, however, his ſituation was uneaſy to him. He had not been upon the beſt terms with Dr. Peter Gunning, the former Maſter of St. John's, and he was ſtill more diſſatisfied with the conduct towards him of Dr. Francis Turner, Gunning's ſucceſſor. What were the grounds of Mr. Edwards's diſguſt, we are not able to aſcertain; but it was ſo great that he determined to reſign his Fellowſhip. On quitting his College, he was preſented by the Fellows with a teſtimonial of his worthy and laudable behaviour among them. From St. John's he removed to Trinity-Hall, where he entered himſelf as a Fellow-Commoner, and performed the regular exerciſes in the civil law. Being willing to be employed in the offices of his clerical function, he accepted of the invitation of the pariſhioners of St. Sepulchre, in Cambridge, to be their Miniſter; and his ſermons there were as much attended by perſons of conſequence in the Univerſity as they had formerly been at Trinity Church. In the year 1676, Mr. Edwards married Mrs. Lane, the widow of Mr. Lane, who had been an Alderman, a Juſtice of Peace, and an eminent attorney in the town. "This gentlewoman," ſays our narrative, "was an extraordinary perſon, of unuſual accompliſhments and ſingular "graces; but had the unhappineſs (as ſome others of that ſex) to be miſrepreſented "to the world. She being naturally of a high and generous ſpirit, and not framed to "low obſervances and vulgar compliances, incurred thereby the imputation of pride "and ſuperciliouſneſs among vulgar minds. But thoſe who were no ſtrangers to good "breeding, and knew how to make diſtinction of perſons, admired the agreeableneſs of her converſation, and ſaw thoſe excellent and worthy things in her deportment which they could find but in very few of her ſex. She underſtood herſelf and "her duty, and all the rules of civil and religious behaviour. She exactly knew the "laws of education; as was ſeen in her only ſon, whom ſhe bred up at home under "her own wing; a youth brought up to virtue and piety, and tainted with none of the "vices of the age."

Soon after Mr. Edwards's marriage, his friend, Sir Robert Carr, generouſly offered him the preſentation of two conſiderable benefices then vacant in Norfolk, which he as generouſly declined, being willing that thoſe livings ſhould be beſtowed upon ſome other perſon or perſons who needed them. About the ſame time he accepted a preferment leſs valuable, which was that of St. Peter's Church in Colcheſter, being induced to it by a proſpect of extenſive uſefulneſs. Thither he accordingly removed with his family, and was highly acceptable to his pariſhioners. However, he quitted the place at the end of three years, and removed to Cambridgeſhire. To this he was induced by the unkind uſage which (as he thought) he met with from the Clergy of the town; by the unhealthfulneſs of his lady; and by an apoplectic and convulſive fit with which he was himſelf viſited. Upon his removal into the county of Cambridge, being afflicted with bodily pains and weakneſſes, and eſpecially the gout, he determined to preach the Goſpel by his pen. Accordingly, from this period he employed himſelf in preſenting a ſucceſſion of publications to the world. About the year 1697, Mr. Edwards removed with his family to Cambridge, both for the convenience of the market, and the Univerſity-library. Our author had often been ſolicited by his friends to take his degree of Doctor of Divinity; but he did not comply with their motion till the year 1699. Upon this occaſion he had not the opportunity of keeping an act; becauſe, on account of the illneſs of the Divinity profeſſor, there was none to moderate and determine. He only preached an Engliſh ſermon at the commencement, and a *Concio ad Clerum*; beſides which he made a determination in Latin, in the ſchools, on a theological queſtion. In 1701, Dr. Edwards loſt his lady, and, after a due and decent diſtance of time he married again. The perſon he made choice of was a niece of Alderman Lane, and had been brought up ſeveral years under Mrs. Edwards before her marriage to the Doctor, which, ſays our manuſcript, "is a ſufficient character of this new conſort." It had been generally thought that his former wife laid a reſtraint upon him, and that, to comply with her, he debarred himſelf of his liberty, went very ſeldom into company, and, when he did ſo, ſtayed only a little time. But this, we are told, was a great miſtake, which was confuted by Mrs. Edwards's death; for, the Doctor kept the ſame courſe that he did before; made his houſe his reſidence; and cared not for the unneceſſary diverſions of company, but wholly ſeparated himſelf to ſtudy and contemplation. It is added, that the good effects of this conduct were ſeen in the books with which he continually bleſſed the world. It is remarkable that Dr. Edwards, notwithſtanding his numerous publications, was never poſſeſſed of a library; ſome bibles, lexicons, dictionaries, and other works, of a ſimilar nature and conſtant uſe, excepted. The Univerſity

and College Libraries furniſhed him with all the claſſic Authors, and Greek and Latin fathers, and indeed with whatever related to ancient learning. Theſe he either peruſed in the places where they were kept, or had them brought to his chamber; and his method was, from the early part of his life, to make Adverſaria and Collections out of the books which he read, and all along to frame notes, obſervations, inferences, and reflections, from and on them, and to reduce them to the particular heads and ſubjects on which he deſigned to treat. He never had a common-place book. With regard to modern authors, his practice was to procure the loan of them from the bookſellers, at the price of ſixpence for an octavo, a ſhilling for a quarto, and two ſhillings for a folio. By this good huſbandry, he was forced to read the works which he borrowed within the time prefixed; whereas otherwiſe he might perhaps never have peruſed them thoroughly. Dr. Edwards continued in his courſe of diligent ſtudy, and repeated publications, till near the period of his deceaſe, which took place on the ſixteenth of April, 1716, in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age. A liſt of his writings will be given below [*A*].

Catharine, his ſecond wife, who is ſaid to have been adorned with every Chriſtian grace and virtue, ſurvived her huſband nearly thirty-nine years. She died on the fourteenth of January, 1744-5, aged eighty-one.

Of Dr. Edwards's piety a high and, we doubt not, a juſt character is given in the manuſcript. However, that he had ſome faults of temper may not, perhaps, unreaſonably be ſurmiſed. It is certain that he did not live on the beſt terms with the generality of the Clergy. Dr. Gunning and Dr. Turner, ſucceſſively Maſters of St. John's College, and Biſhops of Ely, are ſpoken of, in our narrative, in ſevere language. Another perſon, who is repreſented in a very unfavourable light, is the gentleman who was Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity in 1711. This gentleman would not permit a ſermon, which Dr. Edwards had preached at St. Mary's on the fifth of November, to be printed

[*A*] *A liſt of his writings will be given below.*] "Of "the Plague of the Heart." A ſermon, from 1 Kings viii. 38. quarto, 1665. "An Enquiry into "Four remarkable Texts of the New Teſtament." Octavo, 1692. "A farther Enquiry into ſeveral re- "markable Texts of the Old and New Teſtament." Octavo, 1692. "Of the Truth and Authority of "Scripture." 1693. "Of the Stile of Scripture." 1694. "Of the Excellency and Perfection of Scrip- "ture," 1695. "Thoughts concerning the Cauſes "and Occaſions of Atheiſm," 1695. "A Demon- "ſtration of the Exiſtence and Providence of God," 1696. "Socinianiſm unmaſked; or the Unreaſon- "ableneſs of the Opinion concerning One Article of "Faith only." "A brief Vindication of the funda- "mental Articles of the Chriſtian Faith;" and a diſcourſe, entitled, "The Socinian Creed," 1696 and 1697. Theſe three pieces, together with ſome part of the treatiſe concerning "The Cauſes and Occaſions "of Atheiſm," were occaſioned by Mr. Locke's publication of "The Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity, "as delivered in the Scriptures," and by the writings of ſome profeſſed Socinians. Mr. Edwards was the firſt perſon that encountered what he apprehended to be Mr. Locke's dangerous notions of the "One ſole Article "of Faith." This he did, in the beginning of the diſpute, in a manner very reſpectful to Mr. Locke's perſon and parts. But, Mr. Locke, in his two Vindications of his doctrine, having treated our author with ſeverity, he aſſumed, in his replies, an air of mirth and pleaſantneſs, and chaſtiſed his antagoniſt with ſome ſmartneſs. How far Edwards ſucceeded in his attempts at wit, humour, and raillery, we are not able to ſay. It is certain that his attack upon Mr. Locke was approved and applauded by a number of learned men, both at home and abroad. According to our manuſcript, Mr. Edwards obtained a complete victory in the controverſy; but there undoubtedly have been many perſons who have entertained a different opinion. One thing may be obſerved, which is, that our author's writings againſt Mr. Locke have ſunk into total neglect, while the "Reaſonableneſs of "Chriſtianity" ſtill continues to be read. To return to the liſt of Dr. Edwards's works. "Remarks on "Mr. Whiſton's Theory of the Earth," 1697. "Twelve Sermons on ſpecial Occaſions and Subjects," octavo, 1698. "A Survey of the different Diſpen- "ſations of Religion, from the Beginning of the "World to the Conſummation of all Things." In two volumes 1699. His Commencement Sermon, at the taking of his Doctor's degree, from Pſ. cxix. 142. quarto, 1699. His "Concio ad Clerum," from Mark. v. 12. and his "Latin Determination," octavo, 1700. "Exercitations, Critical, Philoſophical, Hiſ- "torical, Theological, on ſeveral important Places "in the Old and New Teſtament." In two parts, octavo, 1702. "The Preacher," the firſt part, 1705. "The Preacher," the ſecond part, 1706. "Veritas redux, or Evangelical Truths reſtored," 1707. "A Faſt Sermon," from Lament. i, 8. octavo, 1707. "One Nation and One King;" a Sermon on the Union, octavo, 1707. "A Sermon from "John xiii. 15." octavo, 1707. "A Sermon from "Pſ. lx. 12." octavo, 1708. "Treatiſe of Faith "and Juſtification," 1708. "The Preacher," the third part, 1709. "A Sermon preached on the Fifth "of November, at St. Mary's, in Cambridge, from "Pſ. cxxvi. 3," octavo, 1709. "Remarks on the "Archbiſhop of Dublin's Sermon," 1710. "A "Sermon on the Faſt," from Rev. ii. 4, 5. octavo, 1711. "An Anſwer to Dr. Whitby, concerning the "Arminian Doctrines," 1711. "Obſervations and "Reflections on Mr. Whiſton's Primitive Chriſtian- "ity," 1712. "Animadverſions on Dr. Clarke's "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity," 1712. "A "Supplement to the Animadverſions," 1713. "Theologia Reformata, or the Subſtance and Body "of the Chriſtian Religion." Two Volumes in "folio, 1713. A third Volume, in folio, was publiſhed in 1726, ten years after our author's deceaſe. "Remains," octavo, 1713. "A Sermon on the "Acceſſion of King George the Firſt, from Eccleſ. "vii. 10." octavo, 1714. The writings which Dr. Edwards left behind him in manuſcript, were nearly as many as thoſe which have already been named. By ſome of his contemporaries he was cenſured for appearing too frequently from the preſs. But his conduct in this reſpect is vindicated, in our manuſcript, from the examples of Cyril Alexandrinus, Chryſoſtom, Auguſtine, and Jerom, among the ancients; and Luther, Calvin, Brentius, Gerard, Melancthon, Druſius, Suarez, Albertus Magnus, Eraſmus, Vaſquez, Aquinas, Bellarmine, Baronius, the Magdeburgh Centuriators, and others among the moderns. It is added, that the profeſſors of other ſubjects and ſciences, the poets, the orators, the lawyers, and the phyſicians, acquire a greater ability and ſtrength by a frequent exertion of their talents. As to Dr. Edwards, it is ſaid, that thoſe who were juſt eſtimators of things cleared him of the imputation of writing too often, when they obſerved, that what he continually publiſhed exceeded rather than fell ſhort of his former performances.

at the Univerſity-preſs. In this affair the Vice-Chancellor evidently appears to have been influenced by a party ſpirit againſt our author, who was a zealous Whig; and who, in his diſcourſe, had enlarged much on our deliverance from Popery, on the bleſſings of the Revolution, and on the praiſes of King William. One thing which rendered Dr. Edwards unpopular among many of his brethren, was his great zeal for the Calviniſtic Doctrines. This matter he undoubtedly carried to a bigoted exceſs; for, he adopted and contended for the abſurd notion of the old Puritans, that there is a cloſe connection between Arminianiſm and Popery. That he was a man of extenſive learning cannot be denied; and, in the materials from which we have drawn up this article, he is ſaid to have been the Paul, the Auguſtine, the Bradwardine, the Calvin, of his age. It is farther aſſerted, that all unbiaſſed and impartial men voted him, by univerſal conſent, to be one of the moſt valuable writers of his time. If this aſſertion be true, and yet his works have fallen into oblivion, voluminous authors have reaſon to reflect, with ſome degree of humiliation, on the uncertain proſpects of future celebrity.]

K.

*** [EDWARDS (THOMAS), a critic and poetical writer, was born in the year 1699, in or near the City of London, and was a younger ſon of ——— Edwards, Eſq. a gentleman in the profeſſion of the Law (*a*). His grandfather had been of the ſame profeſſion. The principal part of his grammatical education he is ſaid to have received at Eton-School, where he became an excellent claſſical ſcholar, and laid the foundation of that good taſte in polite literature by which he was afterwards diſtinguiſhed. It is farther aſſerted, in the Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer (*b*), that he removed from Eton to King's College, Cambridge. But, in the New Univerſal Dictionary (*c*) it is declared, that he was brought up at a private ſchool, and that he never was a member of either of the Univerſities. If he was a ſtudent at Cambridge, it is certain that he quitted his College without taking a degree. At a proper age he was entered of Lincoln's Inn, and, in due time, was called to the bar; but, having a conſiderable heſitation in his ſpeech, he was diſcouraged from engaging much in the practice of the law (*d*). Although he never appears to have fallen into that diſſipation which is ſometimes chargeable upon young gentlemen of the Inns of Court, it may be conjectured, from his ſubſequent publications, that he applied himſelf more aſſiduouſly to the cultivation of the Belles Lettres than to the ſeverer ſtudies belonging to his profeſſion. Shakſpeare, in particular, was the object of his warmeſt admiration and moſt ſedulous attention; and, to this circumſtance Mr. Edwards is principally indebted for his literary reputation. His firſt appearance from the preſs was in a pamphlet, publiſhed in 1744, and entituled, "A Letter to the Author of a late Epiſtolary Dedication, addreſſed to "Mr. Warburton (*e*)." This was the beginning of our author's attack upon that famous writer; which was followed, in 1747, by "A Supplement to Mr. Warburton's "Edition of Shakeſpeare," a performance ſo well received by the world, that two impreſſions of it were printed in the ſame year. A third edition of it appeared in 1748 (*f*), under the title of "The Canons of Criticiſm, and a Gloſſary, being a Supplement to "Mr. Warburton's Edition of Shakeſpeare. Collected from the Notes in that cele-"brated Work, and proper to be bound up with it. By the other Gentleman of "Lincoln's Inn;" which title the book has ever ſince retained. The expreſſion of "the other Gentleman of Lincoln's-Inn" refers to a previous controverſy of Warburton's, upon a different topic, with another member of that ſociety. Mr. Warburton, in the preface to his edition of Shakſpeare, declares, that it had been once his deſign to give the reader a body of Canons for literary criticiſm, drawn out in form, together with a gloſſary; but that he had laid aſide his purpoſe, as theſe uſes might be well ſupplied by what he had occaſionally ſaid upon the ſubject in the courſe of his remarks. This idea Mr. Edwards humouroufly took up, and from the notes and corrections of Warburton's Shakſpeare, has framed a ſet of Canons ridiculouſly abſurd, each of which is confirmed and illuſtrated by examples taken from the edition in queſtion (*g*). Every one will allow, that Mr. Edwards has perfectly ſucceeded in his attempt, and that through the whole of his work he has diſplayed his wit, his learning, and his intimate acquaintance with Shakſpeare. The "Canons," as enlarged in the later impreſſions, are twenty-five in number, and ſhall be given below [*A*]. It was not to be expected that our author's attack upon Warburton, though conducted

(*a*) From the information of Joſeph Paice, Eſq.

(*b*) Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 205.

(*c*) New Dictionary, Vol. V. p. 67.

(*d*) New Dictionary, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 147.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 205. 207.

(*g*) Canons of Criticiſm, ſeventh edition, p. 36, 37.

[*A*] *Shall be given below.*]

"The Canons or Rules for Criticiſm, extracted out "of Mr. Warburton's Notes on Shakeſpeare.

I.

"A profeſſed Critic has a right to declare, that his "Author *wrote* whatever he thinks he *ought* to have "written, with as much poſitiveneſs as if he had been "at his elbow." Confirmed and illuſtrated by fourteen examples.

II.

"He has a right to alter any paſſage, which he "does not underſtand." Thirty-ſeven examples.

III.

"Theſe alterations he may make, in ſpite of the "exactneſs of meaſure." Seven examples.

IV. "Where

conducted with pleaſantry rather than ill-nature, ſhould paſs unnoticed by that gentleman. In fact, it was too formidable to avoid exciting reſentment. Accordingly, Mr. Warburton introduced Mr. Edwards into the next edition of Pope's Dunciad. It was in a note under the following lines in the fourth book of that work:

Next bidding all draw near on bended knees,
The Queen confers her titles and degrees.
Her children firſt of more diſtinguiſh'd ſort,
Who ſtudy Shakeſpeare at the Inns of Court.

IV.

"Where he does not like an expreſſion, and yet "cannot mend it, he may abuſe his author for it." Nine examples.

V.

"Or he may condemn it, as a fooliſh interpola-"tion." Seven examples.

VI.

"As every author is to be corrected into all poſſible "perfection, and of that perfection the profeſſed "critic is the ſole judge; he may alter any word or "phraſe, which does not want amendment, or which "*will do*; provided he can think of any thing which "he imagines *will do better*." Twenty examples.

VII.

"He may find out obſolete words, or coin new "ones; and put them in the place of ſuch as he does "not like, or does not underſtand." Twenty-one examples.

VIII.

"He may prove a reading, or ſupport an explana-"tion, by any ſort of reaſons; no matter whether "good or bad." Forty-nine examples.

IX.

"He may interpret his author ſo; as to make him "mean directly contrary to what he ſays." Twenty examples.

X.

"He ſhould not allow any poetical licences, which "he does not underſtand." Three examples.

XI.

"He may make fooliſh amendments or explanations, "and refute them; only to enhance the value of his "critical ſkill." Three examples.

XII.

"He may find out an immodeſt or immoral mean-"ing in his author; where there does not appear to "be any thing that way." Three examples.

XIII.

"He need not attend to the low accuracy of ortho-"graphy or pointing; but may ridicule ſuch trivial "criticiſms in others." Thirty-ſeven examples.

XIV.

"Yet, when he pleaſes to condeſcend to ſuch work, "he may value himſelf upon it; and not only re-"ſtore loſt puns, but point out ſuch quaintneſſes, "where perhaps the author never thought of it." Twelve examples.

XV.

"He may explain a difficult paſſage by words ab-"ſolutely unintelligible." Four examples.

XVI.

"He may contradict himſelf; for the ſake of "ſhewing his critical ſkill on both ſides of the queſ-"tion." Four examples.

XVII.

"It will be neceſſary for the profeſſed critic to "have by him a good number of pedantic and abuſive "expreſſions; to throw about on proper occaſions." Sixteen examples.

XVIII.

"He may explain his author, or any former "editor of him; by ſupplying ſuch words, or pieces "of words, or marks, as he thinks fit for that pur-"poſe." Six examples.

XIX.

"He may uſe the very ſame reaſons, for confirming "his own obſervations, which he has diſallowed in "his adverſary." Two examples.

XX.

"As the deſign of writing notes is not ſo much to "explain the author's meaning as to diſplay the "critic's knowledge, it may be proper, to ſhew his "univerſal learning, that he minutely point out, "from whence every metaphor and alluſion is taken." Thirty examples.

XXI.

"It will be proper, in order to ſhew his wit, "eſpecially if the critic be a married man, to take "every opportunity of ſneering at the fair ſex." Eight examples.

XXII.

"He may miſquote himſelf, or any body elſe, in "order to make an occaſion of writing notes; when "he cannot otherwiſe find one." Six examples.

XXIII.

"The profeſſed critic, in order to furniſh his quota "to the bookſeller, may write NOTES ON NOTHING; "that is, notes which either explain things, which "do not want explanation; or ſuch as do not explain "matters at all, but merely fill up ſo much paper." Twenty examples.

XXIV.

"He may diſpenſe with truth; in order to give the "world a higher idea of his parts, or of the value of "his work." Four examples.

XXV.

"He may alter any paſſage of his author, without "reaſon and againſt the copies; and then quote the "paſſage, ſo altered, as an authority for altering any "other." Two examples (1).

(1) Canons of Criticiſm, ſeventh edition, paſſim.

The "Eſſay towards a Gloſſary" is equally acute, and equally ſucceſsful in expoſing Warburton's Errors.

We are not, however, hence to imagine, that there is nothing but what is blamable in Warburton's Edition of Shakeſpeare. There are ſeveral remarks in it which are acute, ingenious, and beautiful. "That "it has good notes," Mr. Edwards ſays, "he never "denied (*)."

(*) Canons of Criticiſm, p. 21.

" Ill," ſays our annotator, " would that ſcholiaſt diſcharge his duty, who ſhould ne-
" glect to honour thoſe whom DULNESS has diſtinguiſhed: or ſuffer them to lie forgot-
" ten, when their rare modeſty would have left them nameleſs. Let us not, there-
" fore, overlook the ſervices which have been done her cauſe, by one Mr. THOMAS
" EDWARDS, a gentleman, as he is pleaſed to call himſelf of Lincoln's Inn; but, in
" reality, a gentleman only of the Dunciad; or, to ſpeak him better, in the plain
" language of our honeſt anceſtors to ſuch muſhrooms, a gentleman of the laſt edition:
" who, nobly eluding the ſolicitude of his careful father, very early retained himſelf
" in the cauſe of dulneſs againſt Shakeſpear, and with the wit and learning of his An-
" ceſtor Tom Thimble in the Rehearſal, and with the air of good-nature and politeneſs
" of Caliban in the Tempeſt, hath now happily finiſhed the Dunce's progreſs, in per-
" ſonal abuſe. For, a libeller is nothing but a grub-ſtreet critic run to ſeed (*b*)."

(*b*) Johnſon's Engliſh Poets, Vol. XXXIV. p. 256.

Mr. Edwards, who had inflicted ſo deep a wound on Warburton's edition of Shakſpeare, and who could be no ſtranger to the iraſcibility of his literary temper, ought to have been prepared for ſome ſuch attack. This, however, was not the caſe. Warburton's note, and the introduction by it of our author into the Dunciad, were felt by him in a very ſenſible degree; and he was particularly hurt at what he thought a reflection upon his birth. His reſentment on this occaſion was ſtrongly expreſſed in a preface which he prefixed to a new impreſſion of the " Canons of Criticiſm" [*B*]. In one reſpect

[*B*] *In a preface which he prefixed to a new impreſſion of "The Canons of Criticiſm."*] The truth of what is aſſerted above will be apparent from the following extract: " Mr. Warburton had promiſed the world a " moſt complete edition of Shakeſpear; and, long " before it came out, raiſed our expectations of it, " by a pompous account of what he would do, in " the General Dictionary. He was very handſomely " paid for what he promiſed. The expected edition " at length comes out; with a title-page importing " that the Genuine Text, *collated* with all the former " editions, and then *corrected* and *amended*, is there " ſettled. His preface is taken-up with deſcribing " the great difficulties of the work, and the great " qualifications requiſite to a due performance of it; " yet at the ſame time he very cavalierly tells us, that " theſe notes were among the amuſements of his " younger years: and, as for the Canons of Criticiſm " and the Gloſſary which he promiſed, he abſolves " himſelf, and leaves his readers to collect them out " of his notes.

" I deſire to know, by what name ſuch a behaviour " in any other commerce or intercourſe of life would " be called? and whether a man is not dealt gently " with, who is only laughed at for it? I thought " then, I had a right to laugh; and when I found ſo " many haſty, crude, and to ſay no worſe, unedifying, " notes, ſupported by ſuch magiſterial pride, I took " the liberty he gave me; and extracted ſome Canons, " and an eſſay towards a Gloſſary, from his work. If " he had done it, he had ſaved me the labor: it is " poſſible, indeed, that he might not have pitched " upon all the ſame paſſages as I did to collect them " from; as perhaps no two people, who did not con-" ſult together, would; but I defie him to ſay, that " theſe are not fairly collected; or that he is unfairly " quoted for the examples: if Mr. Warburton would " have been more grave upon the occaſion, yet I did " not laugh ſo much as I might have done; and I uſed " him with better manners than ever he did any " perſon whom he had a controverſy with; except " *one* gentleman, whom he is afraid of; if I may ex-" cept even him.

" But all this avails me nothing: I have read " Shakeſpear at Lincoln's Inn; and have publiſhed " my Canons of Criticiſm; and for this I am to be " degraded of my gentility. A ſevere ſentence this. " —I find that my reading of Shakeſpear is a greater " crime than high-treaſon: had I been guilty of the " latter, I muſt have been indicted by my addition, " tried by my peers, and ſhould not have loſt my " blood till I had been attainted; whereas here the " puniſhment is incurred *ipſo facto*, without jury or " trial.

" I might complain of Mr. Warburton to his " Maſters of the Bench, for degrading a Barriſter of " their houſe by his ſole authority; but I will only " reaſon coolly with him upon the equity of this new " proceeding.

" A Gentleman (if I do not mean myſelf, with Mr. " Warburton's leave, I may uſe that word), I ſay, a " gentleman, deſigned for the ſevere ſtudy of the law, " muſt not preſume to read, much leſs to make any " obſervations on, Shakeſpear; while a Miniſter of " Chriſt, a Divine of the Church of England, and one " who, if either of the Univerſities would have given " him that honour, would have been a Doctor in " Divinity: or, as in his preface he decently ex-" preſſes it (2), *of the Occult Sciences*; he, I ſay, may " leave the care of his living in the country, and his " chapel in town, to curates; and ſpend his Heaven-" devoted hours in writing obſcene and immoral notes " on that author, and imputing to him ſentiments " which he would have been aſhamed of.

(2) Pref. p. 16.

" Who is Mr. Warburton? what is *his* birth, or " whence *his* privilege? that the reputations of men " both living and dead, of men in birth, character, " ſtation, in every inſtance of true worthyneſs, much " his ſuperiors, muſt lie at the mercy of his petulant " ſatire, to be hacked and mangled as his ill-mannered " ſpleen ſhall prompt him; while it ſhall be unlaw-" ful for any body, under penalty of degradation, to " laugh at the unſcholar-like blunders, the crude and " far-fetched conceits, the illiberal and indecent re-" flections, which he has endeavoured with ſo much " ſelf-ſufficiency and arrogance to put-off upon the " world as a ſtandard of true criticiſm?

" After being degraded from my gentility, I am " accuſed of dulneſs, of being engaged againſt Shake-" ſpear, and of perſonal abuſe: for the firſt; *if*, as " (3) Audrey ſays, *the Gods have not made me poetical*, " I cannot help it; every body has not the wit of the " ingenious Mr. Warburton; and I confeſs myſelf not " to be his match in that ſpecies of it, which he deals-" out ſo laviſhly in his notes upon all occaſions. As " to the charge of being engaged againſt Shakeſpear; " if he does not, by the moſt ſcandalous equivocation, " mean his edition of Shakeſpear, it is maliciouſly " falſe; for, I defy him to prove, that I ever either " wrote or ſpoke concerning Shakeſpear, but with " that eſteem which is due to the greateſt of our " Engliſh Poets. And, as to the imputation of per-" ſonal abuſe; I deny it, and call upon him to pro-" duce any inſtance of it. I know nothing of the " man, but from his works; and, from what he has " ſhewn of his temper in them, I do not deſire to " know more of him; nor am I conſcious of having " made one remark, which did not naturally ariſe " from the ſubject before me; or of having been in " any inſtance ſevere, but on occaſions where every " gentleman muſt be moved: I mean, where his " notes ſeemed to be of an immoral tendency; or " full of thoſe illiberal, common-place reflections on " the fair ſex, which are unworthy of a gentleman or " a man; much leſs do they become a divine and a " married man: and, if this is called perſonal abuſe, " I will repete it; till he is aſhamed of ſuch lan-

(3) As you like it.

reſpect Mr. Edwards appears to have been miſtaken. Warburton had no reference to his parental origin; which circumſtance he condeſcended to explain in an additional note, though in very uncourtly language. "Lamentable," ſays he, "is the dulneſs "of theſe gentlemen of the Dunciad. This Fungoſo and his friends, who are all gen-"tlemen, have exclaimed much againſt us for reflecting on his birth, in the words, "*a gentleman of the laſt edition*, which we hereby declare concern not his birth, but his "adoption only; and mean no more than that he is become a gentleman of the laſt "edition of the Dunciad. Since, gentlemen, then, are ſo captious, we think it pro-"per to declare that Mr. Thomas Edwards's anceſtor is only related to him by the "Muſe's ſide (*i*)."

(*i*) Ibid.

Not ſatisfied with anſwering Warburton in proſe, Mr. Edwards pelted him with ſonnets. One of them may ſuffice, as a ſpecimen of the reſt.

"Tongue-doughty pedant; whoſe ambitious mind
"Prompts thee beyond thy native pitch to ſoar;
"And, imp'd with borrow'd plumes of index-lore,
"Range through the vaſt of ſcience unconfin'd!

"Not for thy wing was ſuch a flight deſign'd:
"Know thy own ſtrength, and, wiſe, attempt no more;
"But lowly ſkim round error's winding ſhore,
"In queſt of paradox from ſenſe refin'd.

"Much haſt thou written—more than will be read;
"Then ceaſe from Shakeſpeare thy unhallow'd rage;
"Nor by a fond o'erweening pride miſ-led,
"Hope fame by injuring the ſacred dead:
"Know, who would comment well his godlike page,
"Critic, muſt have a heart as well as head (*k*)."

(*k*) Canons of Criticiſm, ubi ſupra, p. 24.

Mr. Edwards had the leſs reaſon for being much affected by Warburton's reflection, as he had ample cauſe for ſatisfaction, in the repeated impreſſions of his work, in the approbation of his friends, and in the elegant Ode addreſſed to him by Dr. Akenſide [*C*].

"guage, as none but libertines and the loweſt of the "vulgar can think think to be wit; and this too "flowing from the fullneſs of his heart, where honeſt "Shakeſpear gave not the leaſt occaſion for ſuch "reflections." Other paſſages, to a ſimilar purpoſe, may be ſeen in the Appendix to the laſt Edition of "The Canons of Criticiſm."

[*C*] *And in the elegant Ode addreſſed to him by Dr. Akenſide.*]

'To Thomas Edwards, Eſq. on the late edition of 'Mr. Pope's works, 1751.

I.

'Believe me, Edwards, to reſtrain
'The licence of a rai'er's tongue
'Is what but ſeldom men obtain
'By ſenſe or wit, by proſe or ſong:
'A taſk for more Herculean powers,
'Nor ſuited to the ſacred hours
'Of leiſure in the Muſe's bowers.

II.

'In bowers where laurel weds with palm,
'The Muſe, the blameleſs Queen, reſides:
'Fair Fame attends, and Wiſdom calm
'Her eloquence harmonious guides:
'While, ſhut for ever from her gate,
'Oft trying, ſtill repining, wait
'Fierce Envy and calumnious Hate.

III.

'Who then from her delightful bounds
'Would ſtep one moment forth to heed
'What impotent and ſavage ſounds
'From their unhappy mouths proceed?
'No: rather Spenſer's lyre again
'Prepare, and let thy pious ſtrain
'For Pope's diſhonour'd ſhade complain.

IV.

'Tell how diſpleas'd was every Bard,
'When lately in the Elyſian grove
'They of his Muſe's guardian heard,
'His delegate to fame above;
'And what with one accord they ſaid
'Of wit in drooping age miſled,
'And Warburton's officious aid:

V.

'How Virgil mourn'd the ſordid fate
'To that melodious lyre aſſign'd
'Beneath a tutor who ſo late
'With Midas and his rout combin'd,
'By ſpiteful clamour, to confound
'That very lyre's enchanting ſound,
'Though liſt'ning realms admir'd around:

VI.

'How Horace own'd he thought the fire
'Of his friend Pope's ſatiric line
'Did farther fuel ſcarce require
'From ſuch a militant divine:
'How Milton ſcorn'd the ſophiſt vain
'Who durſt approach his hallow'd ſtrain
'With unwaſh'd hands and lips profane.

VII.

'Then Shakeſpeare debonnair and mild
'Brought that ſtrange comment forth to view;
'Conceits more deep, he ſaid and ſmil'd,
'Than his own fools or madmen knew:
'But thank'd a generous friend above,
'Who did with free advent'rous love
'Such pageants from his tomb remove.

VIII.

'And if to Pope, in equal need,
'The ſame kind office thou wouldſt pay,
'Then, Edwards, all the band decreed
'That future Bards with frequent lay
'Should call on thy auſpicious name,
'From each abſurd intruder's claim,
'To keep inviolate their fame (3).

(3) Johnſon's Engliſh Poets, Vol. LV. p. 274—276.

To the ſeventh edition of the Canons of Criticiſm, which was publiſhed in 1765, is annexed a ſmall piece, entituled, "An Account of the Trial of the Letter Y, alias, "Y," the deſign of which was to put gentlemen of learning and leiſure in mind of ſettling the orthography of our language. It is a ſenſible performance, and diſplays, in a pleaſing manner, Mr. Edwards's ſkill in Engliſh criticiſm; a ſtudy, of which he was particularly fond, and in which few have ſhewn a more exact taſte. The two chief things hinted at in the piece are uniformity in ſpelling, where the reaſons from derivation are the ſame; and, preſerving, as much as may be, the marks of etymology (*l*): In the ſame publication are given fifty of our author's ſonnets, in the ſtyle and manner of Spenſer, twenty-ſeven of which had never before been printed. The reſt, two excepted, had previouſly appeared in Dodſley's and Pearch's collections of poems. Two more original ſonnets, together with an ode, occaſioned by a lady's being burnt with curling-irons, may be ſeen in the ſixth volume of Nichols's Select Collection. The mention of theſe productions brings Mr. Edwards before us under the character of a poet; in which reſpect we can by no means ſpeak ſo highly of him as in his critical capacity. Excepting in the ſingle inſtance juſt ſpecified, we have nothing from his poetical pen beſides ſonnets. Of theſe it is ſaid, that they are "correct, ſimple, not "aiming at points or turns, in the phraſe and ſtructure rather ancient, for the moſt "part of a grave, or even of a melancholy, caſt; formed, in ſhort, upon the model "of the Italians of the good age, and of their imitators among us, Spenſer and Mil-"ton (*m*)." All this may be true, without conveying any high degree of praiſe; and, indeed our moſt eminent poets have inherited but a ſlender portion of reputation from their ſonnets. After having read thoſe of Mr. Edwards with attention, the chief applauſe we can beſtow upon them is, that they diſcover the traces of an elegant mind and a good heart. The *acer Spiritus*, the *Vis vivida*, will be ſought for in them in vain. We acknowledge, at the ſame time, that we are no fond admirers of this ſpecies of poetry. It is liable, we think, to various objections. The conſtruction of the ſtanza, in particular, and the manner in which the rhymes return, (eſpecially if the ancient models be ſtrictly followed,) are very aukward and unpleaſant. Such of our readers as wiſh to ſee what may be advanced againſt and for the ſonnet may have recourſe to two able and acute critics, who have exerted themſelves on the ſubject; Mr. Steevens, in an abſolute condemnation of this mode of writing, and Mr. Malone, in a moderate defence of it, with a more immediate view to the exculpation of Shakſpeare. Mr. Steevens has involved Mr. Edwards in his cenſure (*n*). Though, in general, we incline to Mr. Steevens's ſide of the queſtion, we are, however, not inſenſible that there are ſeveral beautiful ſonnets in our language. Thoſe of Mrs. Charlotte Smith are peculiarly excellent, and have juſtly given her a high reputation. The few which have been written by Miſs Helen Williams, and Miſs Seward, are very elegant and pleaſing; and there are other ſonnets which might be mentioned with approbation. But we muſt ſtill continue to maintain, that this faſhionable method of compoſition has been carried to a ridiculous exceſs; and that it has loaded our poetical miſcellanies, and our monthly magazines, with an immenſe number of inſipid productions. One thing, however, may be ſaid in its favour as it has lately been conducted; which is, that ſome perſons have dropped the uncouth arrangement of rhymes attached to the old ſonnet, and have compoſed it in three elegiac ſtanzas, ending with a coupiet. This is an improvement.

(*l*) Ibid. Advertiſement and Preface, p. 269, 270.

(*m*) Advertiſement, ubi ſupra.

(*n*) Supplement to Johnſon's and Stevens's edit. of Shakſpeare. Vol. I. p. 682—687.

The early part of Mr. Edwards's life was chiefly ſpent in town, and at Pitzhanger in Middleſex. But, in 1739, he purchaſed an eſtate at Turrick, in the pariſh of Elleſborough, in Buckinghamſhire, where he reſided till his deceaſe. This, however, did not prevent his frequent mixture with his literary friends, who were numerous, and reſpectable both in rank and character. It appears that he was acquainted with Richard Owen Cambridge, Eſq. the Honourable Philip Yorke (afterwards ſecond Earl of Hardwicke), Daniel Wray, Eſq. the Honourable Charles Yorke, Iſaac Hawkins Browne, Eſq. the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, Archbiſhop Herring, Lord Willoughby of Parham, Mr. Samuel Richardſon, George Onſlow, Eſq. (now Lord Onſlow), Dr. Heberden, the Right Honourable Arthur Onſlow, Mr. Highmore the painter, and other accompliſhed gentlemen (*o*). Dr. Akenſide's regard for him has already been diſplayed. Three of his letters to Dr. Birch may be peruſed in the fifty-third volume of the "Gentleman's Magazine (*p*)." Mrs. Chapone, when Miſs Mulſo, addreſſed an elegant ode to him, which he anſwered by a ſonnet (*q*).

(*o*) See his Sonnets.

(*p*) Gent. Mag. Vol. LIII. p. 921.

(*q*) Mrs. Chapone's Miſcellanies, p. 139, 141. Sonnets, at the end of the Canons of Criticiſm, p. 330.

It is ſo good a one, that we ſhall give it to our readers.

Sweet linnet, who, from off the laurel ſpray
That hangs o'er Spenſer's ever-ſacred tomb,
Pour'ſt out ſuch notes as ſtrike the wood-lark dumb,
And vie with Philomel's enchanting lay;

How

How ſhall my verſe thy melody repay?
If my meek voice could read the age to come,
Like Colin Clout's, thy name ſhould ever bloom
Through future times, unconſcious of decay:

But my frail aid thy merits not require;
Thee Polyhymnia, in the roſeate bowers
Of high Parnaſſus, 'midſt the vocal throng
Shall glad receive, and to her tuneful fire
Preſent, where, crown'd with amarantine flowers,
The raptur'd choir ſhall liſten to thy ſong.

Mr. Edwards's moſt intimate friend ſeems to have been Richard Roderick, Eſq. of Queen's College in the Univerſity of Cambridge, Maſter of Arts, and a Fellow of the Royal Society (*r*), and of the Society of Antiquaries (*s*). This gentleman aſſiſted Mr. Edwards in his "Canons of Criticiſm;" and they afterwards correſponded together concerning their favourite bard; the reſult of which was, the "Remarks on Shakſpeare," annexed to the laſt edition of the "Canons (*t*)." In Mr. Edward's ninety-ninth ſonnet, Mr. Roderick is celebrated as poſſeſſed of very conſiderable poetical talents (*u*). But that he was no great admirer of ſonnet-writing is evident from the following pleaſant ridicule of this ſpecies of compoſition:

(*r*) Cantabrigienſes Graduati, p. 332. Regiſter of the Royal Society.

(*s*) Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 206.

(*t*) Canons of Criticiſm, ubi ſupra. p. 250—276.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 345

"Capricious Wray a ſonnet needs muſt have;
"I ne'er was ſo put to't before:——a ſonnet!
"Why, fourteen verſes muſt be ſpent upon it;
"'Tis good, howe'er, t' have conquer'd the firſt ſtave.

"Yet I ſhall ne'er find rhymes enough by half,
"Said I, and found myſelf i'th midſt of the ſecond,
"If twice four verſes were but fairly reckon'd,
"I ſhould turn back on th' hardeſt part, and laugh.

"Thus far with good ſucceſs I think I've ſcribbled,
"And of the twice ſeven lines have clean got o'er ten.
"Courage! another 'll finiſh the firſt triplet.
"Thanks to thee, Muſe, my work begins to ſhorten.
"There's thirteen lines got through driblet by driblet.
"'Tis done! count how you will, I warrant there's fourteen (*w*)."

(*w*) Dodſley's Collection of Poems, Vol. II. p. 320.

Some other of Mr. Roderick's poetical pieces are in the ſecond volume of Dodſley's collection (*x*).

(*x*) Ibid. p. 309—340.

Mr. Edwards departed this life, on the third of January, 1757, whilſt he was upon a viſit at his friend Mr. Richardſon's, at Parſon's Green, and was buried in the churchyard of Elleſborough, where a monument is erected to his memory, containing the following delineation of his character, compoſed by Daniel Wray, Eſq.

"Under this ſtone are depoſited the remains of
"THOMAS EDWARDS, Eſq. of Turrick in this pariſh,
"where he ſpent the laſt ſeventeen years
"of a ſtudious uſeful life.
"He was ſincere and conſtant in the profeſſion and
"practice of Chriſtianity, without narrowneſs or ſuperſtition
"ſteadily attached to the cauſe of liberty,
"nor leſs an enemy to licentiouſneſs and faction;
"in his poetry, ſimple, elegant, pathetic
"in his criticiſm, exact, acute, temperate;
"affectionate to his relations, cordial to his friends;
"in the general commerce of life obliging and entertaining.
"He bore a tedious and painful diſtemper with a patience
"which could only ariſe from a habit of virtue and piety;
"and quitted this life with the decent unconcern of one
"whoſe hopes are firmly fixed on a better.
"He died on the 3d day of January, MDCCLVII, aged LVIII;
"and this ſtone is inſcribed to his memory,
"with the trueſt concern and gratitude,
"by his nephews and heirs,
"Joſeph Paice and Nathaniel Maſon (*y*),"

(*y*) Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 205, 206. New Dictionary, Vol. V. p. 67.

In 1761, was publiſhed a ſmall tract, which had been written by our author, entituled, "Free and candid Thoughts on the Doctrine of Predeſtination (z)." It is ſufficient to ſay of it, that, if it contained nothing new, it diſplayed the liberality of his ſentiments.

(z) Monthly Review, Vol. XXV. p. 479, 480.

Mr. Edwards, who died ſingle, ſurvived four brothers and four ſiſters. His ſonnet on this ſubject, as affording a pleaſing indication of the turn of his mind, ſhall conclude the preſent article.

On a Family Picture.

When penſive on that portraiture I gaze,
  Where my four brothers round about me ſtand,
  And four fair ſiſters ſmile with graces bland,
The goodly monument of happier days;

And think how ſoon inſatiate death, who preys
  On all, has cropp'd the reſt with ruthleſs hand;
  While only I ſurvive of all that band,
Which one chaſte bed did to my father raiſe;

It ſeems that, like a column left alone,
  The tott'ring remnant of ſome ſplendid fane,
  Scap'd from the fury of the barbarous Gaul,
And waſting time which has the reſt o'erthrown,
  Amidſt our houſe's ruins I remain
  Single, unpropp'd, and nodding to my fall (a)].

K.

(a) Canons of Criticiſm, ubi ſupra, p. 311.

*** [EDWARDS, (GEORGE), an eminent naturaliſt, and eſpecially diſtinguiſhed by his knowledge and delineations of birds, was born on the third of April, 1693, at Stratford, a hamlet belonging to Weſt-Ham in Eſſex, which is a village in the neighbourhood of London. Some of his early years were paſſed under the tuition of a clergyman of the name of *Hewit*, who was then maſter of a public ſchool at Layton-Stone, a few miles diſtant from the place of young Edwards's birth. Upon quitting this ſchool, he was placed with another miniſter of the eſtabliſhed church at Brentwood; after which, being deſigned by his parents for buſineſs, he was put apprentice to a tradeſman in Fenchurch-ſtreet. He was particularly happy in his maſter, who treated him with great kindneſs and civility; and who, beſides his being a man of a ſtrict regard to religion, had the uncommon qualification of being well ſkilled in the learned languages. About the middle of the term of Mr. Edwards's apprenticeſhip, an event happened, which gave a direction to his future ſtudies. Upon the death of Dr. Nicholas, a perſon of eminence in the phyſical world, and a relation of Edwards's maſter, the Doctor's books, which were very numerous, were removed to our apprentice's apartment. So unexpected an opportunity of acquiring knowledge was not loſt upon him. He availed himſelf of it with eagerneſs, and paſſed all the leiſure of the day, and not unfrequently a conſiderable part of the night, in turning over Dr. Nicholas's collections of Natural Hiſtory, Sculpture, Painting, Aſtronomy, and Antiquities. From this time, Mr. Edwards's expectation of obtaining that opulence which commerce beſtows on her aſſiduous votaries ceaſed. The ſhop and the Exchange were deprived of all their delights; and, on the expiration of his ſervitude, he formed the deſign of travelling into foreign countries, for the purpoſe of improving his taſte and enlarging his mind. His firſt voyage was to Holland, for which he took ſhipping in 1716, and viſited moſt of the principal towns of the United Provinces. After an abſence of a month, he returned to England, and continued two years unemployed in London and its neighbourhood; though not, we may ſuppoſe, without increaſing his acquaintance with Natural Hiſtory. His next voyage was Norway, whither he went at the invitation of a gentleman who was diſpoſed to be his friend, and whoſe nephew was maſter of the veſſel in which Mr. Edwards embarked. An active and philoſophical mind, like his, could not avoid being highly gratified with the new Scenes which were preſented to him by a country that was diverſified with rocks of ſtupendous magnitude, and trees of unfading verdure, and where ſome of the natives had ſcarcely experienced the arts of civilization. The ſun, during his ſtay, ſet only to riſe; and few hours were allotted by him to ſleep. Sometimes he wandered on the banks of the creeks, the haunts of ſea-fowls, and other rude birds, where no articulate voice was heard. At other ſeaſons, he remarked the progreſs of vegetation among the hills; and, whilſt he was employed, he frequently experienced, amongſt the inhabitants of the mountains, that hoſpitality which flouriſhes leſs vigorouſly in more civilized countries.

tries. In his excurſion to Frederickſtadt, he was not diſtant from the cannon of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, who was then engaged in the ſiege of Frederickſhall; before which place that unfortunate monarch loſt his life. By this circumſtance Mr. Edwards was prevented from viſiting Sweden, the Swediſh army being particularly aſſiduous in confining ſtrangers. Notwithſtanding all his precaution, and his ſolicitude to give no offence on either ſide, he was once confined by the Daniſh guard, who ſuppoſed him to be a ſpy employed by the enemy to procure intelligence of their deſigns. However, upon obtaining teſtimonials of his innocence, a releaſe was granted.

In July, 1718, Mr. Edwards embarked for England, and, ſoon after his arrival in London, retired to his native place, where he ſpent the winter. But being deſirous of viſiting France, he went, in 1719, by way of Dieppe to Paris; and, having ſeen the curioſities of that city, took a lodging in a village called Green-court, ſituated in the Great Park of Verſailles. His view in doing this was to enlarge his knowledge of Natural Hiſtory; but, to his no ſmall mortification, there was not, at that time, a living creature in the menagery. As the Court, during the King's minority, did not reſide at Verſailles, the famous collection of animals had been ſo totally neglected, that they were all either dead or diſperſed. Being diſappointed in this reſpect, Mr. Edwards amuſed himſelf with the pompous cavalcades, and expoſitions of reliques, in the ſeveral churches and religious houſes; and he paid particular attention to the labours of the ſculptor and painter in the public buildings. Whilſt he reſided in France, he made two journeys of a hundred miles each. The firſt was to Chalons in Champagne, in the month of May, 1720: the ſecond was on foot, to Orleans and Blois. This was performed in a diſguiſed habit, with the deſign of eſcaping thoſe ſons of rapine who make their depredations on travellers. The ſcheme happened to be peculiarly hazardous: for, an edict had recently been iſſued to ſecure vagrants, in order to tranſport them to America, the Banks of the Miſſiſippi ſtanding in need of population; the conſequence of which was, that our philoſopher narrowly eſcaped a Weſtern voyage.

On Mr. Edwards's return to England, he cloſely purſued his favourite ſtudy of Natural Hiſtory; applying himſelf to the drawing and colouring of ſuch animals as fell under his notice. His earlieſt care was rather to preſerve natural than picturеſque beauty. Birds firſt engaged his particular attention; and, ſome of the beſt pictures of theſe ſubjects being purchaſed by him, he was induced to make a few drawings of his own. Theſe were admired by the curious, who, by paying a good price for them, encouraged our young naturaliſt to proceed with vigour in his labours. James Theobald, Eſq. of Lambeth, a gentleman zealous for the promotion of ſcience, was one of Mr. Edwards's firſt patrons and benefactors. Being thus unexpectedly encouraged, our artiſt increaſed in ſkill and aſſiduity, and procured, by his application to his favourite purſuit, a decent ſubſiſtence and a large acquaintance. Nevertheleſs, he remitted his induſtry in 1731, and, in company with two of his relations, made an excurſion to Holland and Brabant. He was not, however, here uſeleſsly employed; for, he collected ſeveral ſcarce books and prints, and had an opportunity of examining the original pictures of various great maſters, at Antwerp, Bruſſels, Utrecht, and other large cities.

In December, 1733, by the recommendation of Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. Preſident of the College of Phyſicians, Mr. Edwards was choſen their Librarian, and had apartments aſſigned him in the College. This, which was the principal epocha of his private life, fixed him in an office that was particularly agreeable to his taſte and inclination. He had now an opportunity of a conſtant recourſe to a valuable library, filled with ſcarce and curious books on thoſe ſubjects of Natural Hiſtory which he moſt aſſiduouſly ſtudied. By degrees he became one of the moſt eminent ornithologiſts in our own or any other country; and in this reſpect his merit is ſo well known, that it cannot be called in queſtion. It may particularly be obſerved, that he never truſted to others what he could perform himſelf; and that he often found it ſo difficult to give ſatisfaction to his own mind, that he frequently made three or four drawings to delineate the object in its moſt lively character, attitude, and repreſentation (*a*).

In 1743, Mr. Edwards exhibited to the world an admirable ſpecimen of his labours, in the appearance of the firſt volume of the "Hiſtory of Birds." It was publiſhed in quarto, on royal paper, and contains ſixty-one birds, and two quadrupeds, moſt of which had not either been delineated or deſcribed before. They are engraved on fifty-two plates, from original drawings, exactly coloured, with full and accurate deſcriptions. This volume is dedicated to the Preſident and Fellows of the Royal College of Phyſicians, whoſe favours and aſſiſtance are acknowledged by the author with the utmoſt gratitude. The deſcriptions were publiſhed likewiſe in the French language, for the uſe of foreigners, as is the caſe in the ſucceeding volumes. Mr. Edwards's ſubſcribers having exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations, a ſecond volume of "The Hiſtory of Birds" appeared in 1747, dedicated to Sir Hans Sloane, then Phyſician to his Majeſty, and whoſe merit as a naturaliſt is too univerſally known, both at home and abroad, to require any diſtinct ſpecification in this place. Sir Hans's friendſhip to our author is mentioned in the dedication with all the warmth of a grateful and feeling heart. The volume contains ſixty-one birds and

(*a*) Some Memoirs of the Life and Works of George Edwards, quarto, 1776, p. 1—8.

two quadrupeds, engraved on fifty-two copper plates, with deſcriptions. In 1750, was publiſhed the third volume, containing the ſame number of plates, and fifty-nine birds. It was dedicated to the Preſident, Council, and Fellows, of the Royal Society. Our author's fourth volume came from the preſs in 1751, comprehending thirty-ſeven plates, on which are engraved thirty-nine birds, and to which are added ſixteen plates of ſerpents, fiſhes, and inſects. This was the laſt volume which Mr. Edwards at that time intended to publiſh, and he ſeems to have conſidered it as the moſt perfect of his productions in Natural Hiſtory; on which account he dedicated it to the Supreme Being. The dedication was, without doubt, very piouſly deſigned, but the wiſdom of it cannot be commended. Such an aſſumption is too great for any human creature, and the few inſtances of the kind that have occurred in the hiſtory of literature have always been juſtly diſapproved. Perhaps ſome of our readers may wiſh to ſee in what manner our Naturaliſt expreſſed himſelf in this extraordinary dedication. It was as follows:

"To GOD,

"the ONE Eternal! the Incomprehenſible! the Omnipreſent, the Omniſcient, and "Almighty CREATOR of all Things that exiſt! from Orbs immenſurably great, to "the minuteſt points of matter, this ATOM is dedicated and devoted, with all poſſible "Gratitude, Humiliation, Worſhip, and the higheſt Adoration both of Body and "Mind,

"by
"His moſt reſigned,
"low, and humble, Creature,
GEORGE EDWARDS" (*b*).

(*b*) Natural Hiſtory of Birds, part the fourth, at the beginning. Memoirs, ubi ſupra, p. 8—10.

Though, from our author's addreſs to the Deity, it might be ſurmiſed that he meant to have diſcontinued his labours, his mind was two active, and his love of knowledge too ardent, for him to reſt ſatisfied with what he had already done. Accordingly, in 1758, he publiſhed his firſt volume of "Gleanings of Natural Hiſtory," exhibiting ſeventy different birds, fiſhes, inſects, and plants, moſt of which were before non-deſcripts, coloured from nature, on fifty copper plates. This volume was dedicated to the Truſtees of the Britiſh Muſeum. A judicious periodical critic, in ſpeaking of the work, hath paid the following tribute to our author's merit. "But all the writers on Natural "Hiſtory are not chargeable with deficiencies; ſeveral having given deſigns from the "life, and executed them in the moſt accurate manner. Among theſe, Mr. Edwards "deſerves the moſt honourable mention; his deſigns, both in the work before us, and "in his 'Hiſtory of Birds,' being drawn with the greateſt accuracy *from nature*: and "therefore we are not to wonder at the welcome reception they have met with from all "who have any taſte for juſt delineations, decorated in the moſt beautiful manner. The "principal object is here always drawn in ſome natural and pleaſing attitude, free from "all ſtiffneſs or affectation, and the plate embelliſhed in ſuch a manner as greatly to in-"creaſe the beauty of the object itſelf. Some have, indeed, ſuggeſted, that authors in "this way have ſometimes given too much ſcope to fancy, and, to increaſe the beauty of "their plates, added many touches not to be found in nature. But, with regard to "Mr. Edwards, we have taken ſome pains to ſatisfy ourſelves in this particular, by "comparing many of the figures with the natural objects from which they were "taken, and can with truth aver, that we perceived, in every part, a very exact "reſemblance, both in the drawings and the colouring. Mr. Edwards has, indeed, "made uſe of art in the *decorations* of his plates, by forming an elegant contraſt between "the colours of the principal objects and thoſe of the ornaments; but, in this reſpect, "he has never departed from nature; ſuch particulars being choſen, whoſe proper "colours form the intended contraſt. Mr. Edwards has alſo contrived to place his ſub-"jects in a variety of pleaſing attitudes, that the eye may not be tired with a diſguſting "ſameneſs of poſition; which at once betrays a poverty of invention and a careleſs in-"ſpection of the original objects themſelves. Another particular which renders Mr. "Edwards's works the more valuable is, that moſt of the ſubjects are ſuch as have "never before been delineated or deſcribed, or that have been inaccurately performed "by others: ſo that they are real acquiſitions to Natural Hiſtory, and increaſe our "knowledge of the numberleſs ſpecies of objects with which the Almighty Creator has "decorated our terreſtrial abode (*c*)."

(*c*) Monthly Review, Vol. XVIII. p. 236, 237.

In 1760, our author publiſhed a ſecond volume of the "Gleanings," containing fifty plates and deſcriptions, as well as engravings of one hundred animals and plants. The volume was dedicated to the late Earl of Bute, whoſe ſtudious attachment to Natural Hiſtory, and particularly to Botany, is well known. The third part of the "Glean-"ings," which conſtituted the ſeventh and laſt volume of Mr. Edwards's works, appeared in 1763, and was dedicated to Earl Ferrers, who, when Captain Shirley, had taken, in a French prize, a great number of birds intended for Madame Pompadour.

Theſe

These he communicated to our naturaliſt, who was hence enabled more completely to add to the value of his labours. This part contains eighty-five different ſubjects, deſigned, engraved, and coloured after nature, on fifty-two plates. The three volumes of the "Gleanings" were accompanied with a French tranſlation upon the page oppoſite to the Engliſh. In the former volumes the deſcriptions in French were ſeparately printed.

Thus our author, after a long ſeries of years, the moſt ſtudious application, and a very extenſive correſpondence with every quarter of the world, concluded a work, which, in ſeven volumes, quarto, contains engravings and deſcriptions of more than ſix hundred ſubjects in Natural Hiſtory, not before deſcribed or delineated, and all the productions of his own hand. Some idea of the extreme accuracy and care of our indefatigable artiſt may be formed from the account which he himſelf has given, in the third volume of his "Gleanings," of his ſcrupulous exactneſs, in order to avoid the leaſt miſrepreſentation of any animal, inſect, or plant, which he choſe to delineate. "It often happens," ſays he, "that my figures on the copper plates greatly differ from my original drawings; "for ſometimes the originals have not altogether pleaſed me as to their attitudes or ac- "tions. In ſuch caſes I have made three or four, ſometimes ſix ſketches, or outlines, and "have deliberately conſidered them all, and then fixed upon that, which I judged moſt "free and natural, to be engraven on my plate." "It is not reaſonable," adds he, "to expect, that a work of this nature ſhould be highly laboured and finiſhed in the "*colouring* part, becauſe it would greatly raiſe the price of it, as colouring work, in "London, when highly finiſhed, comes very dear. The moſt material part is, keeping "as ſtrictly as can be to the variety of colours found in the natural ſubjects; which has "been my principal care: and now, on reviſing all that have been coloured, I think "them much nearer nature than moſt works of the kind that have been publiſhed." Mr. Edwards added to the whole a general index in French and Engliſh, which is now perfectly completed with the *Linnæan* names, by that great naturaliſt Linnæus himſelf, who frequently honoured him with his friendſhip and correſpondence. A ſtrong teſtimony of the high eſteem which that illuſtrious Profeſſor had for our Engliſh Ornithologiſt will be given below [*A*]; and we inſert it with the greater pleaſure, as it contains the moſt affectionate recommendations of Dr. Daniel Solander, who was then upon the point of embarking for England, and whoſe memory is ſo juſtly dear not only to the lovers of natural ſcience, but to all who had the pleaſure of his acquaintance (*d*). Another teſtimony of Linnæus to Mr. Edwards's merit is expreſſed in language ſo remarkably ſtrong that it cannot be omitted. It was written in the year 1764, and is as follows: "Gratulor tibi de tot pulchris tamque infinitis Avibus rariſſimis, quot nullus "unquam detexit, nec unquam detegat, minus unquam tam vivide delineabit, in "quibus nihil deficit niſi cantus: hæ tamen decantabunt nomen, famamque tuam, "tamdiu aves exiſtant, et cum iis homines. Tu per has Seculi noſtri Ornamentum "immortale evaſiſti. Vive diu felix, et me inter ſinceros tuos cultores numera (*e*)." Upon Mr. Edwards's finiſhing his great work, we find him making the following extraordinary declaration, or rather petition, in which he ſeems afraid that his paſſion for his favourite ſubject of natural hiſtory ſhould get the better of a nobler purſuit, viz. the contemplation of his Maker. "My petition to God (if petitions to God are not "preſumptuous) is, that he would remove from me all deſire of purſuing natural hiſ- "tory or any other ſtudy, and inſpire me with as much knowledge of his divine na-

(*d*) Monthly Review, Vol. XXIX. p. 221. Memoirs, ubi ſupra, p. 10, 11.

(*e*) Memoirs, ubi ſupra, p. 13. Note.

[*A*] *Will be given below.*]

*Viro nobiliſſimo Domino* G. EDWARDO, *Ornithologo ſummo.*

*ſ. p. d.* CAR. LINNÆUS, *Eques.*

"Has tibi, vir nobiliſſime, traditurus literas "D. DAN. SOLANDER, meus totus eſt; hic in "animum induxit Angliam adire, ut in naturæ "cognitione proficiat apud nobiliſſimos Anglos, "apud quos hæc Scientia hodie unice floret. Im- "primis vero tua authoritas eum allicuit, qui ſum- "mum ſuum habet oblectamentum in Animalium "Hiſtoriâ. Eſt imbutus varia cognitione zoologica, "ſed ut verum fateor minus in ornithologicis verſatus, "quam in reliquis partibus: te itaque præceptorem "colere avidiſſimus eſt. Fac pro tua in me amicitia "quantum poteris, ut in his proficiat; ego ſpondeo "eum eſſe et fore moribus honeſtiſſimis, anima "candidiſſima, gratiſſima, et ingenio acutiſſimo; et, "niſi me omnia fallent, poſt noſtra Fata, aliquando "ſummus hiſtoricus per Europam, modo D. T. O. "ipſi vitam largiatur, pro ut ipſi dederit voluptatem "guſtandi has delicias. In noſtra patria deficiunt "Naturæ Gazæ; ipſa urbs Londinenſis, ſola ſcatet "pluribus quam tota Europa. Si te Benefac- "torem et Mæcenatem obtineat, facile ipſi oſtendas "pleraque eorum, quæ apud voſtrates occurrunt: "Plantas, et Inſecta, et Conchilia plura novit: "Ideam Scientiæ hauſit: Mentis Acumine pollet, ut "aptus ſit Diſcipulus. Si aliquando quis veſtratum "ad me perveniat, omnia ipſi tua commendatione "præſtabo, quæ huic præſtas: ſcias enim omnia "officia quæ in hunc conferas, in me collata eſſe et "tamque in filium proprium. Miſiſſem lubentiſſime "cum eo aliquot exuvias Avium, ſed profectus equo "nequit ulla ratione ſalvas ſecum ducere. Qui te "videre nequeo quotidie imaginem tuam in pariete "ſuſpenſam intueor gratiſſima mente, quod tam "pulchras Naturæ Gazas oculis mortalium expo- "ſuiſti primus et facile unicus. Nullus certe adhuc "præſtitit quod Tu in pulcherrimis omnium "Avibus; nullus facile præſtabit in poſterum ſimile "opus: lætor quod hæc potui propriis intueri "oculis.——Servet te Deus in Ornamentum "Artis.

*Dabam Upſaliæ*, 1759. *c.* 12. *Aprilis.*

"Quæſo commendes meum SOLANDRUM apud "*D. D. Ruſſel*, cui devotiſſima mea dicas.——Utinam "etiam poſſes eum commendare apud præfectos "Muſei SLOANEI, ut videret paradiſum illud ter- "reſtre (1)."

(1) Memoirs of George Edward, p. 11, 12. Note.

" ture as my imperfect ſtate is capable of; that I may conduct myſelf, for the remain-
" der of my days, in a manner moſt agreeable to his will, which muſt conſequently
" be moſt happy to myſelf. What my condition may be in futurity is known only to
" the wiſe Diſpoſer of all things; yet my preſent deſires are (perhaps vain and incon-
" ſiſtent with the nature of things!) that I may become an intelligent ſpirit, void of
" groſs matter, gravity, and levity, endowed with a voluntary motive-power, either to
" pierce infinitely into boundleſs etherial ſpace, or into ſolid bodies; to ſee and know
" how the parts of the great univerſe are connected with each other, and by what
" amazing mechaniſm they are put and kept in regular and perpetual motion. But,
" O vain and daring preſumption of thought! I moſt humbly ſubmit my future ex-
(f) Ibid. p. 13, 14. " iſtence to the ſupreme will of the One Omnipotent (f)." In the firſt part of this petition there is ſome degree of enthuſiaſm and weakneſs. Why ſhould Mr. Edwards have wiſhed to loſe the deſire of purſuing natural hiſtory, ſince the ſtudy of nature is the ſtudy of the works of God, the rational contemplation of which tends to enlarge our conceptions of the power, the wiſdom, and the goodneſs, of the Divinity, and to promote a ſpirit of devotion? Nor does piety require that any other ſtudy ſhould be laid aſide which conduces to the advancement of knowledge and the welfare of ſociety. The ſecond part of our author's prayer contains a noble ſentiment, though perhaps not judiciouſly expreſſed. The thought of living for ever in the purſuit of ſcience, and the practice of virtue and benevolence, muſt be infinitely pleaſing to an enlightened and well-diſpoſed mind; and I have often reflected that thoſe philoſophers (and it is to be feared they are too numerous) who do not open their underſtandings to the aſſurances of a future ſtate, which Religion adminiſters, have juſt reaſon to be mortified at their being deprived of thoſe dignified proſpects of eternal reſearches into the conſtitution of the univerſe which they might otherwiſe have entertained.

Several occaſional papers, upon natural hiſtory, were communicated by Mr. Edwards to the Royal Society, and inſerted in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. They will be found in the forty-eighth, forty-ninth, fiftieth, fifty firſt, fifty-third, fifty fifth, and ſixty-firſt, volumes of that moſt valuable collection; and moſt of them have ſince been added, with new engravings, to the Memoirs of his Life and Writings. In a few inſtances, he correſponded with other periodical publications. The prefaces and introductions to many of his volumes contain ſome curious and ingenious eſſays, relative to the object of his principal purſuit; and he hath given, likewiſe, a brief and general idea of drawing and painting in water-colours, with inſtructions for etching on copper-plates, and reflections on the paſſages of birds. Theſe eſſays, in 1770, were ſelected and publiſhed by our author, in one volume, octavo; his deſign in doing which was to accommodate and aſſiſt thoſe perſons, in their reſearches into nature, who were not equal to the expence of his great work.

Seventeen years after Mr. Edwards had been appointed Library-keeper to the College of Phyſicians, he was honoured by the Preſident and Council of the Royal Society with the donation of Sir Godfrey Copley's medal. This was on St. Andrew's Day, 1750; and the honour was conferred upon him in conſideration of his having juſt then completed his "Natural Hiſtory of Birds," though the laſt volume had not yet been publiſhed. His ſenſibility of this diſtinction was ſhewn by him in his cauſing a copy of the medal to be engraved, and placed under the general title in the firſt volume of his hiſtory. On the tenth of November, 1757, he was choſen a fellow of the Royal Society; and he was afterwards elected into the Society of Antiquaries. He had, likewiſe, the honour of being made a member of many of the Academies of Science and Learning in different parts of Europe. In return for ſuch marks of eſtimation from learned bodies, he preſented elegant coloured copies, of all his works, to the Royal College of Phyſicians, the Royal Society, the Society of Antiquaries, and the Britiſh Muſeum. Having made the ſame preſent to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, he received from that eminent body a moſt polite and obliging letter of thanks, written by their then Secretary, Monſieur Defouchy.

Our author was honoured with the friendſhip and generous ſupport of ſome of the principal nobility and gentry of this kingdom; and he has mentioned, with peculiar pleaſure, his being patronized by four great men, who were juſtly ranked among the moſt eminent promoters of learning, ſcience, and arts, in the preſent century. Theſe were the late Duke of Richmond, Sir Hans Sloane, Dr. Mead, and Martin Folkes, Eſq. whoſe characters, as drawn up by Mr. Edwards, will form no diſagreeable ſpecimen of his talent for Biographical Sketches [*B*]. By the deceaſe of theſe perſonages, ſo truly

[*B*] *Of his talent for Biographical Sketches.*] The characters are as follow:

"The Duke, noble in his lineage and deſcent
" from the royal houſe of theſe kingdoms, but ſtill
" more noble and great from the innate magnificence,
" generoſity, and goodneſs of his ſoul. Though by
" his high offices his time was taken up by the im-
" portant affairs of the public, yet his doors were
" always open to men of learning, ſcience, and in-
" genuity.

" The ſecond was the good Sir Hans Sloane, Bart.
" who employed me, for a great number of years, in
" drawing

truly noble, ſo good, and every way ſo highly accompliſhed, in the ſhort ſpace of three or four years, our naturaliſt was greatly humbled and diſcouraged. He imagined, that, after ſuch a loſs to arts and ſciences in general, and to himſelf in particular, all endeavours to excel in any branch of knowledge would be fruitleſs, for want of eminent men to inſpire the riſing generation; and he thought of diſcontinuing any farther progreſs in natural hiſtory. But the national ſpirit that was diſplayed in the eſtabliſhment of that grand repoſitory of ſcience, the Britiſh Muſeum, revived his paſſion for his favourite purſuits, and was a ſtimulus to others to engage in ſimilar labours; "and, I "hope," ſays he, "theſe ſeeds, ſown by public authority, cheriſhed and protected "by a PRINCE diſtinguiſhed for virtue and learning, will take root, ſpring up, and "yield a plentiful harveſt." Mr. Edwards's hope has been happily accompliſhed: the harveſt truly has been plenteous, and the labourers not a few.

After our author's publication of the laſt volume of his "Gleanings," being arrived at his ſeventieth year, he found that his ſight began to fail him, and that his hand loſt its ſteadineſs. He continued, however, ſome years afterwards in his office of Librarian to the Royal College of Phyſicians; but, finding his infirmities to increaſe, he retired, in 1769, from public employment, to a little houſe which he purchaſed at *Plaiſtow*; previouſly to which he diſpoſed of all the copies, as well as plates, of his works, to Mr. Robſon, bookſeller, in New Bond-ſtreet. His collection of drawings, amounting to upwards of nine hundred, had before been purchaſed by the Earl of Bute. The converſation of a few ſelect friends, and the peruſal of a few choice books, were Mr. Edwards's amuſement in the evening of his life; and he occaſionally made excurſions to ſome of the principal cities in England; particularly to Briſtol, Bath, Exeter, and Norwich (g).

(g) Memoirs, ubi ſupra, p. 14—22.

"drawing miniature figures of animals, &c. after "nature, in water colours, to increaſe his very great "collection of fine drawings by other hands; which "drawings are now all fixed in *The Britiſh Muſeum*, "for the help and information of thoſe, in future "generations, that may be curious or ſtudious in "natural hiſtory. Sir Hans, in the decline of his "life, left London, and retired to his manor-houſe "at Chelſea, where he reſided about fourteen years "before he died. After his retirement to Chelſea, he "requeſted it as a favour to him (though I embraced "his requeſt as an honour done to myſelf), that I "would viſit him every week, in order to divert "him for an hour or two, with the common news of "the town, and with any thing particular that ſhould "happen amongſt his acquaintance of the Royal "Society, and other ingenious gentlemen, many of "whom I was much converſant with; and I ſeldom "miſſed drinking coffee with him on a Saturday during "the whole time of his retirement at Chelſea. He was "ſo infirm as to be wholly confined to his houſe, ex-"cept ſometimes, though rarely, taking a little air in "his garden in a wheeled chair: and this confine-"ment made him very deſirous to ſee any of his old "acquaintance to amuſe him. During this latter "part of his life, he was frequently petitioned for "charity by ſome decayed branches of eminent men, "late of his acquaintance, who were famous for "their learned works, &c. which petitions he always "received, and conſidered with attention; and, "provided they were not found fraudulent, they "were always anſwered by his charitable donations. "He has often deſired that I would enquire into the "merits of ſuch petitioners; and, if found ſatiſ-"factory, he commiſſioned me to convey his bounty "to the diſtreſſed. The laſt time I ſaw him, I was "greatly ſurpriſed and concerned to find ſo good a "man in the agonies of death; this was on the 10th "day of January, 1753, at four o'clock in the after-"noon. He died on the 11th, at four in the morning. "I continued with him later than any of his relations, "but was obliged to retire, his laſt agonies being "beyond what I could bear; though, under his pain "and weakneſs of body, he ſeemed to retain a great "firmneſs of mind and reſignation to the will of "God.

"The third of my patrons was the Great Richard "Mead, M. D. He was certainly magnanimous "beyond the common meaſure, and deſerved the title "of Great in as extenſive a ſenſe as any man in his "ſtation could do. He, as well as Sir Hans Sloane, "died in the higheſt ſtations of phyſic they could "arrive at, viz. Phyſicians in ordinary to the King. "Dr. Mead, indeed, never was at the head of the "College of Phyſicians of London; but it was be-"cauſe he always abſolutely declined it; for, he had "been elected into that honourable ſtation, but never "could be perſuaded to accept of it. His perſonal "ſervice, his ample fortune, his houſe, and every "thing in his power, always contributed, in the "moſt extenſive manner, to the promotion of learn-"ing, ſcience, arts, mechanics, and, in ſhort, "every thing that tended to the public benefit and "honour of his country, or was of uſe to particular "members of the community he lived in. In ſhort, "his generoſity was ſo diffuſive, that he may be juſtly "deemed a benefactor to the whole community, "whilſt, inſtead of hoarding up that great wealth his "practice gained to raiſe a vaſt eſtate, as he might "eaſily have done, his public ſpirit was unconfined, "and he was contented to leave behind him a moderate "fortune only. The worthy Dr. Aſkew, from a "laudable veneration for the memory and public "character of ſo great a patron of learning, &c. "cauſed a fine marble buſt of him to be made by one "of the moſt eminent ſculptors of the preſent age, "which is placed in the College of Phyſicians, "London. And, on this occaſion, I cannot help in-"forming ſucceeding generations, that they may ſee "the real features of Dr. Mead in this ſaid buſt; for I, "who was as well acquainted with his face as any one "living, do pronounce this buſt of him to be ſo like, "that, as often as I ſee it, my mind is filled with "the ſtrongeſt idea of the original.

"Martin Folkes, Eſq. the laſt of my deceaſed "principal patrons, was a friend and intimate ac-"quantance of the other three. He had made the "grand tour of Europe, not in the younger part of "his life, but after his marriage. He travelled with "part of his family and ſervants, at a proper age to "make juſt obſervations, and gather all the com-"mendable parts of the learning, cuſtoms, and man-"ners, of the countries through which he paſſed, in "order to refine and poliſh thoſe of his own. He "travelled not in haſte, as is the general cuſtom; but "proceeded ſlowly, and ſpent what time was neceſ-"ſary to inform himſelf of all that was worth notice: "and, indeed, he ſeemed to have attained to univerſal "knowledge; for, in the many opportunities I have "had of being in his company, almoſt every part of "ſcience has happened to be the ſubject of diſcourſe, "all of which he handled as an adept in each. He "was a man of great politeneſs in his manners, free "from all pedantry and pride, and, in every reſpect "the real unaffected fine gentleman (2)."

(2) Memoirs, ubi ſupra, p. 16—19. Note. Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 550, 551. Note.

Old as our author now was, he could not wholly abſtain from his beloved employments: he delineated at Plaiſtow ſome ſcarce animals, and particularly the *Siyah Ghuſh*, or black Ear, a ſpecies of the Cat-kind; an engraving of which, from his drawing, may be found in Dr. Gregory Sharpe's edition of the "*Syntagma Diſſertationum*" of Dr. Thomas Hyde. Our naturaliſt made alſo a drawing and engraving of the *Argus* or *Luen*, one of the largeſt ſpecies of pheaſant, a native of the North of China. This was done from a preſerved bird, that had been tranſmitted to Dr. Fothergill. Another of his drawings was of the ſnake-killer of the Indies, from the living bird belonging to Captain Raymond, at Valentines in Eſſex. Engravings of theſe three animals, and of the narrow-beaked crocodile of the Ganges, and the frog-fiſh of Surinam, are given in the Addenda to the Memoirs of Mr. Edwards's Life. We may add, that, during his retirement at Plaiſtow, he made drawings of the *Keſtril*, a ſpecies of hawk found in hollow trees and ruined buildings in England; which bird the reader will find deſcribed, in the "Britiſh Zoology," by the ingenious Mr. Pennant, with whom our author had a long and uninterrupted friendſhip and correſpondence. Mr. Edwards left an edition of Willoughby's Ornithology, with manuſcript notes, and many curious obſervations; in which he corrected the miſtakes, and ſupplied the omiſſions, of former writers. It is ſaid that they were ſoon intended to be given to the public; but we do not recollect that they have ever made their appearance. Some time before his deceaſe, he diſpoſed of a curious copy of "*Cateſby's Carolina*" to Mr. Bartlet, of Lamb's-Conduit-ſtreet. The plates were highly coloured by himſelf, and he often expreſſed his opinion that they were equal to the author's original work.

Mr. Edwards's latter years were embittered by the alarming depredations of a cancer, which baffled all the efforts of medical ſkill, and deprived him of the ſight of one of his eyes. He ſuffered much, likewiſe, from the ſtone, a complaint to which he had been ſubject at different periods of his life. It has, nevertheleſs, been remarked, that in the ſevereſt paroxyſms of miſery he was ſcarcely known to utter a ſingle complaint. Having completed his eightieth year, and become emaciated with age and ſickneſs, he died on the twenty-third of July, 1773, deſervedly lamented by a numerous acquaintance. To two ſiſters, whom he left behind him, he bequeathed the fortune which he had acquired by an aſſiduous application to his favourite purſuits. They did not long ſurvive him, and, dying within a few hours of each other, were buried together. Mr. Edwards's remains were interred in the church-yard of Weſt-Ham, his native pariſh, where his executors have erected a ſtone, with a plain inſcription, to perpetuate his ſkill as an artiſt, and his knowledge as a zoologiſt. With regard to his perſon, he was of a middle ſtature, rather inclining to corpulence: the turn of his mind was liberal and chearful. The benevolence of his temper was experienced by all his acquaintance, and his poor neighbours frequently partook of his bounty. From the diffidence and humility which were always apparent in his behaviour, he did not ſeem to be calculated for ſhining in general converſation; but, to perſons who had a taſte for ſtudies congenial to his own, he was a moſt entertaining as well as communicative companion (*b*).

(*b*) Ibid. p. 22—26.

Linnæus's encomiums on Mr. Edwards were not confined to his life, but extended to him after his deceaſe. In a letter written to Mr. Robſon, in the year 1755, he ſays, "Edwardi aves certe primum locum tenent, inter omnia opera, quæ in ornithologiâ "prodiere, in quibus dubius hæreo, utrum magis extollam auctoris infinitam diligen- "tiam in conquirendo rariſſimam copiam avium novarum ex toto orbe, et acutiſſimè "deſcribendo eorum ſtructuram; an figuras dando vivas et accuratiſſimas, et quales "mundus antea non vidit (*i*)." How much Mr. Edwards's works continue to be held in eſtimation is apparent from the high price at which they are commonly ſold. His proper and diſtinct character is, that he far excelled all the Engliſh Ornithologiſts who had gone before him. The immenſe acceſſions which, ſince the year 1763, have been made to natural knowledge, and the higher degree of taſte and elegance to which the art of engraving has been carried, will give to ſome productions now in preparation an eminence and a reputation ſuperior to what our author has attained. But that he ſhould be exceeded by thoſe who came after him will be no diminution to his juſt fame, or prevent his memory from being handed down to poſterity with honour and applauſe.

(*i*) Catalogue of the birds, beaſts, fiſhes, inſects, plants, &c. contained in Edwards's Natural Hiſtory, with their Latin names by Sir C. Linnæus, printed at the end of the Memoirs of Mr. Edwards's Life.

To the collectors of the portraits of literary men it may not be amiſs to mention, that a print of Mr. Edwards, engraved by J. S. Miller in 1754, after a painting by Dandridge, is a moſt ſtriking likeneſs (*k*)]. K.

(*k*) Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 122.

**** [EDWARDS

*** [EDWARDS (THOMAS)*, a learned divine, of the Church of England, in the preſent century, was born at Coventry, on the tenth of Auguſt, old ſtyle, 1729, and was the ſon of the Reverend Thomas Edwards, M. A. Vicar of St. Michael's in that city, and of Katharine his wife. His grammatical education he received partly under the tuition of Edward Jackſon, D. D. Maſter of the Free Grammar-ſchool, in Coventry, but principally under the care of his own father; and ſuch was his eagerneſs for the acquiſition of knowledge, that he ſeldom engaged in the diverſions common to boys. In 1747, at the age of eighteen, he was matriculated at the Univerſity of Cambridge, and entered of Clare Hall, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1750, and of Maſter in 1754. He was, likewiſe, a Fellow of his College. In the younger part of his life, he was a ſelf-taught muſician, and became no mean performer on the ſpinnet and the baſe-viol: but, finding that this amuſement encroached too much upon his ſtudies, he entirely relinquiſhed it. On the twenty-ſecond of September, 1751, he was ordained Deacon, and, on the twenty-third of September, 1753, he was ordained Prieſt, both which Orders he received from the hands of Dr. Frederick Cornwallis, at that time Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry. In the Spring of 1755, when Mr. Edwards was not yet twenty-ſix years of age, he gave a ſtriking proof of the diligence with which he had applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the learned languages, and the acquiſition of ſacred literature. This was his publication of "A new Engliſh Tranſlation of the "Pſalms from the original Hebrew, reduced to Metre by the late Biſhop Hare; with "Notes, critical and explanatory, Illuſtrations of many Paſſages, drawn from the Claſſics, "and a preliminary Diſſertation, in which the Truth and Certainty of that learned Pre-"late's happy diſcovery is ſtated, and proved at large," Octavo. Dr. Hare's diſcovery will more properly occur in that Biſhop's article. It may be ſufficient here to obſerve, that it was Mr. Edwards's deſign to make the Prelate's ſyſtem of Hebrew metre better known, and to prove, that, by a judicious application of it, great light might be thrown upon the poetical parts of the Hebrew Scriptures. Our author is of opinion, that Dr. Hare's Hypotheſis was rejected by many perſons, partly from an over-haſty determination, and partly from too ſcrupulous a veneration for the Hebrew text. That our readers may be able, in ſome little degree, to judge how far Mr. Edwards ſucceeded in his tranſlation of the Pſalms, we ſhall ſubjoin two ſhort ſpecimens of it [*A*]; which, we think, will give ſatisfaction, both from the eaſe of the language and the juſtneſs of the verſion. The notes, which comprehend more than one third of the book, chiefly contain emendations of the Hebrew text, pointed out by the metre, and illuſtrations of ſome paſſages, drawn from the claſſics, together with an explanation of the moſt difficult places. Conſiderable uſe is made by our author of Hare and Mudge, but with no ſervile adherence to their authority (*a*). Mr. Edwards's next publication was only a ſingle Sermon, which he had preached at St. Michael's in Coventry, on the ſixth of February, 1756. On the ſecond of May, 1758, he was nominated, by the Corporation of Coventry, Maſter of the Free Grammar-ſchool, and preſented to the Rectory of St. John the Baptiſt, in that city [*B*]. This promotion was followed by his

* For the principal materials of this article we are indebted to the Rev. Thomas Edwards, LL.D. of Cambridge, and to our worthy friend, the Rev. Peter Emans, of Coventry.

(*a*) Monthly Review, Vol. XII. p. 485—487.

[*A*] *We ſhall ſubjoin two ſhort ſpecimens of it.*]

Pſalm I.

"1. How happy the man, who followeth not the "Counſel of the wicked, nor perſiſteth in the way "of ſinners, nor ſitteth in the Aſſembly of Scoffers;

"2. But whoſe delight is in the Law of Jehovah, "and who is meditating upon his Law Day and "Night!

"3. For, he is like a Tree planted by Streams of "Water, which yieldeth its Fruit in its Seaſon, and "whoſe Leaf withers not; and he is proſperous in all "his Undertakings.

"4. It is not ſo with the wicked; but They are "like the Chaff which the Wind ſcatters: there-"fore (1)

"5. The Wicked will not ſtand in Judgment; nor "Sinners in the Aſſembly of the righteous.

"6. For, Jehovah approves the way of the righte-"ous; but the way of the wicked will come to "Nothing."

(1) This word is joined to the fourth verſe, on account of the metre.

Pſalm XXIII.

"1. Jehovah is my Shepherd, therefore I ſhall "want nothing: He makes me lie down in green "paſtures: He leads me to ſoft flowing ſtreams:

"2. He reſtoreth my Soul; He conducteth me in "the Paths of Righteouſneſs for his Name's Sake.

"3. Even though I walked through a Vale over-"ſpread with a deadly Shade I ſhould not fear; for "Thou wouldſt be with me; thy Crook and thy "Staff would comfort me.

"4. Thou furniſheſt out a Table before me in the "ſight of my enemies; Thou anointeſt my Head "with Unguents; and my Cup overflows.

"5. Doubtleſs thy Goodneſs and Favour will fol-"low me all the Days of my Life; and I ſhall dwell "in the Houſe of Jehovah for ever (2)."

(2) Monthly Review, Vol. XII. p. 487, 488.

[*B*] *And preſented to the Rectory of St. John the Baptiſt, in that City.*] By an act paſſed in the beginning of the year 1734, entituled, "An Act for the "making the Church of Bablack, in the City of "Coventry, a Pariſh Church, and for appointing a "Diſtrict, or Pariſh, thereto, and for enabling the "Maſter and Uſher of the Grammar Schole in the "ſaid City, to be Rector and Lecturer of the ſaid "Pariſh Church," it was enacted that the Church of Bablack, otherwiſe Bablake, in the City of Coventry, ſhall, from and after the twenty-third day of June, 1734, be, and ever be deemed, and taken to be, a pariſh-church, by the name of "The Church of St. "John Baptiſt, in the City of Coventry:——that "there ſhall be a Rector and Lecturer in the ſaid "Church:——that the Mayor, Bayliffs, and Com-"monalty, of the City of Coventry, ſhall be Patrons "of the ſaid Pariſh-Church, and Owner of the "Advowſon thereof:——that the Perſon at any "Time appointed, by the ſaid Mayor, Bayliffs, and "Commonalty, Maſter of the Free Grammar Schole "in the ſaid City, ſhall be a Perſon in the Holy "Order of Prieſthood, and ſhall be Rector of the "ſaid Pariſh, and Pariſh of St. John the Baptiſt, and "ſhall, upon ſuch Nomination, receive, from the ſaid "Mayor,

(2) Monthly Review, Vol. XII. p. 487, 488.

his marriage, which took place on the twenty-ſeventh of November, in the ſame year. The lady he married was Ann Parrott, daughter of Stonyer Parrott, Eſq. of Hawkeſbury, in the pariſh of Foleſhill, in the county of Warwick, by whom he had one ſon, the preſent Dr. Edwards of Cambridge. Early in 1759, Mr. Edwards gave to the public one of his principal works, and, indeed, in our opinion, the moſt uſeful of all his theological productions. This was "The Doctrine of irreſiſtible Grace proved to have "no Foundation in the Writings of the New Teſtament." In treating upon this ſubject, our author purſued the plan, which had been adopted by Clarke on the Trinity, and Hoadly on the Sacrament, of arranging every text of Scripture that was ſuppoſed to relate to the point in queſtion. In the firſt chapter of his work, Mr. Edwards lays before his readers the ſeveral Scriptural notions of the word *Grace*, and hence is led to conſider all the paſſages of the New Teſtament in which χαρις occurs. In the ſecond chapter thoſe texts are examined, in which mention is made of the *Holy Ghoſt*, the *Spirit*, and the *Spirit of God*. The deſign of the third chapter is to ſhew, that as the Calviniſtical Tenet of irreſiſtible Grace does not receive the leaſt countenance from, or is ſo much as hinted at in, any of the texts produced under the two preceding heads, ſo neither is it poſſible that it ſhould be countenanced by theſe or any other paſſages in the ſacred writings, ſince it would make them contradict and be inconſiſtent with themſelves. In the fourth chapter, our author conſiders the principal of thoſe paſſages in the New Teſtament, which are uſually alleged as irrefragable proofs of the above doctrine, and endeavours to refute the arguments deduced from them, by ſhewing them, when rightly interpreted, to be quite foreign to the purpoſe for which they are quoted. The buſineſs of the laſt chapter is briefly to point out in what manner, and upon what perſons, it ſeems moſt probable for the Spirit of God now to act. It is Mr. Edwards's opinion, that, though the ſupernatural aſſiſtance, in common to Chriſtians of all ages, is not to be collected from all thoſe texts in the New Teſtament which are uſually brought as proofs of the truth and reality of it, yet that there are undoubtedly ſeveral paſſages, which ſufficiently ſhew, that the operations of the Holy Spirit are not to be *entirely* limited and confined to the extraordinary and miraculous gifts and endowments peculiar to the apoſtolic age, but, on the contrary, that it will, in all ſucceeding times, be communicated, in a peculiar manner, to all thoſe who may ſtand in need of it, in order to the diſcharge of their duty. In maintaining this ſentiment, he quotes, with approbation, the judgment of Dr. John Taylor, who ſays, "Although, when the Holy Ghoſt, or the gifts of the Spirit, are mentioned in the "epiſtolary part of the New Teſtament, moſt commonly thereby the extraordinary "effuſion and miraculous gifts peculiar to the apoſtolic age are intended, yet, I "make no doubt, the communication and influence of the Spirit of God in all ages to "aſſiſt our ſincere endeavours after wiſdom, and the habits of virtue, is a bleſſing "ſpoken of and promiſed in the Goſpel." How far our author has ſucceeded, in explaining the general manner in which the Spirit acts and operates upon man, we do not take upon us to determine. Independently of this conſideration, Mr. Edwards's book is a book of real importance in the controverſy between the Calviniſts and the Arminians; and he has ſhewn, in the courſe of it, that he was well acquainted with the original languages of the Old and New Teſtament; that he was poſſeſſed of very conſiderable abilities as a critic; and that he was a ſincere and candid enquirer after truth (*b*). Our author's next publication, which appeared in 1762, was entituled, "Prolegomena in Libros Veteris Teſtamenti Poeticos; ſive Diſſertatio, in qua Viri "eruditiſſimi Franciſci Harii nuper Epiſcopi Ciceſtrienſis de antiqua Hebræorum "poeſi Hypotheſin Ratione et Veritate niti, fuſe oſtenditur, atque ad objecta quædam "reſpondetur.———Subjicitur Metricæ Lowthianæ Confutatio, cum Indicibus neceſſariis." Octavo. This attack upon Dr. Lowth's "Metricæ Harianæ brevis Confutatio," which had been annexed to the firſt edition of his admirable "Prælectiones "de ſacra Poeſi Hebræorum," did not paſs unnoticed by that gentleman. In the ſecond edition of his "Prælectiones," he added a note, in which he ſtrenuouſly maintained his own opinion, in oppoſition to that of Mr. Edwards (*c*). In reply to this note, our author publiſhed, in 1765, "Epiſtola ad doctiſſimum Robertum Lowthium,

(*b*) Monthly Review, Vol. XX. p. 32—35.

(*c*) De ſacra Poëſi Hebræorum Prælectiones Academicæ, p. 473—476. Editio tertia.

"Mayor, Bailiffs, and Commonalty, under the com-
"mon Seal, a Preſentation of him to the Rectory of
"the ſaid Church;——and that the ſaid Rector and
"his Succeſſors for ever ſhall hold the ſame, to long
"as he or they ſhall continue Maſter or Maſters of
"the ſaid Schole, and no longer.——And, that the
"Uſher of the ſaid Schole ſhall henceforward be a
"Perſon in Holy Orders, and be called Lecturer of
"the ſaid Pariſh-Church, &c."

The Maſters of the Free Grammar-School of Coventry, ſince its firſt inſtitution, have been as follow: 1. Philemon Holland, M. D. the famous tranſlator. 2. Mr. Arnold, 1602. 3. Mr. Tovey. 4. Mr. Cranford, 1625. 5. Mr. Phinehas White, 1632. 6. Samuel Frankland, M. A. 1643. 7. Samuel Carte, A. M. 1691. This gentleman was Father of the Hiſtorian, Thomas Carte. 8. George Greenway, A. M. 1701. 9. R. Marſden, 1716. 10. Edward Jackſon, A. M. and afterwards S. T. P. 1718. Dr. Jackſon was principally concerned in drawing up and publiſhing, "An Account of the ſeveral Loans, "Benefactions, and Charities, belonging to the City of "Coventry," octavo, 1733. In this, Mr. Nichols aſſerts, upon the authority of Dr. Richardſon, that he was aſſiſted by Samuel Carte, brother of the hiſtorian. 11. Thomas Edwards, 1758, the ſubject of this article. 12. William Brooks, A. M. and Fellow of St. John's College, choſen in 1779. Mr. Brooke, who is a gentleman of good abilities, reſpectible character, and approved learning, is the preſent maſter (3).

"S. T. P.

(3) For this note we are indebted to Mr. Emans.

" S. T. P. In qua nonnulla, quæ ad nuperæ ſuæ de ſacra Hebræorum Poeſi Præ-
" lectionum Editionis Calcem habet, expenduntur." It is with regret we mention, that, Mr. Edwards, on the preſent occaſion, indulged himſelf in ſome ſeverity of language, which the ſubject did not merit, and which ought not to have been uſed towards ſuch an antagoniſt as Dr. Lowth. The Doctor thought the " Epiſtola" of conſequence enough to deſerve a reply; and, therefore, he printed, in 1766, " A larger Confuta-
" tion of Biſhop Hare's Syſtem of Hebrew Metre: in a Letter to the Reverend Dr. Ed-
" wards; in Anſwer to his Latin Epiſtle." Octavo. Here the controverſy ended; and, having paid a conſiderable attention to it during the time in which it was carried on, we may be permitted to ſay, that, in concurrence with the general opinion of the learned world, we gave the preference to Dr. Lowth's arguments.

In 1766, Mr. Edwards was admitted to the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*d*); not long after which (early in 1767) he publiſhed " Two Diſſertations: the firſt, on the
" Abſurdity and Injuſtice of religious Bigotry and Perſecution; their utter Contrariety
" to the Temper and Conduct of Chriſt and his Apoſtles; and their miſchievous and
" fatal conſequences: the ſecond, on the principal Qualifications and Canons, neceſſary
" for the right and accurate Interpretation of the New Teſtament." Octavo. Theſe diſſertations reflect juſt credit on our author's reputation. The firſt of them ſhews him to have been poſſeſſed of an enlarged and liberal mind; and the ſecond contains a variety of judicious and uſeful directions to theological ſtudents, and to ſuch perſons in general as are deſirous of attaining an exact and critical knowledge of the evangelical and apoſtolical writings (*e*). Dr. Edwards's next publication was in Latin, being " Duæ Diſſertationes: in quarum Priore probatur, variantes Lectiones et Menda, quæ
" in ſacram Scripturam irrepſerunt, non labefactare ejus Auctoritatem in Rebus, quæ
" ad Fidem et Mores pertinent: in poſteriore vero, Prædeſtinationem *Paulinam* ad
" Gentilium Vocationem totam ſpectare." Octavo. It is ſufficient to ſay of theſe diſſertations, which appeared in 1768, that they clearly and fully prove the points in queſtion (*f*).

(*d*) Cantabrigienſes Graduati, p. 128.

(*e*) Monthly Review, Vol. XXXVI. p. 173, 174.

(*f*) Ibid. Vol. XXXIX. p. 503.

In 1770, Dr. Edwards was preſented by the Crown to the valuable vicarage of Nuneaton in Warwickſhire; which preferment he is underſtood to have obtained through the intereſt of the Corporation of Coventry, and ſome private friends, with the Earl of Hertford, Lord Lieutenant of the County. Our author, in 1773, publiſhed a Sermon, entituled, " The indiſpenſable Duty of contending for the Faith which was once de-
" livered to the Saints." It had been preached before the Univerſity of Cambridge, on the twenty-ninth of June, 1766, being Commencement Sunday. It is, ſay the Monthly Reviewers, " a ſhort, but excellent diſcourſe, worthy of Dr. Edwards, whoſe
" learned and valuable writings we have had frequent reaſon to mention with appro-
" bation (*g*)." In 1779, the Doctor reſigned the Maſterſhip of the Free Grammar-ſchool of Coventry, and the Rectory of St. John's, and retired to Nuneaton, where he reſided during the remainder of his life. His laſt publication was given to the world in the ſame year. The title of it is, " Selecta quædam Theocriti Idyllia. Recenſuit,
" Variorum Notas adjecit, ſuaſque Animadverſiones, partim Latine, partim Anglice,
" ſcriptas immiſcuit, *Thomas Edwards, S. T. P.*" Octavo. This work reflects honour on the accuracy and extent of our author's claſſical literature. Though the original text of what is ſelected from Theocritus conſiſts only of about three hundred and fifty lines, the notes are extended through upwards of two hundred and fifty pages, beſides more than twenty pages, conſiſting of *Addenda*, *Corrigenda*, *Collationes*, &c. Dr. Edwards's reaſon for his being ſo minute and particular in many of his animadverſions, was, that he might give every poſſible kind of aſſiſtance to young perſons, for whom the book was principally intended. Having written the notes ſometimes in Latin, and ſometimes in Engliſh, as chance or inclination directed, he thought proper to publiſh them in that promiſcuous form. It would, however, undoubtedly have been preferable uniformly to have compoſed them in the Latin language. There are two appendiculæ at the end of the volume; one containing the editor's reaſons for not prefixing the accentual marks to his own and Mr. Warton's notes; and the other affording hints of a new method which the Doctor had diſcovered, of ſcanning Greek and Latin hexameters, the uſual mode of doing it, being, as he thought, erroneous. A fuller explanation of his ſyſtem was intended to be given by him in a work which he had in contemplation, deſigned to be entituled, " Miſcellanea Critica (*h*)," but which was not carried into execution. As we here cloſe our account of his writings, it may be added, that he had made collections for an edition of Quintus Curtius.

(*g*) Ibid. Vol. XLVIII. p. 167.

(*h*) Ibid. Vol. LXI. p. 320—323.

In May, 1784, Dr. Edwards loſt his wife, a lady of diſtinguiſhed good ſenſe, and of the moſt engaging manners.

The following character of her, drawn up by the Doctor himſelf, and univerſally allowed to be a juſt one, was inſerted in the Coventry Mercury.

" Saturday, 22d of May, 1784, died, after a lingering and moſt painful illneſs,
" borne with the utmoſt patience and reſignation, Mrs. Edwards, wife of the Reverend
" Dr. Edwards, and daughter of the late Stonyer Parrot, of Hawkſbury, near this
" city,

"city, Esq.——a lady of an excellent understanding; which she had diligently improved by much reading.—As she was, from examination and conviction, a sincere believer in the Christian system; so her benevolence to mankind was unconfined and universal:—Her chief study was to do good; and, as far as she had it in her power, to make others happy:—Her sweet and amiable disposition, her sensible and agreeable conversation, her mild and gentle manners, endeared her to all who knew her:—She was an affectionate wife, a tender mother, a kind mistress, and a faithful friend." The Doctor, who had passed his life in his study, and was totally unacquainted with domestic concerns, and, indeed with worldly affairs of every kind, never enjoyed himself after this event. What aggravated his distress was, that, previously to Mrs. Edwards's death, he had been afflicted with a stroke of the palsy, from which, however, he so far recovered as to be capable of discharging part of his parochial duties. But, within a few months after her decease, he had a second stroke, for which he was advised to go to Bath, but received no benefit from his journey. He departed this life at Nuneaton, on the thirtieth of June, 1785, in the fifty-sixth year of his age; and, on the seventh of July was interred in the church-yard belonging to the parish of Foleshill, in the same grave with his wife. An inscription on a mural marble, contains nothing of moment excepting the dates already specified.

In his temper, Dr. Edwards was sometimes subject to starts of anger; but otherwise he was remarkably mild, benevolent, and humane. His generosity was great and extensive; and his dealings with others were conducted on the principles of the most rigid honesty and integrity. Such were his assiduity and ability in the instruction of youth, and so conscientious his discharge of his parochial Duties, that no praise can exceed his merits. He was fond of retirement, and went seldom from his place of abode; on which account, though he occasionally corresponded with many of the literati, he was not in the habits of much intimacy with any. The person with whom he had most conversed was the late excellent and learned Bishop of Carlisle; Dr. Edmund Law. Their sentiments were congenial, and their pursuits similar; being principally devoted to the prosecution and promotion of sacred literature. Our author's only son, the Reverend Dr. Thomas Edwards of Cambridge, besides his general learning, is eminent for his critical skill in the Greek tongue; and that he is a gentleman of very liberal sentiments has been evinced by his publications.] K.

*** [EGERTON (THOMAS)*, "who," in the words of Camden, "for his singular wisdom and integrity, was, by Queen Elizabeth, made Lord Keeper, and afterwards, by King James, advanced to the highest dignity of the long-robe, being made Lord Chancellor, and created Baron of Ellesmere (*a*), and then Viscount Brackley, was the son of Sir Richard Egerton of Ridley in Cheshire, descended from the ancient family of Egerton in that county (*b*) [*A*]." He was born in Cheshire about

* Through the whole of this article the words of the historians, and authorities from which it is collected are intentionally retained as much as possible, for the purpose of heightening its authenticity.

(*a*) Camden's Britannia in Shropshire. Collins's Peerage, under *Bridgewater.*

(*b*) Dugdale's Baron. tom. III. p. 414.

[*A*] *From the ancient family of Egerton in that county.*] Which family, according to (1) Camden, is descended from Robert Fitzhugh, Baron of Malpas, in the reign of William the Conqueror (2). The most ancient record in the kingdom is that survey made by William the Conqueror which is kept in the Chapter House of Westminster-Abbey, (now called the Record Office,) and, is entitled, "Liber Judiciarius," or "Doomsday Book." It contains an account of the lands, lordships, &c. within the several Counties of England, except those of Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, and Durham; and was begun in (3) the fourteenth year of the reign of William the Conqueror, as the Red Book in the Exchequer manifests, but was not finished till the twentieth of the same King, as the book itself declares.

(1) Camden's Britannia in Cheshire. Collins's Peerage, under *Bridgewater.*

(2) Domesday book.

(3) Spelman's Glossary, p. 176.

By this survey it appears, that Robert, son of Hugh, Baron of Malpas, held in Cestrescire, and other parts, the manors of Bedesfield, Burwardestone, Hurdingberry, Depenbache, (now called Malpas,) Tillestone, Crisstletone, Calmundelei, Edghe, Hanton, Lawechdone or Laborchedone, Dochington, Catelea, Brosse, Oretone, Cuntilone, Schochliche, Tusigeham, Bicheley, Buertone, Burwardeshly, Ravichell, Creuhalle, Tidulstone or Tidnistone, Buistane, Boleberrie, Tevertone, Sparistowe, Penretane, Fentone, Sudtone, Buteloge, and Cochneeche or Croverche or Coenege (4).

(4) Doomsday book.

But, the said Robert dying (5) without male issue, the Barony of Malpas, with the several Lordships, Manors, and Estates, devolved on his only daughter and heir, Lætitia, married to Richard de Belward (6), and thereby came into this famous and knightly family, as Camden styles it, of which was John Le Belward de Malpas in the reign of William Rufus. His son and heir, named William, by Sir (7) William Dugdale, but Richard by Mr. Erdeswicke (8), according to other good authorities, was married to Beatrix, daughter of Hugh Keveliock, Earl of Chester, and sister of Ranulph, Earl of Chester. He was, in right of his mother, Baron of Malpas; though it is said by some, that he had only half the Barony; but, it is agreed by Sir William Dugdale (9), and other of our antiquaries, that he left issue three sons, David, Robert, the direct ancestor of the several families of Cholmondeley, and Richard.

(5) Collins's Peerage, under Bridgewater, Cholmondeley, English Baronage, under Egerton.

(6) Record. hujus Famil. p. 103, 104. M.S. penes præhon. Geo. Com. Cholmondeley.

(7) Dugdale.

(8) Erdeswicke's Staffordshire, p. 114.

(9) Ex stemmate penes Tho. Egerton de Oulton. Arm.

David, eldest son of William, styled Dan David de Malpas, and sometimes Le Clerc, married Margaret, daughter and heir of Ralph ap Eynion, (a person of great note, and large possessions in Wales and Cheshire,) by Beatrix, daughter of Ranulph (10), the second of that name, Earl of Chester, whereby he became possessed of the entire Barony of Malpas, one half by descent, and the other in right of his wife. He was also Justice of Chester (11), and Sheriff of the County of Chester in 36 Hen. 3. and held three knights fees in the same reign.

(10) Lee's Chronicon Cestrense, printed at the end of King's Vale Royal of England, p. 51.

(11) Leicester's Antiquities of Cheshire, p. 178.

His sons were: 1. William, Baron of Malpas, who left no legitimate issue. 2. Philip, High Sheriff of Cheshire, temp. Edward I. who possessing the Manor of Egerton, in the County of Chester, took, according to the custom of that age, the surname of Egerton from the place of his residence (12).

(12) Camden's Britannia, Edit. 1722, Vol. I. Collins 657.

(13) From him, in lineal descent, was Sir John Egerton, of Egerton, Knight, who, fighting valiantly for the House of Lancaster, under the Lord Audley, General

(13) Ibid. in Cheshire, Collins, ibid.

about the year 1540. In 1556 he was admitted a Commoner of Brazen Nose College, in Oxford, where he continued about three years; and, having laid a good foundation of classical and logical learning, he removed thence to Lincoln's Inn, and applied himself with such success to the study of the law, that he soon became a noted counsellor (*c*) [*B*]. The superior abilities he displayed in the line of his profession, and his distinguished eminence at the bar, did not escape the notice of Queen Elizabeth, whose discerning eye singled out a Drake, a Raleigh, a Sidney, and a Vane, and the ablest men in every department of Government, to be the instruments of her happy and auspicious reign. On the 28th of June, 1581, she appointed him her Solicitor General (*d*); and, the year after, he was chosen Lent Reader of the Society of Lincoln's Inn, an office which was conferred on none but persons distinguished by superior learning and abilities. He was made also one of the governors of that society, and continued so for twelve years successively (*e*). His conduct and proficiency in the law, promoted him, on the second of June, 1594, to the office of Attorney General (*f*), and he was knighted soon after. On the 10th of April, 1593, he was appointed to the Mastership of the Rolls (*g*), when he shewed his great friendship to Mr. Francis Bacon, afterwards Lord Verulam, by assisting him with his own observations in regard to the office of Solicitor General, then likely to become vacant by the advancement of Mr. Edward Coke to that of Attorney General (*b*); which was acknowledged, by Sir Robert Cecil, as a favour done personally to himself [*C*]. Upon the death of Sir John Puckering, he had the great seal of England delivered to him at Greenwich on the 6th of May, 1596 (*i*), with the title of Lord Keeper [*D*], by the special choice and favour of

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol I. edit. 1721, col. 417.

(*d*) Pat. 23. Eliz. p. 1.

(*e*) Dugdale's Baron. ibid. Wood's Ath. Oxon. ibid.

(*f*) Pat. 24. Eliz. p. 7.

(*g*) Pat. 36. Eliz p. 5.

(*b*) Birch's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 165.

(*i*) Collins, ibid. Baker, 408.

General for Hen. VI. was slain at the battle of Bore Heath, in Staffordshire, Sept. 23, 1459. He was succeeded by Philip, his eldest son, who had issue John Egerton, of Egerton, Esq. and Sir Ralph Egerton, of Ridley, in Cheshire, Knight; which Sir Ralph was Escheator of Cheshire (14), Ranger of Delamere Forest, and one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber to King Henry VIII. who (15) knighted him for his valour and conduct at the sieges of Terouenne and Tournay, and the battle of Spurs, 5 Hen. VIII. Also, in consideration of his good services, he was appointed Standard-Bearer of (16) England for life. Dying about the year 1528, he left issue by Margaret his wife, daughter and sole heir of Ralph Basset, Esq. of Blore, co. Stafford, Richard, his son and heir, who was of age in the year 1531 (17), and afterwards knighted; father of the Lord Chancellor Egerton, whom we we are treating of in this article.

(14) Leicester's Antiquities of Cheshire.

(15) Nom. Equit. Bibl. Cotton. Claudius, c. 3.

(16) Rymer Fœd. XIII. p. 378.

(17) Privat. Sigill. 23 Hen. VIII.

[*B*] *Became a noted counsellor.*] There is a tradition that one of the first public occasions which created an opinion of Lord Chancellor Egerton's shrewdness and ability in his profession was shortly after he removed to Lincoln's Inn. He happened to be in Court when a cause was trying, in which it appeared, that three graziers had vested a joint deposit of a sum of money in the custody of a woman, who lived in Smithfield, upon condition, that she was to account for it upon their coming to demand it together. One of the graziers, by persuading her that he was commissioned to receive the money by his two partners, who were bargaining for some oxen, and only waiting for the money to conclude the purchase, prevailed upon her to entrust him with it; and he immediately absconded. The two other partners began a suit against the woman to recover their money. The cause was brought on, and nothing now appeared to remain, but that a verdict should be given in favour of the plaintiffs: when Mr. Egerton stepped forward, and begged leave to speak as "Amicus Curiæ."—Upon obtaining permission, he took care to establish the conditions upon which the defendant was entrusted with the money. These being readily allowed to be such as above stated; "Then," said he, "the defendant is ready to comply with the agreement. The plaintiffs only may "deservedly be charged with attempting its violation. "Two of them have brought a suit against this "woman to oblige her to pay them a sum of money, "which, by the agreement, she was to pay to those "two, and to the remaining partner jointly, coming "together to demand it:—where is he? why does not "he appear? why do not the plaintiffs bring their "partner along with them? When they do this, and "fullfill the agreement on their part, she is ready to "come up to the full extent of it on hers: till then, "I apprehend that she is by law to remain in quiet "possession." This turned the cause, and a verdict was found for the defendant.

[*C*] *Acknowledged, by Sir Robert Cecil, as a favour done personally to himself.*]

'Sir,

'I have understood by my cousin Bacon what a 'friendly and kind offer you have made him, the 'better to arm him with your observations (for the 'exercise of solicitorship) which otherwise may be got 'with time. For, the greatest sufficiency of wit and 'learning may yet be to seek of things falling into 'practice without some light given, which, as he doth 'exceedingly please himself to receive of a man of 'your gravity; so do I thank you for it, as much as 'if it had been done to myself. And this I dare assure you, that I have no kinsman living (my brother 'excepted) whom I hold so dear. Neither do I 'think, that you, or any other, can confer any good 'turn upon any gentleman (though I say it to you in 'private) likelier for his own worth to deserve it. 'The place by the suddenness of the remove was procrastinated; but your help in the mean time (in this 'course offered him) will serve to so good a purpose, 'as I am not sorry he hath this vacation of some few 'days to inform himself at better leisure of those 'things, which at the very first he should have use of. 'Sir, I would write more, if I spake not in a manner 'for myself: for so, I assure you, in measure of love 'and affection, he standeth unto me. But, seeing I 'speak to a wise man, to whom a word is more than 'a sentence, I will leave all other circumstances, and 'will study to make you know how great an obligation any man's kindness to him doth throw on me; 'and so I bid you farewell.

'From the Strand, this 27th of March, 1794.

'Your assured loving friend,

'RO. CECIL.'

The particular friendship and kindness shewn by the Chancellor Egerton to Bacon on all occasions were repeatedly acknowledged by his brother Anthony Bacon, by many acts and expressions of gratitude, as appears from many of his letters (18).

(18) Birch's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 23, 76, 77-90, 146. Anth. Bacon's MS. Vol. XI. fol. 105. Vol. XII. p. 12, 14, 110.

[*D*] *With the title of Lord Keeper.*] Mr. Reynolds informs the Earl of Essex, by letter, that 'The 'Master of the Rolls had changed his style, and was 'made Lord Keeper, only by her Majesty's gracious 'favour, and by her own choice, without any competitor or mediator. I think no man ever came to 'this dignity with more applause than this worthy 'gentleman (19).' Mr. Anthony Bacon likewise, by letter, informs Dr. Hawkins, at Venice, 'That the 'late Lord Keeper, Sir John Puckering, was dead of 'an apoplexy very suddenly, into whose place, with 'an

(19) Birch's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 479.

of the Queen, without any mediator or competitor, and even againſt the intereſt of the Prime Miniſter and his ſon; and, at the ſame time, he was ſworn of her Majeſty's Privy Council: of whoſe integrity and abilities, according to Camden (*k*), all men were full of expectation and belief, which he completely anſwered. He was permitted to hold the Maſterſhip of the Rolls till May 18, 1603, when James I. conferred it on Edward Bruce, afterwards Baron of Kinloſs (*l*).

(*k*) Annals of Queen Eliz. ad an. 1596. Birch's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 479.

(*l*) Pat. 1 Jac. p. 2. Philpot's Cat. of Chancellors, p. 77. Newcourt's Repert. Eccleſ. &c. Vol. I. p. 341.

The integrity and abilities of the Lord Keeper conciliated the favour and confidence of his royal miſtreſs, inſomuch that ſhe employed him in her deepeſt councils, and commiſſioned him on the moſt weighty occaſions and emergencies of ſtate (*m*). In 1598, he was in commiſſion for treating with the Dutch, and, jointly with the Lord Buckhurſt, Cecil, and others, ſigned a new treaty with their Embaſſadors in London. Anxious as the States were to proſecute the war with Spain, and being in ſome meaſure deſerted by Henry the Fourth, King of France, they were glad to preſerve Queen Elizabeth's alliance by ſubmitting to any terms which ſhe pleaſed to require of them. The debt which they owed her was now ſettled at eight hundred thouſand pounds. Of this ſum they agreed to pay, during the war, thirty thouſand pounds a year; and theſe payments were to continue till four hundred thouſand pounds of the debt were extinguiſhed. They engaged, alſo, during the time that England ſhould continue the war with Spain, to pay the garriſons of the cautionary towns. They ſtipulated, that if Spain ſhould invade England, or the Iſle of Wight, or Jerſey, or Scilly, they ſhould aſſiſt her with a body of five thouſand foot and five hundred horſe; and that, in caſe ſhe undertook any naval armament againſt Spain, they ſhould join an equal number of ſhips to hers. By this treaty Queen Elizabeth was eaſed of an annual charge of an hundred and twenty thouſand pounds (*n*). In 1600, the Lord Keeper Egerton was again in commiſſion, with the Lord Treaſurer Buckhurſt and the Earl of Eſſex, for negotiating affairs with the Senate of Denmark (*o*).

(*m*) Collins, ibid.

(*n*) Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVI. p. 343.—Camden's Ann. Q. Eliz 1598. Hume's Hiſt. of England.

(*o*) Collins, ibid.

The conduct of the Lord Keeper, in regard to that great and extraordinary, but unfortunate, man, the Earl of Eſſex, whoſe name will for ever diſtinguiſh yet diſgrace the annals of Elizabeth, portrays his character in the moſt juſt and amiable features, both as a wiſe and loyal ſubject, and as a ſincere and honeſt friend. Theſe illuſtrious men filled two of the higheſt and moſt important offices of ſtate at the ſame time, and joined in that harmony which ſhould unite all miniſters who have at heart the public intereſts. "They love and join very honourably together," as expreſſed by Anthony Bacon in a letter (*p*) to Dr. Hawkins, "out of which correſpondency and noble con-"junction betwixt *Mars* and *Pallas*, betwixt juſtice and valour, I mean betwixt ſo ad-"mirable a Nobleman as the Earl, and ſo worthy a Juſtice as the Lord Keeper, I "doubt not but very famous effects will daily ſpring to her Majeſty's honour, the "good of the ſtate, and the comfort of both their Lordſhips particular true friends." —Eſſex is a character which will command the pity and admiration of every age. Poſſeſſed of noble and manly virtues, but an unhappy victim to a temper too high and irritable, which expoſed him to the arts of falſe friends and inſidious enemies; jealous but friendly; honeſt but ambitious; ſanguine but ſincere; intrepid as a ſoldier; importunate as a courtier; reſentful as a man: he did not court, but commanded, the favour of the great Elizabeth—an advantage he either knew not how to uſe, or was not ſufficiently careful to improve. The violence and impetuoſity of his temper, unguarded by diſcretion, laid him open to the frequent and ungenerous attacks of many, who, in the hope of enjoying his honours and emoluments, were aſſiduous to embrace every opportunity to deprive him of the royal favour, and to effect his ruin. The behaviour of the Lord Keeper was very different on every occaſion that occurred, breathing the ſpirit of the moſt ſincere and diſtinguiſhed friendſhip. Senſible of his great merit as a ſoldier, and of his conſtitutional infirmity as a man, he ever earneſtly ſtudied to ſoften the violence and aſperity of his diſpoſition, to ſooth him to moderation, and to reclaim him to the dictates of reaſon and duty. An inſtance of his friendly interference, in 1598, is given by Mr. Camden [*E*]; by which the high and reſentful ſpirit of Eſſex,

(*p*) Birch's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 146.

'an extraordinary ſpeed, her Majeſty hath, *ex proprio motu et ſpeciali gratia*, advanced Sir Thomas Egerton, with a general applauſe, both of court, city, and country, for the reputation he hath of integrity, law, knowledge, and courage. It was his good hap to come to the place freely, without competitor or mediator; yea, againſt the deſire and endeavour, as it is thought, of the omnipotent couple'—by whom Mr. Bacon undoubtedly meant the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh and his ſon Sir Robert Cecil (20).

(20) Birch's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 481.

[*E*] *An inſtance of his friendly interference, in* 1598, *is given by Mr. Camden.*] Concerning this buſineſs of the peace, and the chuſing ſome meet and able perſon to look after the affairs of Ireland, there grew a ſmart debate between the Queen and Eſſex, none elſe being preſent but the Lord Admiral, Sir Robert Cecyl, Secretary, and Windbank, Clerk of the Signet. For, whereas, ſhe thought Sir William Knolles, uncle to Eſſex, the fitteſt man of any to be ſent into Ireland, and Eſſex obſtinately inſiſted that Sir George Carew was a fitter perſon than he, on purpoſe to rid the Court of him; yet could not by all his perſuaſions draw her to it, quite forgetting himſelf and neglecting his duty, he uncivilly turned his back upon her, and gave her a ſcornful look. She not enduring ſuch behaviour, gave him a box on the ear, and bade him 'be gone 'and be hanged.' He preſently laid his hand on his ſword; and the Lord Admiral ſtepping between, he ſwore an oath, that 'he neither could nor would put 'up ſo great an affront and indignity, neither would

sex, which disdained to brook an insult from a Queen, was at length softened into a due submission to his royal benefactress; in consequence of which he was pardoned, and

'he have taken it at Henry the Eighth's hands;' and in a great passion withdrew himself presently from the court. The Lord Keeper of the Seal, in a grave and sober letter (21), advised him humbly to betake himself to the Queen's mercy; alleging, 'that it was the 'best way to yield to her anger for the present; and to 'remember that of Seneca.—"If the law punish one 'that is guilty, he must submit to justice; if one that 'is innocent, he must submit to fortune." If he had 'justly offended his prince, he could not make her 'satisfaction: if she had offended him, prudence, 'duty, yea, religion itself, did require that he should 'submit himself to the Queen, to whom he was so 'much indebted, forasmuch as there is no equality 'between a prince and a subject.' He answered the Lord-Keeper stomachfully and passionately by a long letter (22), appealing from the Queen to Almighty God, using therein these and the like expressions: 'No storm is more violent and outrageous than the 'anger of a passionate prince. The Queen's heart is 'hardened, what I owe as a subject I know, and 'what as an Earl and Marshal of England I know; 'but, how to serve as a drudge and slave I know not. 'If I should acknowledge myself guilty, I should do 'wrong to the truth, and to God the author of truth. 'My whole body is wounded by that one blow. 'Having received this indignity, it was impiety in 'me to serve longer. Cannot princes err? Can they 'not wrong their subjects? Is any earthly power in-'finite? Solomon saith, a fool laugheth when he is 'stricken. They which get advantage by princes' 'errors and misdoings, let them take injuries at 'princes' hands. They who believe not the infinite 'omnipotency of Almighty God, may acknowledge 'an infinite power in Royal Majesty. I that have been 'torn and rent with so many wrongs, have long 'enough endured the bitterness of injuries at my 'very bowels.' Yet, within a little while after, he became more submiss, obtained her pardon, and was received again by her into favour, who always thought it less misbeseeming to offend and anger a man than to hate him. Yet, hereupon his friends began shrewdly to fear his ruin, who had observed, that fortune is seldom reconciled to her foster-children, whom she hath once forsaken; and Princes more seldom to those whom they have before offended (23).

(21) See Cabala, p. 234.

(22) Ibid. 235.

(23) Camden's Ann. Eliz. 555 and 556.

(24) My very good Lord,

'It is often seen, that he, that is a stander-by, 'seeth more than he that playeth the game; and, for 'the most part, any man in his own cause standeth in 'his own light, and seeth not so clearly as he should. 'Your Lordship hath dealt in other men's causes, and 'in great and weighty affairs, with great wisdom and 'judgment. Now your own is in hand, you are 'not to contemn and refuse the advice of any that 'love you, how simple soever. In this order I rank 'myself, among others, that love you, none more 'simple, and none that loves you with more true and 'honest affection; which shall plead my excuse, if 'you shall either mistake or misconstrue my words or 'meaning: yet in your lordship's honourable wisdom 'I neither doubt nor suspect the one nor the other. I 'will not presume to advise you, but shoot my bolt as 'near the mark as I can, and tell you what I think.

'The beginning and long continuance of this so un-'seasonable discontent you have seen and proved, by 'which you may aim at the end. If you hold still 'your course, which hitherto you find worse and 'worse, (and the longer you tread this path, the 'farther you are still out of the way,) there is little 'hope or likelihood that the end will be better than 'the beginning. You are not so far gone, but you 'may well return. The return is safe, but the pro-'gress dangerous and desperate in this course you 'hold. If you have any enemies, you do that for 'them, which they could never do for themselves; 'whilst you leave your friends to open shame and con-'tempt, forsake yourself, overthrow your fortunes, 'and ruinate your honour and reputation; giving 'that comfort to our foreign foes, as greater they 'cannot have. For what can be more welcome and 'pleasing news to them than to hear, that her Majesty 'and the realm are maimed of so worthy a member, 'who hath so often and so valiantly quailed and 'daunted them? You forsake your country, when it 'hath most need of your help and counsel: and, 'lastly, you fail in your indissoluble duty, which you 'owe to your most gracious sovereign; a duty not 'imposed upon you by nature and policy only, but 'by the religious and sacred bond, in which the 'divine majesty of God hath, by the rules of Chris-'tianty, obliged and bound you.

'For the four first, your constant resolution may 'perhaps move you to esteem them as light; but, 'being well weighed, they are not lightly to be re-'garded: and, for the two last, it may be your private 'conscience may strive to content yourself; but it is 'enough. These duties stand not alone in con-'templation and inward meditation; their effects are 'external, and cannot be performed but by external 'actions; and where that faileth, the substance itself 'faileth.

'Now this being your present state and condition, 'what is the best to be done herein? and what is the 'best remedy for the same? My good Lord, I want 'wisdom and lack judgment to advise you; but I will 'never want an honest and true heart to will and wish 'you well; nor, being warranted by a good con-'science, forbear to speak what I think. I have be-'gun plainly. I hope your Lordship will not be of-'fended, if I proceed still after the same fashion. '*Benè cedit, qui tempori* cedit. And SENECA saith, '*Lex si nocentem punit, cedendum est justitiæ; si inno-'centem, cedendum est fortunæ.* The best remedy is 'not to contend and strive, but humbly to submit. 'Have you given cause, and yet take scandal to your-'self? Why, then all you can do is too little to make 'satisfaction? Is cause of scandal given to you? Yet 'policy, duty, and religion, enforce you to sue, yield, 'and submit, to your sovereign, between whom and 'you there can be no proportion of duty. And GOD 'himself requireth it as a principal bond of service to 'himself.—When it is evident, that great good may 'ensue of it to your friends, your country, and sove-'reign, and extreme harm by the contrary, there can 'be no dishonour or hurt to yield; but in not doing 'it is dishonour and impiety. The difficulty, my 'good Lord, is to conquer yourself, which is the 'height of all true valour and fortitude, whereunto 'all your honourable actions have tended. Do it in 'this, and GOD will be pleased, her Majesty well 'satisfied, your country will take good, and your 'friends comfort by it: yourself (I mention you last, 'for I know of all these you esteem yourself least) 'shall receive honour, and your enemies (if you have 'any) shall be disappointed of their bitter sweet hope.

'Thus have I uttered what I think, simply and 'truly, and leave you to determine. If I have erred, 'it is *error amoris*, and not *amor erroris*. Construe, 'I beseech you, and accept it, as I mean it, not as 'an advice, but as an opinion to be allowed or can-'celled at your pleasure. If I might conveniently 'have conferred with you myself in person, I would 'not then have troubled you with so many idle blots. 'Yet whatsoever you shall judge of this mine opinion, 'be you well assured, my desire is to further all good 'means that may tend to your good. And so, 'wishing you all honourable happiness, I rest,

'Your Lordship's most ready, although,
'Of many, most unable and
'faithful friend,
'THO. EGERTON, C. S.'

(24) Birch's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 384, 385.

The Earl's answer, dated the 18th of October, was in these terms (25):

(25) Ib. p. 386, 387, 388.

'My very good Lord,

'Although there is not that man this day living, 'whom I would sooner make a judge of any question, 'that did concern me, than yourself; yet must you 'give me leave to tell you, that in such a case I must 'appeal

and again received into her favour. From this unfortunate affair, however, his friends took an omen of his future ruin, under the conviction that princes, once offended, are ſeldom thoroughly reconciled, and that fortune ſeldom takes by the hand him whom ſhe has once forſaken.

On his haſty and unexpected return from the Iriſh expedition, with a mind ſore from ill ſucceſs, and exaſperated by the ſuſpicions and reprehenſions of the Queen, this great General was ſummoned before the Privy Council, ſuſpended from his offices, and committed to the cuſtody of the Lord Keeper, to prevent his return to his aſſociates, and the proſecution of thoſe factious and ambitious deſigns which it was too obvious he had entertained. (q) Under the weight of this diſgrace, and in ſuch a ſituation, the Lord Keeper rendered him all thoſe kind and friendly offices that humanity, the moſt ſenſible, and politeneſs the moſt delicate, could ſuggeſt: and, in all his future conduct in regard to this great unfortunate man, he tempered juſtice with compaſſion; preſerving a proper medium between the duty of the magiſtrate, and the generoſity of the friend [F]. By the moſt popular and well-timed meaſures, he appeaſed the minds of a prejudiced

(q) Camden's Ann. Eliz. 1599.

'appeal from all earthly judges; and, if in any, then 'ſurely in this, where the higheſt judge on earth hath 'impoſed upon me, without trial or hearing, the moſt 'heavy judgment that ever hath been known: but 'ſince I muſt either anſwer your Lordſhip's arguments, 'or forſake my juſt defence, I will force mine aching 'head to do me ſome ſervice for a ſmall hour or two, 'although againſt my will. I muſt firſt then deny 'my diſcontent, which was forced, to be any humour-'ous diſcontentment, and that it was unſeaſonable, or 'of too long continuance. Your Lordſhip ſhould 'rather condole with me than expoſtulate about the 'ſame: natural ſeaſons are expected here below; but 'violent and unſeaſonable ſtorms come from above. 'There is no tempeſt equal to the paſſionate indigna-'tion of a Prince; nor yet at any time is it ſo unrea-'ſonable as when it lighteth upon thoſe who might 'expect an harveſt of their careful and painful labours. 'He, that is once wounded, muſt feel ſmart, while 'his hurt be cured, or that the part be ſenſeleſs; but 'no cure I expect, her Majeſty's heart being obdurate 'againſt me; and to be without ſenſe, I cannot, 'being made of fleſh and blood. But, ſay you, I 'may aim at the end. I do more than aim, for I ſee 'an end of all my good fortunes, and have ſet an end 'to my deſires. In this courſe do I any thing for my 'enemies? When I was in the court, I found them 'abſolute: and, therefore, I had rather they ſhould 'triumph alone than they ſhould have me attendant 'on their chariots. Do I leave my friends? When I 'was a courtier, I could yield them no fruits of my 'love unto them. Now I am become an hermit, they 'ſhall bear no envy for their love towards me. Do I 'forſake myſelf, becauſe I do enjoy myſelf? or do I 'overthrow my fortune, for that I build not a fortune 'of paper-walls, which every puff of wind bloweth 'down? Do I ruinate mine honour, becauſe I leave 'following the purſuit, or wearing the falſe badge or 'mark of the ſhadow of honour? Do I give courage 'and comfort to the foreign foe, becauſe I reſerve 'myſelf to encounter with him? or becauſe I keep my 'heart from baſeneſs, although I cannot keep my 'fortune from declining? No, my good Lord, I give 'every of theſe conſiderations its due right; and, 'the more I weigh them, the more I find myſelf 'juſtified from offending in any of them. As to the 'two laſt objections, that I forſake my country when 'it hath moſt need of me, and fail in that indiſſolu-'ble duty which I owe unto my ſovereign; I anſwer, 'that, if my country had at this time any need of my 'public ſervice, her Majeſty, that governs the ſame, 'would not have driven me into a private kind of 'life. I am tied unto my country by two bonds: in 'public peace, to diſcharge carefully, faithfully, and 'induſtriouſly, the truſt which is committed unto me; 'and the other private, to ſacrifice for it my life and 'carcaſe, which hath been nouriſhed in it. Of the 'firſt I am freed, being diſmiſſed, diſcharged, and 'diſabled, by her Majeſty. Of the other, nothing can 'free me but death; and, therefore, no occaſion of 'my performance ſhall offer itſelf, but I will meet it 'half-way. The indiſſoluble duty, which I owe to 'her Majeſty, is only the duty of allegiance, which I 'never will nor never can fail in. The duty of at-'tendance is no indiſſoluble duty. I owe her Majeſty 'the duty of an Earl and of Lord Marſhal of Eng-'land. I have been content to do her Majeſty the 'ſervice of a clerk; but can never ſerve her as a 'villain or ſlave. But yet, you ſay, I muſt give way 'unto the time. So I do; for, now I ſee the ſtorm 'come, I put myſelf into the harbour. SENECA 'ſaith, "we muſt give place unto fortune." I know, 'that fortune is both blind and ſtrong, and, therefore, 'I go as far out of her way as I can. You ſay, the 'remedy, is not to ſtrive. I neither ſtrive nor ſeek for 'remedy. But, ſay you, I muſt yield and ſubmit. I 'can neither yield myſelf to be guilty, or this impu-'tation laid upon me to be juſt. I owe ſo much to 'the Author of all truth, as I can never yield falſe-'hood to be truth, or truth to be falſehood. Have I 'given cauſe, aſk you, and take ſcandal, when I have 'done? No; I give no cauſe to take ſo much as 'Fimbria's complaint againſt me, for I did *totum 'telum corpore recipere*. I patiently bear all, and ſen-'ſibly feel all that I then received, when this ſcandal 'was given me. Nay, more, when the vileſt of all 'indignities are done unto me, doth religion enforce 'me to ſue? or doth God require it? Is it impiety 'not to do it? What, cannot princes err? Cannot 'ſubjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power or 'authority infinite? Pardon me, pardon me, my good 'Lord, I can never ſubſcribe to theſe principles. Let 'Solomon's fool laugh when he is ſtricken; let thoſe, 'that mean to make their profit of princes, ſhew to 'have no ſenſe of princes' injuries; let them ac-'knowledge an infinite abſoluteneſs on earth, that do 'not believe in an abſolute infiniteneſs in heaven. As 'for me, I have received wrong, and feel it. My 'cauſe is good, I know it, and, whatſoever come, all 'the powers on earth can never ſhew more ſtrength 'and conſtancy in oppreſſing than I can ſhew in 'ſuffering whatſoever can or ſhall be impoſed upon 'me. Your Lordſhip in the beginning maketh your-'ſelf a looker-on, and me a player of my own game; 'ſo you can ſee more than I can, yet muſt you give 'me leave to tell you, in the end of my anſwer, that 'ſince you do but ſee, and I ſuffer, I muſt of neceſ-'ſity feel more than you do. I muſt crave your 'Lordſhip's patience to give him, that hath a crabbed 'fortune, licence to uſe a crabbed ſtyle; and yet, 'whatſoever my ſtyle is, there is no heart more hum-'ble to his ſuperiors, nor any more affected towards 'your Lordſhip, than that of

'Your honour's poor friend, 'ESSEX.'

[F] *And the generoſity of the friend.*]

'Sir Thomas Egerton, Chancellor [then Lord 'Keeper], to the Earl of Eſſex (26).

(26) Cabala, p. 235.

'SIR,

'How things proceed here, touching yourſelf, you 'ſhall partly underſtand by theſe encloſed. Her 'Majeſty is gracious towards you, and you want not 'friends to remember and commend your former 'ſervices: of theſe particulars you ſhall know more 'when we meet. In the mean time, by way of 'caution, take this from me: there are ſharp eyes 'upon

prejudiced people, who then became tumultuous from the injuries and indignities which they ſuppoſed were done to the perſon of their favourite General; aſſerting the Queen's authority, and juſtifying the conduct of the public counſels, without heightening or exaggerating the miſconduct of the unfortunate Earl (*r*). Notwithſtanding all the humane attentions of the Lord Keeper, by which he endeavoured to ſoften the pungency of Eſſex's remorſe through the whole of a ſix months' confinement in his houſe, the ſufferings and convictions of a proud and ſtubborn, but active, mind, were redoubled by that reflection which aroſe from his perſonal inactivity, and, together with the effects of his confinement, threw him into a fit of illneſs, from which he with difficulty recovered; when, through the intereſt and interceſſion of his guardian, he was permitted to ſee the Queen, and was relieved by ſome reviving hopes of her returning favour (*s*).

(*r*) Ibid.

(*s*) Sidney State-papers, Vol. II. p. 193.

In this ſchool of ſorrow and ſickneſs, and by the admonitions of his two friendly tutors, the Lord Keeper Egerton and Lord Henry Howard, his lofty ſpirit ſtooped to the diſcipline of repentance, and found its relief in religious meditation, changing its habits and diſpoſitions, for a time at leaſt, and inveſting itſelf in the genial virtues of piety, patience, modeſty, and humility, ſo as to give his friends a preſage of his reformation. This penitential conduct reconciled the Queen, who was graciouſly pleaſed to releaſe him, and to declare, that, in what ſhe had done, ſhe conſulted not his ruin, but amendment (*t*). Still the minds of the people remained prejudiced and diſſatisfied, under a perſuaſion of his innocence and ill treatment; and, to remove the grounds of theſe ſuſpicions and complaints from herſelf and council, ſhe reſolved that his cauſe ſhould have an open hearing, not in the Star-Chamber, but in the Lord Keeper Egerton's houſe, before the Council, four Earls, two Barons, and four Judges, in order that a cenſure might be formally paſſed upon him, but without charge of perfidy. He was there formally accuſed, and heard the ſpeeches againſt him for eleven hours with much patience (*u*). He opened his reply by offering thanks to God for his mercy, and to the Queen for her clemency, towards him, and proceeded in a ſtrain of great loyalty and humility: but, when he began to excuſe and juſtify his conduct from the charges alleged againſt him, the Lord Keeper Egerton interrupted him in the moſt friendly manner; adviſing him to proceed as he began, and not to claim the merit of obedience by words which his actions had denied him, as it was in vain to cover direct diſobedience by a pretended intention to obey; and, injoining him to throw himſelf upon the mercy and goodneſs of the Queen, and not, by an attempt to alleviate his offences, to extenuate her clemency (*w*). Eſſex then knelt down, and the Lord Keeper, in form, pronounced his ſentence.—That he ſhould be removed from his place of Counſellor, ſuſpended from his offices of Earl Marſhal and Maſter of the Ordnance, and detained in cuſtody during the Queen's pleaſure. The ſentence was approved by the voices of all the reſt (*x*); but the Queen commanded that it ſhould not remain upon record, and that he ſhould not be ſuſpended from the Maſterſhip of the Horſe (*y*), which place ſhe had directed ſhould not be mentioned in the ſentence.

(*t*) Camden's Ann. Eliz. 1599 and 1600.

(*u*) See the proceedings upon the commiſſion of Sir Fr. Bacon. Sidney State-papers, Vol. II. p. 199. Oſborne's Memoirs. De Thou, Hiſt. ſui temp.

(*w*) See Birch's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 452, 453.

(*x*) Ibid.

(*y*) Camden's Ann. Eliz. 1600.

Under theſe auſpicious ſymptoms of reformation he was releaſed, and ſuffered to retire into the country, accompanied with the ſanguine hopes of all his friends; but that ambition, which they thought had been extinguiſhed, was ſmothered only for a time by ſickneſs and confinement. By a keen ſenſe of diſappointment and diſgrace, it ſoon re-kindled, and, blown up by the officious breath of ſeditious ſpirits, burſt out into a blaze, which, in the event, conſumed himſelf. Through the whole of this frantic and tragical drama, the benevolence of the Lord Keeper did not ceaſe to repeat its friendly offices, to ſooth the mind of his great and unfortunate friend, exaſperated to madneſs, to diſpoſe him to duty and moderation, and to diſſuade him from purſuing his dangerous and ſeditious projects. He told him, as he had often done before, that he would become, in the hands of his greateſt enemies, the inſtrument of his own deſtruction; and, by kind perſuaſion, exhorted him to return to his duty and allegiance before it was abſolutely too late; urging the cauſe of his friends, his country, and his ſovereign, and appealing to his honour, conſcience, and religion (*z*).

(*z*) Ibid. 1601.

When, with his numerous confederates aſſembled in Eſſex-houſe, in the Strand, he was in a ſtate of actual rebellion, the Queen ſent the Lord Keeper, with the Earl of Worceſter, Sir William Jones, Comptroller of the Houſehod (the Earl's uncle), and Lord Chief Juſtice Popham, to know the cauſe of their tumultuous meeting. The gates being kept ſhut, they were, after ſome ſtay, let in by the wicket; but all their ſervants were kept out except the Purſe-bearer with the ſeal. The court-yard was full

'upon you: your actions, public and private, are obſerved: It behoveth you, therefore, to carry yourſelf with all integrity and ſincerity both of hands and heart, leſt you overthrow your own fortunes, and diſcredit your friends that are tender and careful of your reputation and well-doing. So in haſte I commit you to God, with my hearty commendations, and reſt

'Your aſſured loving friend,

'THO. EGERTON, C. S.

'*At the Court at Richmond*,

'*October* 21, 1599.'

of

of company, and the Earl of Eſſex in the midſt, to whom the Lord Keeper Egerton, addreſſing himſelf, ſaid, that he was ſent, with the other gentlemen, by the Queen, to know the cauſe of their concourſe; and, if they had ſuffered any grievances, he promiſed them a fair and equitable redreſs.

To this the Earl of Eſſex anſwered in a louder tone than ordinary—"There is a "plot laid againſt my life, ſome are ſet to ſtab me in my bed; we are perfidiouſly "dealt withal; letters are counterfeited under my name and hand. We are met here "together to defend ourſelves and lives, ſeeing neither my patience nor miſery can aſ-"ſuage the malice of my adverſaries, unleſs they may alſo ſuck my blood." The words of the Lord Keeper were thereupon repeated by Popham. That, "if any ſuch "matter were attempted or intended, it were fit for him to declare it, and to be aſſured "of their faithful relation, and he ſhould not fail of her Majeſty's princely indifferency "and juſtice." The Earl of Southampton complained of the aſſault made upon him by the Lord Grey de Wilton, as he rode along the ſtreet; to which Popham replied, "that juſtice had been done, and the party was in priſon." The Lord Keeper then preſſed the Earl of Eſſex to impart his grievances, if not openly, yet privately, and promiſed ſatisfaction. Upon which the multitude interrupted him, crying, "Away, away, my Lord! they abuſe you, they deſtroy you, they undo you. You "loſe time." The Lord Keeper, putting on his hat, commanded them all on their allegiance to lay down their weapons and depart. Whereupon the Earl of Eſſex, and all the reſt, put on their caps, and going into his houſe, the Lords followed him, as to a private conference, fearing the multitude, who cried out, "Kill them! Stop "them up—keep them for pledges—caſt the great ſeal out of the window!" When they were come into the inner apartments, Eſſex ordered the doors to be bolted upon them, and left them, bidding them "have patience whilſt he ſhould go and "take order with the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs for the City, and that he would "be with them again within an hour." And ſo he left them in the cuſtody of Sir John Davis, Francis Treſham, and Owen Saliſbury, who guarded them with muſkets, primed and cocked. Having tried the diſpoſition of the citizens, and found that none would join him, that the Lord Treaſurer, with Dethick, King at Arms, having entered the City, had proclaimed him and his accomplices traitors, and that the Lord Admiral was advancing with a ſtrong party againſt him, he reſolved to return to his houſe to ſue for the Queen's favour, through the mediation of the Lord Keeper, and his fellow-priſoners. But, when Leviſon, who commanded a party on Ludgate-Hill, had refuſed Sir Ferdinando Gorges (upon Lord Burleigh's prevailing upon the Herald to proclaim Eſſex traitor) the liberty of a free paſſage for Eſſex; Gorges, conſulting his own intereſt, perſuaded the Earl to ſend him to his houſe to diſcharge the priſoners, and to intercede with them to procure him the Queen's pardon, whilſt yet no blood was ſpilt, and the minds of all hung in anxious ſuſpenſe. Eſſex conſented to the releaſe of Popham only, who, refuſing to accept of it unleſs the Lord Keeper had his alſo, Gorges diſcharged them all, and attended them by water to the Court. From Queen's-Hithe, Eſſex at laſt arrived at his houſe, when, angry that the Lord Keeper and the Council were diſcharged, and, abandoning all hopes of ſupport from the City, he proceeded to fortify his houſe. How that great and unhappy nobleman ſurrendered and ſuffered death, is foreign to the preſent article (*). After his ſentence, however, he deſired to ſpeak with ſome of the Privy Council, when the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord Admiral, and Cecyl, were ſent to him. After aſking pardon of the Lord Keeper for detaining him in cuſtody, and of Cecyl for accuſing him in the affair of the Infanta, he informed them that the Queen could never be in ſafety ſo long as he lived (*a*). If this great and extraordinary character, diſtinguiſhed by eminent virtues and egregious faults, found in the perſon of the Lord Keeper Egerton, a ſincere and faithful friend, though no abettor, he was ſurrounded by a hoſt of artful and malignant enemies, many of whom aſſumed the garb of friendſhip, actuated in their enmity by the moſt ſelf-intereſted and ungenerous views, whoſe memory is tranſmitted to poſterity as the juſt object of contempt, whilſt his will commanded a tribute of pity and compaſſion from every age.

(*) State Trials.

(*a*) Camden's Ann. Eliz. 1601. See alſo Stowe's Annals, edit. 1631, p. 789. See alſo the Declaration of the Lord Keeper, &c. in Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 545. The Life and Death of James the Sixth, King of Scotland, by William Sanderſon, Eſq. London, 1656, p. 239, 246. Arth. Collins, ubi ſupra.

After the execution of Eſſex, with Cuffe, Merrick, Danvers, and Blunt, principal confederates, the Lord Keeper was in a ſpecial commiſſion (*b*), with others of the firſt dignity, to ſummon all their accomplices, in order to treat and compound with them for the redemption of their eſtates; and, on ſecurity being given for the payment of the fines aſſeſſed, their pardon and redemption were obtained. The next year, 1602, he was again in commiſſion with others of the Privy Council, to reprieve all ſuch perſons convicted of felony as they ſhould think convenient, and to ſend them, for a certain time, to ſome of the Queen's galleys (*c*). And again, in the 45th year of Elizabeth, for putting the laws in execution againſt the Jeſuits and Seminary Prieſts, ordained according to the rites of the Church of Rome (*d*). In March, 1603, after the Queen, oppreſſed with the infirmities of age, had retired from Weſtminſter to Richmond, to indulge, in that retreat, the exerciſe of devotion before her death, the

(*b*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVI. p. 421.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 446.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 489.

Lord Keeper and the Lord Admiral, accompanied by the Secretary, were deputed by the reſt of the Privy Council to wait upon her there, in order to remind her Majeſty of her intentions indiſcriminately expreſſed, in regard to her ſucceſſor to the crown, and to know her royal will and pleaſure upon that point. To this requeſt ſhe replied, in broken and interrupted accents, "that her throne was a throne of kings, and that ſhe had ſaid that ſhe would not have any mean perſon ſucceed her. And the Secretary aſking her what ſhe meant by theſe words; "I will," ſaid ſhe, "that a king ſucceed "me: and who ſhould that be, but my neareſt kinſman the King of Scots (e)?"

(e) Camden's Ann. Eliz. 1603.

At the death of his royal benefactreſs, "who, in wiſdom and felicity of government, "ſurpaſſed all princes ſince Auguſtus, and the glory of whoſe name," ſays Camden, "no oblivion ſhall bury (f)," the care and adminiſtration of the kingdom, with the preſervation of the public peace and ſecurity, devolved upon the Lord Keeper and the other Miniſters of State, till the arrival of King James, her ſucceſſor, from Scotland, who, by his ſign manual, dated at Holy-rood Houſe, 5th of April, 1603, ſignified to the Privy Council, that it was his royal pleaſure that Sir Thomas Egerton ſhould exerciſe the office of Lord Keeper till farther orders. On the 3d of May he waited upon the King at Broxbourne in Hertfordſhire, and reſigned the Great Seal to his Majeſty, who delivered it back again, confirming his office, and commanding him to uſe it as he had done before (g). On the 19th of July, King James cauſed the Great Seal to be broken, and put a new one into his hands, accompanied with a paper of his own writing, by which he created him "Baron of Elleſmere for his good and faithful ſer-"vices, not only in the adminiſtration of juſtice, but alſo in Council, both to the late "Queen and himſelf;" the patent (h) for which title he cauſed to be diſpatched the twenty-firſt of the ſame month. On the twenty-fourth, the day before his royal coronation, he conſtituted him Lord High Chancellor of England (i), which high and important office of ſtate he ſupported for more than twelve years, with a dignity that became an able Miniſter, and with the learning and impartiality that diſtinguiſhed an equitable Judge. On the 25th and 26th of November (k), Henry Lord Cobham, and Thomas Lord Grey de Wilton, were tried by their Peers, the Lord Chancellor ſitting as Lord High Steward. In 1604, he was, with certain other Commiſſioners, authorized, by act of Parliament, to bring about (l) an union betwixt England and Scotland, it being the King's deſire, that, as the two crowns were united in one perſon, an union of the nations might be effected by naturalization. But, differences ariſing between the Houſe of Lords and Houſe of Commons upon this point of the naturalization of the Scotch, he was one of the Lords appointed of the Committee of Conference between the two houſes. The whole of this tranſaction, and the cauſes of its failure, are ſtated at large in the fifth volume of the Parliamentary Hiſtory (m). In 1605, he was appointed High Steward of the City of Oxford [G]. In 1609, he was in commiſſion to compound with all thoſe, who, holding lands by Knight's ſervice, &c. were to pay the aid for making the King's ſon a Knight (n).

(f) Ibid. Conclusion.

(g) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVI. p. 495.

(h) Pat. 1 Jac. p. 14. Camden's Ann. App. Jac. 1603. Catalogue of Kings and Princes, &c. fol. London, 1622. p. 89.

(i) Pat. 1 Jac. 1st part.

(k) State Trials. Carte's Hiſtory of England. Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 1223.

(l) Carte's Hiſt. of Eng. 3d vol. p. 743. edit. 1752. Beaumont's Dep. Pardim. Arthur Wilson's Life of James I. in the Complete Hiſt. of Great Britain, Vol. II. p. 673. 676, &c.

(m) Introd. to Bacon's Letters, p. 4. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 84. p. 210. 217. p. 235. See alſo Biograph. Britan. Vol. I. article Bacon, Francis, p. 460. note (Q).

(n) Rymer's ibid. p. 680.

At the death of Dr. Bancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, on the 2d of Nov. 1610, the Lord Elleſmere, Lord High Chancellor of England, was the next day unanimouſly elected into that honourable office [H]; and, on the 10th, inſtalled in the Biſhop of Durham's houſe in London (o). At this period,

(o) Wood's Faſti, Oxon. p. 607.

[G] *In 1605, he was appointed High Steward of the City of Oxford.*] In 1605, the Lord Chancellor Elleſmere was appointed High Steward of the City of Oxford, and with this honourable diſtinction, that he ſhould continue in that office for life; but that his ſucceſſors ſhould be elected, and continue only during the pleaſure of the Corporation. This appointment was made when James I. granted his Charter of Incorporation to the City of Oxford in the third year of his reign. Here follow ſo much of the Charter as relates to the Lord Chancellor Elleſmere.

"Et ult. vols. ac per præſent. pro nob. hæred. & "Succeſſorib. noſtris concedimus præfatis Major. "Balliv. & Communitat. Civit. præd. unum Virum "præclarum & diſcretum in form. inferius in his "præſentib. expreſſa eligend. qui erit & nominabitur "Capitalis Seneſcallus Civit. præd. & aſſignavimus "&c. ac per præſent. pro nob. hæred. & ſucceſſor. "noſtris (27) aſſignamus prædilect. & perquam fidelem "Conſiliari. noſtrum T. Dnum Elleſmere Dnum "Cancellari. Angl. fore & eſſe *primum & modern. Capital. Seneſchallum Civit. præd. continuando in eod. offic. durant. vitâ natural. ipſius Tho. de Elleſmere* "quodque de temp. in temp. & ad omnia tempora "poſt mort. præd. T. Dni Elleſmere Major Balliv. & "Commun. Civit. præd. pro temp. exiſt. vel major. "par. eorund. ut pertentur Unum Alium Virum præ-"clarum & diſcret. de temp. in temp. in Capital. "Seneſchall. Civit. præd. Eligere &c. valeant & "poſſint. Quodque ille qui in Capital. Seneſchal. "Civit. præd. ſic. ut perfertur poſt mort. T. Dni "Elleſmere electus &c. fuerit offic. illud capital "Seneſchal. Civit. præd. exercere & gaudere valeat "& poſſit, durante bene placito Major. Balliv. & "Communit. Civit. præd. vel maj. par. eorund. (quor. "Major. Civit. præd. pro temp. exiſt. unum eſſe "vols) ac quouſque aliqs alius ad offic. illud debito "modo electus &c. fuerit."

(27) Peſhall's Hiſt. of the City of Oxford, 4to. p. 350.

Lee, Portcullis Herald, in his viſitation at Oxford in 1574, mentions Sir Fr. Knollys, Knt. as then High Steward of the City: But, in the Council-Book of the City, no mention is found either of Recorder, or High Steward before the Patent of King James, which appoints Lord Elleſmere High Steward primum & modern. &c. &c. (28).

(28) Ibid. p. 361.

[H] *Was unanimouſly elected into that honourable office.*] In 1612 (Lord Elleſmere being Chancellor of Oxford) a grand controverſy was decided between the Univerſity and City, in which deciſion it was ordered by the King and Council (that whereas there had been ſome doubt whether the Mayor or Chancellor ſhould take the firſt place), that the Chancellor, and in his abſence the Vice-Chancellor, ſhould for ever after take place before the Mayor of the City (29).

(29) Gutch's Faſti, p. 120.

that Univerſity was in a very flouriſhing ſtate in point of the number of its members, which amounted to more than 2420; but many of them, and thoſe of the ſenior part, were tainted with very factious and erroneous principles, both of a civil and religious nature. Convinced how deſtructive theſe ideas and principles, inculcated on the minds of the youth of the Univerſity, who were to be called forth to fill the ſeveral departments of Church and State, would be of the future health and proſperity of the conſtitution, he bent his earlieſt attention to eradicate and correct them; for, immediately after his inſtallation, he made a ſpirited effort to explode thoſe Popiſh and Calviniſtical opinions, (which, however oppoſite to each other, at that time infeſted and diſgraced that ſeat of learning), and to ſuppreſs all thoſe who entertained and promoted them [I]: in which attempts he was ſeconded and ſupported by the interference of the King himſelf (p).

(p) Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford.

The fame of John Williams, Fellow of St. John's College, in Cambridge, as an able ſcholar and accompliſhed preacher, came to the ear of the Lord Chancellor Egerton, [K] who ſent for him, and about Midſummer, 1611, made him his Chaplain (the firſt Chancellor ſince the Reformation who had a domeſtic Chaplain). He allowed Williams, however, to be abſent the year following, that he might ſerve the office of Proctor in that Univerſity: in the courſe of which office he received and entertained the Duke of Wurtemberg, and held a very ſplendid commencement in 1612 (q), when the Lord Chancellor accompanied the Spaniſh Embaſſador on a viſit to Cambridge. Williams preſided as Moderator over the public exerciſes; and the Chancellor was ſo pleaſed with the gracefulneſs of his preſence, the ingenuity of his diſcourſe, and the able conduct of the exerciſes, that, when he took leave of the Univerſity, he ſaid publicly to Williams, that he had behaved himſelf ſo well in his treatment of the Embaſſador, that he was fit to ſerve a King, and that he would ſee him as much welcomed at Court as they were in the Univerſity (r). To this fortunate occurrence, and the ſubſequent friendſhip of his accidental patron, this great Prelate and Politician was indebted for all his future ſucceſs. His learning and ſolid judgment recommended him more and more to the diſcernment of the Lord Chancellor; and his aſſiduity and reſpect ſecured ſuch an intereſt in his favour, that he enriched him by his bounty, and condeſcended to inſtruct him in thoſe parts of knowledge which qualified him for the high ſtations he afterwards filled (s). While he lived in the Chancellor's houſe, his Lordſhip let him into ſeveral myſteries of ſtate; and Williams now commenced Courtier and Politician, being a man of ſhining parts, firm to retain, and apt to improve from the precepts of his maſter (t), who, before his death, introduced him to the ſpecial notice of the King, by committing to his truſt and management all meſſages and diſpatches on important buſineſs to his Majeſty; at once diſplaying the high opinion he entertained of his ſecrecy and integrity, and raiſing the King's eſtimation of one who had been intruſted by ſo great and prudent a man (u). The ſame year the Lord Chancellor was one of the Lords who ſigned the articles of marriage between the Princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of King James, and the Elector Palatine (w).

(q) Philipps's Life of Abp. Williams.

(r) Lloyd's Memoirs and Drake's Hiſt. and Antiq. of the City of York, lib. ii. cap. 1. fol. edit. 1736. p. 462.

(s) Philipps's Life of Abp. Williams.

(t) Drake's Hiſt. &c. ut antea.

(u) Philipps, ibid.

(w) Rymer, p. 783.

The prudence of the Lord Chancellor employed, on all occaſions, the ableſt ſervants and coadjutors, and his affection made choice of the moſt honourable and valuable friends. Beſides the Archbiſhop Williams, Sir Francis Bacon Lord Verulam, was honoured by his friendſhip, and promoted by his favour (x). Bacon was probably firſt introduced to his notice and attention by his ſanguine friend and patron, the Earl of Eſſex (y). That nobleman had warmly and repeatedly preſſed the intereſts of Bacon at Court, particularly on the Lord Keeper Puckering, in order to obtain the office of Solicitor General; and we find Sir Thomas Egerton applying to his predeceſſor for the ſame purpoſe [L]. The repeated ſolicitations of Bacon, by himſelf and friends, were,

(x) Introd. to Bacon's Letters, p. 10.

(y) Ibid. p. 11.

[I] *Who entertained and promoted them.*] In his letter to the Convocation appointing Dr. Singleton his Vice-Chancellor (30), July 3, 1611, he exhorts, requires, and charges them, "to uſe all good means "to diſcover and find out all ſuch as ſhall be juſtly "ſuſpected to be addicted or inclined to Popery or "Puritaniſm, and not to ſuffer any ſuch to lurk or "hide themſelves in or near this famous Univerſity."

(30) Curiæ Canc. et V. Oxon. fol. 69. b. Reg. K. 22. fol. 69. a.

[K] *Who ſent for him, and made him his Chaplain.*] "He was a great patron and promoter of eminent "divines, and thoſe whom he picked out for the "ſervice of his houſe were of the firſt order: ſuch "were Dr. Richard Field, Dr. King Biſhop of "London, Dr. Carew Biſhop of Exeter (31)."

(31) Hacket's Life of Williams, fol. edit. 1693. p. 19.

In the law-line, Sir John Davies, as well as many other great men, experienced his friendſhip. "It "was by the favour of Lord Elleſmere," ſays Wood, "that he was reſtored to the Temple. Certain it is, "when Sir John Davies dedicated his Law-Reports "to that illuſtrious Chancellor and worthy man, he "acknowledged that Lord Elleſmere had been a "good angel unto him; and what might carry a ſhew "of adulation in another muſt needs be gratitude in "him (32)." See alſo a ſubſequent note [DD].

(32) Vid. Sir John Davies's Law Reports dedicated to Lord Chancellor Egerton. Alſo his Life prefixed to the Collection of his Hiſtorical Tracts. Vid. Not. () infra.

[L] *For the ſame purpoſe.*] 'To the Right Honour-
'able the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. My very
'good Lord.—Sir Thomas Egerton, failing of your
'Lordſhip's being newly gone, ſent his letter to me
'to ſee conveyed to you, which I ſend incloſed;
'deſiring your Lordſhip, according to your kind
'affection, to make the beſt uſe thereof for my
'furtherance. And I pray your Lordſhip to call to
'remembrance my Lord Treaſurer's kind courſe,
'who affirmed directly all the reſt to be unfit. And,
'becauſe *vis unita fortior*, I pray your Lordſhip to
'take a time with the Queen, when my Lord Trea-
'ſurer is preſent. Thus, in hope to-morrow will
'bring forth ſome good effect, I reſt your Lordſhip's,
'in all humble duty and ſervice,

'FR. BACON (33).'

(33) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. London, 1730, p. 721.

however, disappointed of their hope from the Lord Keeper, Puckering (z), and from others for some years; when, though his Patron Essex had lost the power to serve him, having forfeited his interest at Court, yet his other friend was made Lord Chancellor, and was in high favour with the King, to whom his application proved more successful than all which had been made before, and which had been numerous indeed [M] (a). These two great and learned men lived some years in the habits of intimate friendship and affection, when the health of the Lord Chancellor declining some time before his death, in the year 1615, his Lordship being very ill [N], Sir Francis Bacon, then Attorney General, (whose virtues were never of such a sort as to be too (b) bashful in endeavouring to secure their reward by personal solicitations for preferment,) made an open and earnest application for the office of Chancellor, as appears from the extracts of his Letters inserted in the notes [O].

(z) See the Letters at the end of the fourth volume of Bacon's Works from p. 516. See also Biogr. Britan. article Bacon, Francis, p. 453.

(a) See Introd. to Bacon's Lett. London, 1702, 4to. p. 10 & 11.

(b) Mallet's Life of Bacon, p. 50.

Neither the infirmities of old age, nor the active exertions of a long and laborious life, devoted to the service of their country, are always a privilege which can shelter men from unmerited persecution. On the 19th of January, 1615, the Lord Chancellor began to be sick (c), being now in his seventy-fifth year, when a professional attack from that great lawyer, the Lord Chief Justice Coke, though unable to damp the firm-

(c) Camdeni Ann. App. Jac. 1616.

[M] *Which had been numerous indeed.*] 'It may 'please your good Lordship.—As I conceived it to be a 'resolution both with his Majesty, and among your 'Lordships of his council, that I should be placed 'Sollicitor, and the Sollicitor to be removed to be the 'King's Serjeant, so I most thankfully acknowledge 'your Lordship's furtherance and forwardness therein, 'your Lordship being the man that first devised the 'mean: wherefore my humble request to your Lord-'ship is, that you would set in with some strength to 'finish this your work; which I assure your Lordship 'I desire the rather because, being placed, I hope, 'for many favours, to be able at last to do you some 'better service. Not that I vainly think I shall be 'able to do any great matters, but certainly it will 'frame me to use a more industrious observance and 'application to such as I honour so much as I do your 'Lordship, and not, I hope without some good 'offices which may now and then deserve your 'thanks.—To conclude, as my honourable lady, your 'wife, was some mean to make me to change the 'name of another, so, if it please you to help me to 'change my name, I can be but more and more 'bounden to you (34).'

(34) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 569.

'SIR FRANCIS BACON *to the Lord Chancellor.*'

[N] *His Lordship being very ill.*] 'Because I know 'your Majesty would be glad to hear how it is with 'my Lord Chancellor; and that it pleased him, out 'of his ancient and great love for me, which many 'times in sickness appeareth most, to admit me to a 'great deal of speech with him this afternoon, which 'during these three days he hath scarcely done to any, 'I thought it would be pleasing to your Majesty to be 'certified how I found him (35).'

(35) Bacon's ibid. p. 591.

SIR FRAN. BACON *to the King*, 29 *Jan.* 1615.

'For Mr. St. John, Your Majesty knoweth the day 'draweth on; and my Lord Chancellor's recovery, 'the season and his age promising not to be too hasty, I 'spoke to him on Sunday, at what time I found him in 'bed, but his spirits strong, and not spent or wearied, 'and spake wholly of your business, leading me from 'one matter to another, and wished, and seemed to 'hope, that he might attend the day for O. S. and it 'were (as he said) to be his last work, to conclude his 'services, and express his affection towards your 'Majesty (36).'

(36) Bacon's ibid. p. 594.

SIR FRAN. BACON *to the King*, *Jan.* 31, 1615.

'My Lord Chancellor sent for me to speak with 'me this morning. I perceive he hath now that '*signum sanitatis* as to feel better his former weakness: 'for, it is true I did a little mistrust that it was but a '*boutade* of desire and good spirits when he promised 'himself strength for Friday. But now I find him 'well inclined to use, should I say your liberty, or 'rather your interdict, signified by Mr. Secretary 'from your Majesty. He also shewed me your letter. 'What shall I say? I do much admire your goodness 'for writing such a letter at such a time (37).'

(37) Bacon's ibid. 595.

SIR FRAN. BACON *to the King*, *Feb.* 7, 1615.

[O] *Letters inserted in the notes.*] 'My Lord Chan-'cellor's sickness falleth out *duro tempore*. I have 'always known him a wise man; and of just eleva-'tion for monarchy; but your Majesty's service must 'not be mortal. And; if you love him, as your 'Majesty hath now of late purchased many hearts by 'depressing the wicked; so God doth minister unto 'you a counterpart to do the like by raising the 'honest (38).'

(38) Bacon's ibid. p. 602.

SIR FRAN. BACON *to the King*, *Feb.* 19, 1615.

'Your worthy Chancellor, I fear, goeth his last 'day. God hath hitherto used to weed out such ser-'vants as grew not fit for your Majesty; but now he 'hath gathered to himself one of the choicer plants, a 'true *sage* or *salvia* out of your garden: but your 'Majesty's service must not be mortal. Upon this 'heavy accident I pray your Majesty, in all humble-'ness and sincerity, to give me leave to use a few 'words: I must never forget when I moved your 'Majesty for the Attorney's place, that it was your 'own sole act, and not my Lord Somerset's, who, 'when he knew your Majesty had resolved, thrust 'himself into the business to gain thanks; and, 'therefore, I have no reason to pray for saints. I 'shall now again make oblation to your Majesty, first 'of my heart, then of my service; thirdly, of my 'place of Attorney worth 6000l. a year; and, 'fourthly, of my place in the Star-chamber, worth '1600l. a year; and, with the favour and coun-'tenance of a Chancellor, much more. I hope I 'may be acquitted of presumption if I think of it, 'both because my *father* had the place, and, chiefly, 'because the Chancellor's place, after it went to the 'law, was ever conferred upon some of the learned 'Counsel, and never upon a Judge. For, *Audley*, was 'raised from King's Serjeant, my father from 'Attorney of the Wards, *Bromley* from Solicitor, '*Puckering* from Queen's Serjeant, *Egerton* from 'Master of the Rolls, having newly left the Attorney's 'place (39).'

(39) Bacon's ibid. p. 602, &c.

He then proceeds to shew that great inconveniences would follow if the Chancellorship was given either to Lord Coke, Chief Justice of the King's-Bench; Lord Hobart, Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, or to Dr. Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, &c.

SIR FRAN. BACON *to the King*, *Feb.* 12, 1615.

'My Lord Chancellor's health growing with his 'days, and his resignation being an uncertainty, I 'would be glad you went on with my first motion of 'swearing me Privy-Counsellor. This I desire, not 'so much to make myself more sure of the other, and 'to put it past competition, for herein I rest wholly 'upon the King; but, because I find hourly that I 'need this strength in his Majesty's service.——My 'Lord Chancellor told me yesterday in plain terms, 'that, if the King would ask his opinion touching the 'person that he would commend to succeed him upon 'his death or disability, he would name me for the 'fittest man. You may advise, whether use may not 'be made of this offer (40).'

(40) Bacon's ibid. p. 615.

SIR FRANCIS BACON *to Sir George Villiers.*

ness

neſs of his ſpirit, (who, according to the remark of Ben Jonſon, in his Diſcoveries, "That great and grave orator, Lord Chancellor Egerton, being always beſt when moſt "provoked"), threw an additional weight of anxiety upon his mind; to remove which, the King wrote, with his own hand to him, the letter inſerted in the notes [P]. The caſe (d) is too ſingular in itſelf, and was too important in its deciſion, to be paſſed in ſilence. Sir Edward Coke had heard and determined a cauſe at common law, but there was ſome colluſion in the matter; for, the witneſs that knew, and ſhould have related, the truth, was prevailed upon to abſent himſelf, on condition that any one would undertake to excuſe his non-appearance. A pragmatical fellow of the party undertook it: he went with the witneſs to a tavern, called for a gallon of ſack, and bade him drink; and, leaving him in the act of drinking, went immediately into Court. This witneſs was called for, on whoſe evidence the iſſue of the cauſe depended, when the fellow anſwered upon oath, "that he left him in ſuch a condition, that, if he con-"tinued in it but a quarter of an hour, he was a dead man." This evidence of the witneſs's incapacity to come loſt the cauſe. The plaintiffs removed it into Chancery; and the defendants, having already had judgment at common law, refuſed to obey the orders of that Court; on which the Chancellor, for contempt of Court, committed them to priſon. They preferred two indictments againſt his Lordſhip the laſt day of Hilary Term (e), and he was threatened with a *præmunire* in the Star-Chamber upon the Statutes, 27 Edw. III. and 4 Hen. IV. Sir Francis Bacon's account of the effect this had upon the mind of the Chancellor, his ſentiments upon the whole of this extraordinary tranſaction, and his opinion of the point of law (who was Attorney General at that time), will appear by the extracts from his letters inſerted in the notes [Q], The

(d) Biogr. Brit. Vol. III. p. 689. Ibid. note (Q).

(e) Camden's Ann. App. Jac. 1616.

[P] *The letter inſerted in the notes.*]

'My Lord,

'Theſe ſhall firſt congratulate and thank God 'with you for your recovery and growing to health 'again; for which I proteſt to God I prayed every 'morning and eve, ſince you was at the worſt, as 'often as I prayed for myſelf: and, next, you ſhall be 'hereby informed how ſenſible I am of that diſgrace 'offered to that Court of mine, wherein you ſit, 'eſpecially at a time ſo unſeaſonable; it cannot but 'be a comfort to you to know how every man cen-'ſured the partiality and barbarity of that action: 'and, for my part, you may aſſure yourſelf, it ſhall 'only be in your default of not informing me, if I do 'not upon this occaſion free myſelf from the infection 'of any ſuch inconveniences hereafter; I mean, of 'ſuch jarring betwixt my Courts of Juſtice; for, I 'will wholly relie upon your information and advice 'what courſe to take in the handling of this buſineſs; 'aſſuring myſelf, that your conſcience and care for 'my honour and ſervice will ſet me in a courſe for 'making ſuch an example in this caſe as may ſettle 'good government in like caſes hereafter: and ſo I 'bid you heartily farewell (41).

'JAMES REX.'

*Feb.* 25, 1615.

(41) Annals of King James and King Charles I. fol. Lond. 1681. p. 20.

[Q] *From his letters inſerted in the notes.*] 'It may 'pleaſe your excellent Majeſty.——I do find, God be 'thanked, a ſenſible amendment in my Lord Chan-'cellor. I was with him yeſterday in private con-'ference about half an hour; and this day again at 'ſuch a time as he did ſeal, which he endured well 'almoſt the ſpace of an hour, though the vapour of 'wax be offenſive to him. He is free from a fever, 'perfect in the powers of memory and ſpeech, and 'not hollow in his voice or looks. But whoever 'thinketh his diſeaſe is but melancholy, he maketh 'no true judgment of it; for, it is plainly a formed 'and deep cough, with a pectoral ſurcharge; ſo that 'at times he doth almoſt *animam agere*.—I am as glad 'to advertiſe your Majeſty of the amendment of your 'Chancellor's perſon, as I am ſorry to accompany it 'with an advertiſement of the ſickneſs of your Chan-'cery-court: though (by the grace of God) that cure 'will be eaſier than the other. It is true, I did lately 'write to your Majeſty, that for the matter of the '*habeas corpora* I did think the communion in ſervice 'between by Lord Chancellor and my Lord Chief 'Juſtice, in the great buſineſs of examination, would 'ſo join them as they would not ſquare at this time: 'but pardon me, if I have too reaſonable thoughts. 'And yet that which happened the laſt day of the 'term concerning certain indictments in the nature of '*Præmunire* preferred into the King's Bench, but not 'found, is not ſo much as is voiced abroad; though, 'I muſt ſay, it was *omni tempore nimium, et hoc tempore* '*alienum*, and therefore I beſeech your Majeſty not to 'give believing ear to reports, but to receive the 'truth from me that am your Attorney-General, and 'ought to ſtand indifferent for juriſdictions of all 'courts; which account I cannot give your Majeſty 'now, becauſe I was then abſent, and ſome are now 'abſent, which are properly and authentically to in-'form me touching that which paſſed (42).'

(42) Bacon's ibid. p. 604.

SIR FRAN. BACON *to the King*, 15 *Feb.* 1615.

'Sir, I received this morning your two letters. 'In this difference between the two Courts, I marvel 'not, if rumor get way of true relation; but within 'theſe two days I will write to his Majeſty both the 'narrative truly and my opinion ſincerely. I pur-'poſe to ſpeak with my Lord Chancellor this day, 'and ſo to exhibit that cordial of his Majeſty's grace, 'as I hope that other accident will rather rouſe and 'raiſe his ſpirit than deject him and incline him to 'relapſe. Meanwhile, I recommend the wit of a 'mean man, that ſaid this the other day——"Well, 'the next term you ſhall have an old man come with a 'beeſom of wormwood in his hand that will ſweep 'away all this:" for, it is my Lord's faſhion, eſpecially 'towards the ſummer, to carry a poſy of worm-'wood (43).'

(43) Bacon's ibid. p. 605.

SIR FRANCIS BACON *to Sir George Villiers*, 19 *Feb.* 1615.

'It may pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty, I was 'yeſterday in the afternoon with my Lord Chancellor, 'according to your commandment, which I received 'by the Maſter of the Horſe, and find the old man 'well comforted, both towards God, and towards the 'world; and that ſame middle comfort, which is divine 'and humane, proceeding from your Majeſty, being 'God's lieutenant on earth, I am perſuaded hath been 'a great cauſe that ſuch a ſickneſs hath been portable 'to ſuch an age. I did not fail in my conjecture, 'that this buſineſs of the Chancery hath ſtirred him; 'he ſheweth to deſpiſe it, but he is full of it, and 'almoſt like a young duelliſt that findeth himſelf 'behind-hand.

'I will now, as your Majeſty requireth, give you a 'true relation of that which hath paſſed; neither will 'I decline your royal commandment for delivering 'my opinion alſo, though it be a tender ſubject to 'write on; but I, that account my being but as an 'accident to my ſervice, will neglect no duty upon 'ſelf-ſafety.

'Firſt

The Lord Chancellor, being recovered from his indiſpoſition, in Eaſter Term purſued this affair concerning the juriſdiction of the Courts of Chancery and the King's Bench with

'First, it is neceſſary I let your Majeſty know the 'ground of the difference between the two Courts, 'that your Majeſty may the better underſtand the 'narrative.

'There was a ſtatute made by 27 Edw. III. c. 1. 'which, no doubt, in the principal intention thereof, 'was ordained againſt thoſe that ſued to *Rome*; 'wherein there are words ſomewhat general againſt any 'that queſtioneth or impeacheth any judgment given 'in the King's Courts, or in any other Courts. Upon 'theſe doubtful words *(other Courts)* the controverſy 'groweth. For, the ſounder interpretation taketh 'them to be meant of thoſe Courts, which though 'locally they were not held at Rome, or where the 'Pope's chair was, but here within the realm, yet, 'in their juriſdiction had their dependence upon the 'Court of Rome; as were the Court of the Legate 'here, and the Courts of the Archbiſhops and 'Biſhops, which were then but ſubordinate judgment-'ſeats to that high tribunal of Rome. And for this 'conſtruction, the oppoſition of the words (if they 'be well obſerved) between the King's Courts and 'other Courts, maketh very much; for, it importeth 'as if thoſe other Courts were not the King's Courts. 'Alſo the main ſcope of the ſtatute fortifieth the ſame; 'and, laſtly, the practice of many ages. The other 'interpretation (which cleaveth to the letter), ex-'poundeth the King's Courts to be the Courts of Law 'only, and other Courts to be the Courts of Equity, 'as the Chancery, Exchequer Chamber, Duchy, &c. 'Though this alſo flyeth indeed from the letter, for 'that all theſe are the King's Courts.

'There is alſo another ſtatute, which is but a 'ſimple prohibition, and not with a penalty of a '*præmunire*, (as the other is,) that, after judgment 'given in the King's Courts, the parties ſhall be in 'peace, except the judgment be undone by error or 'attaint, which is a legal form of reverſal. And of 'this alſo I hold the ſounder interpretation to be to 'ſettle poſſeſſions againſt diſturbances, and not to take 'away remedy in equity, where thoſe judgments are 'obtained, *ex rigore juris*, and againſt good con-'ſcience.

'But, upon theſe two ſtatutes there hath been a 'late conceit in ſome, that if a judgment paſs at the 'common law againſt any, that he may not after ſue 'for relief in Chancery; and, if he doth, both he and 'his counſel and his ſolicitors, yea and the judge in 'equity himſelf, are within the danger of thoſe ſta-'tutes.

'Here your Majeſty hath the true ſtate of the 'queſtion, which I was neceſſarily to open to you 'firſt, becauſe your Majeſty calleth for this relation; 'not as news but as buſineſs. Now to the hiſtorical 'part.

'It is the courſe of the King's-Bench, that they give 'in charge to a grand jury offences of all natures to be 'preſented within Middleſex, where the ſaid Court 'is: and the manner is, to enumerate them as it were 'in articles. This was done by Juſtice *Crook*, the 'Wedneſday before the term ended. And that 'article *(If any man, after judgment given, had drawn 'the ſaid judgment to a new examination in any other 'Court)* was by him ſpecially given in charge which 'had not uſed to be given in charge before. It is true, 'it was not ſolemnly dwelt upon, but, as it were, 'thrown in amongſt the reſt.

'The laſt day of the term, (and that which all 'men condemn, the ſuppoſed laſt day of my Lord 'Chancellor's life,) there were two indictments pre-'ferred of *præmunire*, for ſuing in Chancery after 'judgment in common law; the one by Richard 'Glanville, the other by William Allen: the former 'againſt Courtney, the party in Chancery, Gibb the 'counſellor, and Deurſt the clerk; the latter againſt 'Alderman Bowles and Humphrey Smith, parties in 'in Chancery; Serjeant More the counſellor, Elias 'Wood ſolicitor in the cauſe, and Sir John Tindal, 'Maſter of the Chancery, and an aſſeſſor to my Lord 'Chancellor.

'For the caſes themſelves, it were too long to 'trouble your Majeſty with them; but this I will 'ſay, if they were ſet on that preferred them, they 'were the worſt markſmen that ever were that ſet 'them on. For, there could not have been choſen 'two ſuch cauſes to the honour and advantage of the 'Chancery, for the juſtneſs of the decrees, and the 'foulneſs and ſcandal of fact and perſon, in thoſe 'that impeach the decrees. The grand jury conſiſt-'ing (as it ſeemeth) of very ſubſtantial and intelli-'gent perſons, would not find the bills, notwithſtand-'ing they were clamoured by the parties, and twice 'ſent back by the Court; and, in concluſion, reſo-'lutely ſeventeen of nineteen found an *ignoramus*; 'wherein, for that time, I think, *ignoramus* was 'wiſer than thoſe that know too much.

'Your Majeſty will pardon me, if I be ſparing in 'delivering to you ſome other circumſtances of aggra-'vation, and of concurrences of ſome like matters 'the ſame day; as if it had been ſome fatal conſtel-'lation. They be not things ſo ſufficiently tried as I 'dare put them into your ear.

'For my opinion, I cannot but begin with this 'preface, that I am infinitely ſorry that your Majeſty 'is thus put to ſalve and cure, not only accidents of 'time, but errors of ſervants; for I account this a 'kind of ſickneſs of my Lord Coke's, that comes 'almoſt in as ill a time as the ſickneſs of my Lord 'Chancellor. And, as I think, it was one of the 'wiſeſt parts that ever he played, when he went down 'to your Majeſty to Royſton, and deſired to have my 'Lord Chancellor joined with him; ſo this was one 'of the weakeſt parts that ever he played, to make 'all the world perceive that my Lord Chancellor is 'ſevered from him at this time.

'But, for that which may concern your ſervice, 'which is my end, (leaving other men to their own 'ways;) firſt, my opinion is plainly, that my Lord 'Coke, at this time, is not to be diſgraced; both 'becauſe he is ſo well habituate for that which re-'maineth of theſe capital cauſes; and alſo, for that 'which I find is in his breaſt, touching your finances 'and matters of repair of your eſtate; and, if I 'might ſpeak it, as I think it were good his hopes 'were at end in ſome kind, ſo I could wiſh they were 'raiſed in ſome other.

'On the other ſide, this great and publick affront, 'not only to the reverend and well-deſerving perſon 'of your Chancellor, (and at a time when he was 'thought to lie on dying, which was barbarous) but 'to your high Court of Chancery, which is the 'Court of your abſolute power, may not, in my 'opinion, paſs lightly, nor end only in ſome formal 'atonement, but uſe is to be made thereof for the 'ſettling of your authority and ſtrengthening of 'your prerogative, according to the true rules of 'monarchy.

'Now to reconcile and accommodate theſe two 'advices, which ſeem almoſt oppoſite: Firſt, your 'Majeſty may not ſee it, though I confeſs it be ſuſ-'picious, that my Lord Coke was any way afore-'hand privy to that which was done; or that he did 'ſet it or animate it, but only took the matter as it 'came before him; and that his error was only, that 'at ſuch a time he did not divert it in ſome good 'manner.

'Secondly, if it be true, as it is reported, that any 'of the puiſne judges did ſtir this buſineſs; or that 'they did openly revile and menace the jury for doing 'their conſcience; as they did honeſtly and truly, 'I think that judge is worthy to loſe his place. And 'to be plain with your Majeſty, I do not think there 'is any thing a greater *polychreſton*, or *ad multa utile*, 'to your affairs, than upon a juſt and fit occaſion to 'make ſome example againſt the preſumption of a 'judge in cauſes that concern your Majeſty, whereby 'the whole body of thoſe magiſtrates may be con-'tained the better in awe; and, it may be, this will 'light upon no unfit ſubject of a perſon, that is rude, 'and that no man cares for.

'Thirdly,

with great ſpirit and alacrity; and, it being brought to a hearing before the King as ſupreme judge of the juriſdiction of Courts, he uſed the utmoſt care to inform himſelf therein, and referred the ſame to Sir Francis Bacon and Sir Henry Yelverton, his Attorney and Solicitor, Sir Henry Montague and Sir Randulph Crewe, his Serjeants, and Mr. Walter, the Prince's Attorney, all eminent men in their profeſſion, who, upon a ſerious conſideration of the ſtatutes, and the occaſion of making them, and of the precedents ſince that time, in April, 1616, preſented the King with their opinions and reaſons why they conceived theſe ſtatutes did not extend to the Court of Chancery. Conſonant to this reſolution, his Majeſty, upon farther advice (*f*), gave judgment in July following.—" That the ſtatute of 27 E. III. ch. 1. and 4 Hen. IV. did not extend " to the Court of Chancery: for the firſt was enacted againſt thoſe who ſued at Rome, " and the latter was deſigned to ſettle poſſeſſions againſt diſturbances, and not to take " away remedy in equity (*g*). [*R*] Upon this, his Majeſty ordered the caſe, the certificate,

(*f*) Stephens's Introd. to Bacon's Letters, p. 34. 1ſt. vol. Chancery Reports, 8vo. London, 1715. See alſo the tract annexed, entituled, The Juriſdiction of the Court of Chancery vindicated.

(*g*) Life of K. James I. by R. Wilſon, ann. 1616. Ar. Collins, as above.

' Thirdly, if there be no one ſo much in fault, ' which I cannot yet affirm either way, and there ' muſt be a juſt ground, God forbid elſe, yet I ſhould ' think, that the very preſumption of going ſo far, in ' ſo high a cauſe, deſerveth to have that done, which ' was done upon the indictment of Serjeant Heale, in ' Queen Elizabeth's time; that the judges ſhould ' anſwer it upon their knees before your Majeſty or ' your council, and receive a ſharp admonition: at ' which time alſo, my Lord Wray, being then Chief ' Juſtice, ſlipt the collar and was forborn.

' Fourthly, for the perſons themſelves, Glanville ' and Allen, which are baſe fellows and turbulent, I ' think there will be diſcovered and proved againſt ' them, beſides the preferring of the bills, ſuch com- ' binations and contemptuous ſpeeches and behaviours, ' as there will be good ground to call them, and, ' perhaps, ſome of their petty counſellors at law, in- ' to the Star-chamber.

' In all this which I have ſaid, your Majeſty may ' be pleaſed to obſerve, that I do not engage you ' much in the main point of the juriſdiction, for which ' I have a great deal of reaſon, which I now forbear. ' But two things I wiſh to be done: the one, that ' your Majeſty take this occaſion to redouble unto all ' your judges your ancient and true charge of rule, ' that you will endure no innovating the point of ' juriſdiction, but will have every Court impaled ' within their own precedents, and not aſſume to ' themſelves new powers upon conceits and inventions ' of law: the other, that in theſe high cauſes that ' touch upon ſtate and monarchy, your Majeſty give ' them ſtreight charge, that, upon any occaſions in- ' tervenient hereafter, they do not make the vulgar ' party to their conteſtations, by publickly handling ' them before they have conſulted with your Majeſty ' to whom the reglement of thoſe things only apper- ' taineth.

' To conclude, I am not without hope, that your ' Majeſty managing this buſineſs according to your ' great wiſdom, unto which I acknowledge myſelf ' not to be worthy to be card-holder or a candle- ' holder, will make profit of this accident as a thing ' of God's ſending.

' Laſtly, I may not forget to repreſent to your ' Majeſty, that there is no thinking of arraignments ' until theſe things be ſomewhat accommodated, and ' ſome outward and ſuperficial reconciliation at leaſt ' made between my Lord Chancellor and my Lord ' Chief Juſtice; for this accident is a banquet to all ' the delinquent's friends. But this is a thing that ' falleth out naturally of itſelf, in reſpect of the ' judges going circuit, and my Lord Chancellor's in- ' firmity with hope of recovery: and, although this ' protraction of time may breed ſome doubt of muta- ' bility, yet, I have lately learned out of an excel- ' lent letter of a certain king, that the ſun ſheweth ' ſometimes watery to our eyes, but, when the cloud ' is gone, the ſun is as before. God ever preſerve ' your Majeſty (44)!

' Your Majeſty's moſt humble
' ſubject and bounden ſervant,

*Feb.* 21, 1615. F. BACON.

(44) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 606, 607, and 608. (and Cabala p. 28, 29, 30.) See alſo Bacon's ibid. Vol. IV. p. 627 and 628.

[*R*] *And thereupon his Majeſty ordered the caſe, &c.*] ' This matter, (ſays Sir William Blackſtone in his ' Comment. Book 3. cap. 4.) being brought before ' the King was by him referred to his learned counſel ' for their advice and opinion: who reported ſo ſtrongly ' in favour of the Courts of Equity, that his Majeſty ' gave judgment in their behalf; but, not contented ' with the irrefragable reaſons and precedents pro- ' duced by his counſel (*for the Chief Juſtice was* ' *clearly in the wrong*) he choſe rather to decide the ' queſtion by referring it to the plenitude of his ' Royal prerogative.' We are obliged to Francis Hargrave, Eſq. for the following note on the controverſy about equitable juriſdiction.

Whether the Chancery can relieve by *ſubpœna*, after a judgment at law in the ſame matter, was the chief point in controverſy between Lord Chancellor Elleſmere and Lord Chief Juſtice Coke. The latter reſiſted the equitable interpoſitions on various occaſions. In one caſe, the King's Bench, whilſt he preſided over it, made a judgment abſolute, and granted execution in ſpite of an injunction from Chancery (45). In another caſe, he, and the other judges of the King's Bench, firſt bailed and afterwards diſcharged one, who had been committed for diſobedience to a decree in Chancery, where that Court interpoſed after a judgment at law (46). In a third caſe, where the defendant in Chancery, having been committed for contumacy in not anſwering, was brought by *habeas corpus* before the King's Bench, Coke held a language, which made it apparent, that he would have gone the ſame length, if it had been clear, that the bill in Chancery was for the ſame matter as the judgment at law; and, in this, he was ſtrongly ſeconded by Judge Doderidge (74). The grounds on which Lord Coke thus proceeded are ſtated by himſelf, both in his third and fourth inſtitutes (48). Certain alſo it is, that he did not act without at leaſt the colour and ſemblance of precedents and authorities in his favour. In the reign of Edward the fourth, Huſſey, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, avowed, that, if the party impriſoned by Chancery in a like caſe required it, he would have acted on the ſame line of conduct (49). In the reign of Henry the Eighth, Sir Thomas Moore, whilſt he was Lord Chancellor, joined the Houſe of Lords in charging it as a crime againſt Cardinal Wolſey, that he had examined matters in Chancery after a judgment at law (50). In the ſame reign, even the moſt zealous advocates for the equitable juriſdiction of Chancery diſavowed the right to interfere after a judgment at law, as is evident from the writings of the author of " The Doctor and Student." In the reign of Elizabeth, three indictments of *præmunire* on the Statute of 27 Edw. 3. are ſtated to have been found againſt different perſons for obtaining *ſubpœnas* after judgment at law; one in the 8 & 9 Eliz. whilſt Sir Nicholas Bacon was Lord Keeper; a ſecond in 27 Eliz. whilſt Sir Thomas Bromley held the ſeals; and a third in 30 Eliz. in which laſt inſtance it is repreſented that the Court of King's Bench, on exceptions taken, decided that the caſe was within the ſtatute, though they quaſhed the indictment for miſtake of a name (51). Theſe caſes are alſo ſaid to have been followed by

(45) Cro. Jac. 335.

(46) Cro. Jac. 343.

(47) 3 Bulſt. 115.

(48) 3 Inſt. 122. & 4 Inſt. 185.

(49) 22 E. 4. 37.

(50) 3 Parl. Hiſt. 42.

(51) 3 Inſt. 124

ficate, and the tranſactions thereupon, to be enrolled in the Court of Chancery (*b*). This foul affair greatly ſerved to haſten Lord Chief Juſtice Coke's diſgrace [*S*], and is mentioned by Mr. Stephens as the firſt of the cauſes which deprived the Chief Juſtice of his place before the expiration of the ſame year (*i*).

(*b*) Stephens's Introd. to Bacon's Letters, p. 34. Carte's Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. IV. p. 35. Act of Council in the Appendix to the firſt vol. of Chancery Reports. See a farther explanation of this affair in article Bacon, Francis, and Coke, Sir Edward.

(*i*) Stephens's Introd. to Bacon's Letters, p. 34.

The Lord Chancellor, having repelled, with credit and ſucceſs, this extraordinary attack made through the haughty and vindictive ſpirit of Lord Chief Juſtice Coke, and being recovered from his indiſpoſition, was, on the 12th of May, 1616, conſtituted Lord High Steward for the trial of Robert, Earl of Somerſet, and Frances his wife, for poiſoning Sir Thomas Overbury. This ſolemn trial commenced on the 24th of May, when the Counteſs of Somerſet was brought into Weſtminſter-Hall. The Lord High Steward came on horſe-back, preceded by the proper officers of ſtate, and others of the nobility, and followed by two Barons, and two Knights on horſeback. The Counteſs (*k*), pleading guilty, was condemned; and, appealing to the mercy of her Peers, and interceding for their intereſt with the King to ſpare her life, was the object of univerſal pity. The Earl was tried the day following, and was found guilty of felony (*l*). After their conviction the Chancellor reſolutely and conſiſtently refuſed to affix the Great Seal to the very extraordinary pardon granted, and already ſigned by the too indulgent lenity of the King, which was copied from one granted by the Pope to Cardinal Wolſey, and which ran in theſe words: "That the King, of his mere motion and ſpecial favour, "did pardon all and all manner of treaſons, miſpriſions of treaſons, murders, felonies, "and outrages whatſoever, by the ſaid Robert Carre, Earl of Somerſet, committed, or "hereafter to be committed (*m*)."

(*k*) Camdeni Ann. App. Jac. 1616. Introd. to Bacon's Letters, p. 32. State Trials, Vol. I. p. 365. Biogr. Britan. Vol. I. p. 467. article Bacon, Francis. Arthur Wilſon's Hiſt. of James I.

(*l*) Truth brought to light by time, p. 71.

(*m*) See Truth brought to light, &c. or Hiſtory of the firſt 14 years of King James, Lond. 1651. Rymer, ibid. p. 781.

On the 20th of May following, he was conſtituted one of the Commiſſioners to treat with Sir Noel Caroon, Knight, Embaſſador for the States General, concerning the rendition of the cautionary towns into the hands of the States (*n*). On the 3d of June, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and others, were appointed to enquire who were the authors of his being indicted of *præmunire* (*o*), which was the leading cauſe of Sir Edward Coke's diſgrace. He was one of the grand council, convened at Whitehall on the 6th of June, 1616, the King himſelf, in council, before whom the twelve Judges were ſummoned to appear, and accuſed of having, in the execution of their office, unconſti-

(*n*) Rymer, ibid. 783.

(*o*) Camdeni Ann. App. Jac. 1619. Carte's Hiſt. of Eng. P. 41.

by another of the 39 & 40 Eliz. in which, on a demurrer to a bill in Chancery after judgment at law, there was a reference to all the Judges of England, who are ſtated to have concurred in certifying that the demurrer was good. Sir Moyle Finch's caſe (52). Whether the weight of authorities, and of the reaſoning independently of them, did on the whole preponderate for or againſt Lord Coke, is a point upon which it would be raſh to pronounce without a very cloſe and accurate inveſtigation. In the mean time it muſt be confeſſed, that, without taking into account the high eſtimation of the venerable Lord Elleſmere's character, there is ſeemingly great preſumption in favour of his ſide of the controverſy; for it not only terminated with a deciſion againſt Lord Coke, but that deciſion, notwithſtanding various attempts to unhinge it, ſtill operates with full force. The deciſion againſt Lord Coke was in 1616, when the Attorney General Bacon, the Solicitor General, and the King's Serjeants, having certified in favour of Chancery on a caſe referred to them by the crown, King James declared his approbation, and iſſued a rule for direction of Chancery accordingly. Nor was this the full extent of Lord Elleſmere's victory; for, Lord Coke was called to a ſevere account for his conduct in this ſtrife about juriſdiction, and found it convenient to make a very humiliating ſubmiſſion. However, it appears by the third Inſtitute, that Lord Coke conſidered the victory as obtained by undue means, and did not really relinquiſh his original notions on the ſubject (53).

(52) Ibid.

(53) 3 Inſt. 125.

Such was the effect of King James's deciſion in favour of equitable juriſdiction, that Lord Coke did not live to ſee a revival of the attempts to check it.

But, within a few years after Lord Coke's death, the queſtion of equitable juriſdiction was again ſtirred, and, as it ſeems, not wholly without ſucceſs. In 17 Cha. I. it is reported to have been agreed in the King's Bench, that a Court of Equity could not relieve after judgment at law (54). In 1655, the like queſtion was moved againſt the equitable juriſdiction of the Exchequer, and a demurrer to a bill after judgment at law was there allowed (55). In 1658, another caſe was argued in the Exchequer on the ſame point: but no judgment appears to have been given (56).

(54) March's Rep. 183.

(55) Morel v. Douglas Hardr. 23.

(56) Harris v. Colliton Hardr. 183.

After the Reſtoration there occurred on this ſubject the two caſes following: namely (57), The former was a caſe of demurrer on action of *præmunire* in the King's Bench. It began whilſt Kelynge was Chief Juſtice; who, after argument, thought it a fit caſe for adjournment into the Exchequer Chamber (58). But, afterwards, when Lord Hale was become Chief Juſtice, he is ſaid to have held that the caſe was not within the ſtatute of *præmunire*, on which nothing farther was done in the caſe (59). In the latter caſe, a judgment at law had been pleaded to a bill in Chancery; and, on the plea's being overruled, a prohibition was moved for in the King's Bench, when Lord Hale recommended that it ſhould be moved in Chancery to have the plea ſet down again; and he ſaid, that, if it ſhould be overruled again, then the court would conſider, whether a prohibition ſhould be granted (60).

(57) King v. Standiſh 2 Keb. 402, 661, 787. 1 Mod. 59. 1 Sid. 463. 1 Lev. 241. And King v. Welby in Sir Thomas Raym. 227. & 3 Kel. 221.

(58) 1 Mod. 61.

(59) 1 Lev. 242

(60) T. Raym. 227.

Thus reſted the diſpute till 1695, when it was once more revived by Sir Robert Atkyns, who, almoſt immediately after reſigning the office of Lord Chief Baron publiſhed an elaborate treatiſe againſt the equitable juriſdiction of Chancery, in which he particularly inſiſted that it could not interpoſe after a judgment at law. This treatiſe he addreſſed to the Lords; but, as far as appears at preſent, neither this nor a ſubſequent publication in 1699 by Sir Robert on the juriſdiction of the Peers, in which he again inveighed againſt Chancery, produced the leaſt effect: on the contrary, the juriſdiction of equity, as well after as before judgment, has been ever ſince exerciſed without controverſy or interruption.

[*S*] *Lord Chief Juſtice Coke's diſgrace.*] In a letter from Sir Francis Bacon to Lord Chief Juſtice Coke in diſgrace, he mentions the following, among the faults and miſconduct that occaſioned it. 'You make 'the law to lean too much to your own opinion, 'whereby you ſhew yourſelf to be a legal tyrant, 'ſtriking with that weapon when you pleaſe, ſince 'you are able to turn the edge any way: for thus the 'wiſe maſter of the law (viz. the Chancellor) gives 'warning to young ſtudents, that they ſhould be 'wary, leſt while they hope to be inſtructed by your 'integrity and knowledge, they ſhould be deceived 'with your ſkill armed with authority (61).'

SIR FRANCIS BACON *to Lord Chief Juſtice Coke.*

(61) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 624.



tutionally

tutionally trenched on the powers and prerogatives of the crown, in granting *Commendams* (*p*). The King himſelf took an active part in this buſineſs, and, after a judicial diſcuſſion of the queſtion, in which the opinion of Sir Francis Bacon, the Attorney General, was ſeconded and confirmed by that of the Chancellor, they were ſeverely cenſured for having groſsly and wilfully erred both in the *matter* and *manner* of their proceedings; particularly in not obeying the royal command delivered to them by the Attorney General, and in not delaying to proceed in a cauſe in which the prerogative was concerned till they had conſulted his Majeſty, and known his farther pleaſure. They all ſubmitted willingly, except the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke (in the whole of which buſineſs he acted a very noble part), and were obliged to crave his Majeſty's gracious favour and pardon upon their knees (*q*). On the 20th, the King, in the Star-chamber, aſſerted the authority of the Chancellor as more eſpecially his own; and, on the 30th, Lord Chief Juſtice Coke was degraded [*T*] for ſeveral cauſes of offence, particularly thoſe two which have been juſt mentioned, viz. his attack upon the Chancellor, and the affair of the *Commendams* (*r*).

(*p*) Biog. Brit. Vol. III. article Coke, Sir Edw. p. 686. p. 688. note [*P*].

(*q*) Bacon, ibid. p. 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639. Camdeni Ann. App. Jac. 1616. Annals of King James, p. 16. Carte's Hiſt. of England, p. 4. Biog. Brit. art. Coke, Sir Edw. Vol. III. p. 689. ibid. note (*R*).

(*r*) Camdeni Ann. ibid.

The Lord Chancellor was now more than 76 years of age, and feeling both the powers of his mind and body ſhrink under the preſſure of old age and infirmity, by the moſt earneſt ſolicitations he entreated the King to give him an honourable diſcharge from his high office; partly from a ſcrupulous apprehenſion and conſcientious diffidence of being competent to bear the fatigues, and to diſcharge the duties, of it as he ought; but principally from an ardent deſire to retreat from the buſy ſcenes of office, in order to devote the evening of a life, ſpent in the honeſt and faithful diſcharge of a high profeſſion, to religious meditation.

"Moſt gracious Sovereign,

"I find, through my great age accompanied with griefs and infirmities, my ſenſe and "conceipt is become dull and heavy, my memory decayed, my judgment weak, my "hearing imperfect, my voice and ſpeech failing and faultering, and in all the powers "and faculties of my mind and body great debility. Wherefore, *conſcientiâ imbecilli-*"*tatis*, my humble ſuit to your moſt ſacred Majeſty is, to be diſcharged of this great "place wherein I have long ſerved, and to have ſome comfortable teſtimony under "your royal hand, that I leave it at this humble ſuit, with your gracious favour; ſo "ſhall I with comfort number and ſpend the days I have to live in meditation, and "prayers to almighty God, to preſerve your Majeſty, and all yours, in all heavenly "and earthly felicity and happineſs. This ſuit I intended ſome years paſt *ex dictamine* "*rationis et conſcientiæ*; love and fear ſtayed it: now neceſſity conſtrains me to it: I am "utterly unable to ſuſtain the burthen of this great ſervice; for I am now come to St. "Paul's deſire, *Cupio diſſolvi et eſſe cum Chriſto*. Wherefore, I moſt humbly beſeech "your Majeſty, moſt favourably to grant it your Majeſty's moſt humble and loyal poor "ſubject and ſervant,

(*s*) Cabala, p. 219.

"THOMAS ELLESMERE, Canc' (*s*)."

(*t*) Ibid. p. 219.

This letter could not, however, prevail with the King to diſmiſs ſo uſeful and faithful a ſervant, which obliged the Chancellor, by a ſecond (*t*), moſt earneſtly to impor-

[*T*] *On the* 30*th, Lord Chief Juſtice Coke was degraded.*]

19th Nov. 1616. A thunderbolt hath fallen on Lord Coke in the King's Bench, which hath overthrown him from the roots. The *ſuperſedeas* was carried to him the laſt week by Sir George Coppin, who at the preſenting of it ſaw that animoſity and ſuppoſed greatneſs of ſpirit to fall into a very narrow room—for, he received it with dejection and tears—*Tremor et Seceſſio non cadunt in fortem et conſtantem.*

Mr. JOHN CASTLE *to Mr. James Milles. Birch MSS.* 4176. 64.

During the time that Lord Chief Juſtice Coke lay under the diſpleaſure of the Court, ſome information was given to the King, that he having publiſhed eleven books of Reports had written many things againſt his Majeſty's prerogative. And being commanded to explain ſome of them, my Lord Chancellor Elleſmere doth thereupon in his letter of 22d October 1616 write thus to the King: 'According to your Majeſty's 'directions ſignified unto me by Mr. Solicitor, I 'called the Lord Chief Juſtice before me on Thurſday 'the 13th inſt. in preſence of Mr. Attorney, and 'others of your learned Counſel. I did let him know 'your Majeſty's acceptance of the few animadverſions, 'which, upon review of his own labours, he had 'ſent, though fewer than you expected, and his ex-'cuſes other than you expected.' And did at the ſame time inform him that his Majeſty was diſſatisfied with ſeveral other paſſages therein. *'Tis true, the Lord Chancellor wiſhed he might have been ſpared all ſervice concerning the Chief Juſtice as remembering the fifth petition of Dimitte nobis debita noſtra,* &c. Inſomuch that, though a committee of Judges was appointed to conſider theſe books, yet the matter ſeems to have ſlept till after Sir Francis Bacon was made Lord Keeper it revived, and two Judges more were added to the former (62).

(62) Bacon's Works, fol. Vol. IV. p. 657. note (*).

[The *Lord Chancellor Elleſmere's wiſh to have been ſpared all ſervice concerning the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke* appears to us a teſtimony of his ſenſibility, of his mild diſpoſition, and of the goodneſs of his heart: But this we ſubmit to the better judgment of our readers.]

tune

tune an honourable dismission [*U*]. The King at last consented, though he had endeavoured to induce him, as much as possible, to remain in office, as the Prince of Wales likewise had done; which appears from two letters [*W*] they sent to the Chancellor this year from Newmarket. King James parted with an old and faithful servant with all imaginable tenderness, and, as a mark of his royal favour and approbation, advanced him to the dignity of Viscount Brackley (*u*) on the 7th of November, 1616. Though he then resigned the duties of that high and important office of state, the King let him, however, keep the seal in possession till the beginning of Hilary term following, when, according to the accurate Camden, [*X*] on the 3d of March, 1617, his Ma-

(*u*) Pat. 14 Jac. p. 26. Catalogue, &c. by R. Brooke. Camdeni An. App. Jac. 1616.

[*U*] *An honourable dismission.*] 'Your royal favour 'hath placed and continued me many years in the 'highest place of ordinary justice in this your king-'dom, and hath most graciously born with my many 'but unwilling errors and defects, accepting, instead 'of sufficiency, my zeal and fidelity, which never 'failed. This doth encourage and stir in me an 'earnest desire to serve still: but, when I remember 'St. Paul's rule, "Let him that hath an office wait 'on his office;" and do consider withal my great age, 'and many infirmities, I am dejected, and do utterly 'faint: for I see and feel sensibly, that I am not able 'to perform those duties as I ought and the place 'requires; and thereupon I do seriously examine 'myself, what excuse or answer I shall make to the 'King of Kings, and Judge of all Judges, when he 'shall call me to account; and then my conscience 'shall accuse me, that I have presumed so long to 'undergo and wield so mighty and great a charge 'and burthen; and I behold a great cloud of wit-'nesses ready to give evidence against me.

'1. Reason telleth me, and by experience I find, '*Senectus est tarda et obliviosa, et insanabilis morbus.*

'2. I heard the precepts and council of many 'reverend, sage, and learned men, "*Senectuti* debe-'tur otium," "solve senectutem mature," &c.

'3. I read, in former laws, that old men were '*emeriti et rude donati*; and one severe law that 'saith, *Sexagenarius de ponte*, whereupon they are 'called *Depontanei*. And Plato, lib. 6. *de legibus*, 'speaking of a great magistrate which was *Præfectus 'legibus servandis* determineth thus: *Minor annis* 50 '*non admittatur*; *nec major annis* 70 *permittatur in eo 'perseverare*: and, to this law, respecting both mine 'office and mine years, I cannot but yield. But, 'leaving foreign laws, the stat. anno 13 E. I. speak-'th plainly, *Homines excedentes ætatem* 70 *annorum 'non ponantur in Assisis et juratis.* So as it appeareth, 'that men of that age are by that law discharged of 'greater, painful, and careful, especially judicial, 'offices.

'4. Besides, I find many examples of men of great 'wisdom, knowledge, and judgment, meet and 'worthy to be followed; of which, (leaving all other) 'I will remember that of William Warham, Archbishop 'of Canterbury, and Chancellor of England, who, after 'long service, was, upon his humble suit, discharged 'of the office of Chancellor of England, in respect of 'his great age. Seeing then such a cloud of witnesses 'against me, which, in my private soliloquies and 'meditations, are daily and continually represented to 'my view, and mine own conscience (more than a 'thousand witnesses) concurring with me: Pardon 'me, my most gracious Sovereign, to conclude 'with good *Barzillai*, *Quot sunt dies annorum vitæ 'meæ? quare servus tuus sit oneri domino nostro Regi? 'obsecro ut revertar servus tuus et moriar*, &c. So I 'most humbly beseech your most sacred Majesty, 'graciously to regard the great age, infirmity, and 'impotency, of your most devoted, obedient, loyal, 'and faithful, servant: let me not be as *Domitius* after 'was, *Maluit deficere quam definere*; but, with your 'princely favour, give me leave to retire myself from 'the careful service of this great office, and from the 'troubles of this world, and to spend the small rem-'nant of my life in meditation and prayer; and I will 'never cease to make my humble supplications to 'Almighty God, to bless and prosper your Majesty, 'the Queen, the Prince, all your Royal issue, with 'all heavenly and earthly felicity; which is the last 'and best service your poor, aged, weak, and decayed, 'servant can do for you.'

THO. ELLESMERE, *Canc'* (63).

(63) Cabala, p. 219, 220.

[*W*] *Two letters they sent to the Chancellor this year from Newmarket.*]

'To the Right Trusty and Right well Beloved 'our Chancellor of England.

'My Lord,

'The letter I wrote the last year from the same 'town unto you proved so good a cordial for your 'health, as I am thereby encouraged to do the like at 'this time; and, as I both hope and pray for, with the 'like success: I cannot but be extremely sorry for 'the evil conceit you have of your own strength, which 'makes me the more to presume upon the good ope-'ration of this physick of mine, since I am sure it 'cannot work more upon your mind than any other 'worldly thing. The greatness of your place, and 'the ability which God hath given you to discharge 'it, to the honour of God, and the great benefit of 'the commonwealth, it is a cause sufficient to stir you 'up to be careful of your own health, and even to 'fight against diseases as far as you can; but, when 'you shall remember how ill I may want you, and 'what miss your Master shall have of you, I hope the 'reason will be predominant to make you not strive 'with, but conquer, your disease, not for your own 'sake, but for His, of whom you may promise your-'self as much love, and hearty affection, as might be 'expected from so thankful and kind a master, to so 'honest and worthily deserving a servant: and so, 'praying God to bless this my cure, I bid you heartily 'farewell.

'JAMES REX.

'*Feb.* 9, 1616, *Newmarket.*'

About this time there was some appearance of amendment in Lord Chancellor Egerton's health, which the Prince of Wales congratulates under his own hand.

'My Lord Chancellor,

'As I was very sorry having understood of your 'danger and sickness, so do I much rejoyce at the 'good appearance of your recovery, which Thomas 'Murray hath declared to me, and of the affection 'and care you have of my person and of my estate; 'for which you and yours shall ever find me most 'willing to give testimony to the world, how much I 'respect those who are truly affected towards me; I 'hope by God's grace to give you particular by my-'self, and that God shall give you health and strength 'of body and mind, that the King, Queen, and I, 'with this whole kingdom, may long enjoy the fruit 'of your long, wise, and religious, experience, 'which wishing from my heart, I end,

'Yours,

'CHARLES, *Pr.*

'*Newmarket, Feb.* 18. 1616.'

[*X*] *On the third of March*, 1617.] As an historical fact relating to the Court of Chancery, it may possibly be considered as not quite unworthy of observation, that no person has yet held the seals for so long a time as Lord Ellesmere did, viz. from the 6th of May, 1596, to the 3d of March, 1617.

jesty went to visit the Chancellor, and received it from his hands with tears of gratitude and respect (*w*) [*Y*].

(*w*) Camdeni An. App. J. c. 1617. March 3. Birch's Mem. Vol. I. p. 165. Carte's Hist. of Engl. p. 42. Vol. IV. Granger's Biog. Hist. Vol. I. p. 386.

On the seventh it was committed to the custody of Sir Francis Bacon (*x*), the person whom his Lordship desired might succeed him (*y*). Another author (*z*) says, that the King sent Secretary Windwood for the seal with this gracious message, "That himself "would be his Underkeeper and not dispose of it, while he lived to bear the title of "Chancellor," and that no one received it out of the King's sight till Lord Chancellor Egerton's death, which followed soon after [*Z*]: these accounts are very reconcilable, as the King might both receive it in form from the Chancellor's hands and send his Secretary for it afterwards. On the 24th of January, he had, for the same reasons, resigned the office of Chancellor of the University of Oxford [*AA*], and was succeeded by the Earl of Pembroke.

(*x*) Camdeni Ann. ibid. Chronica Series, p. 104.

(*y*) Stephens's Introd. to Bacon's Letters. Biog. Brit. Vol. I. p. 471. article Bacon, Francis.

His Lordship's illness increasing, the King, as a farther testimony of his affection and good-will, and of all that the munificence of a Prince could do to sooth the dying moments of an aged servant, [*BB*] sent the Earl of Buckingham and Sir Francis Bacon, on the 15th of March, to signify his intention of honouring him with an Earldom, accompanied with an annual pension (*a*) [*CC*]. These honours he did not live to receive, but left them in the hands of his royal master to testify a reverence for his memory, and a grateful sense of his services, by conferring the former upon his son, John Egerton, afterwards created Earl of Bridgwater (*b*). The age in which he lived was a particular æra of the British annals, distinguished by many great and extraordinary public cha-

(*z*) Aulicus Coquinariæ Lond. 1650. 12mo. p. 171.

(*a*) Camdeni Ann. App. Jac. 1617.

(*b*) Ibid. Dugdale's Baronage of England, p. 415. Bacon's works Vol. IV. p. 666.

[*Y*] *Tears of gratitude and respect.*] Camden's words are these: 'Rex invisit Cancellarium languentem 'et ex invalidâ senectute filicio cedere volentem: 'Cancellarius sigillum in manu Regis lachrymantis 'tradidit.'

[*Z*] *Which followed soon after.*] This we are assured of by Mr. W. Sanderson, the publisher of "Aulicus Coquinariæ," by way of reply to Sir Anth. Weldon; who, in his "Court and Character of "King James (64)," says, 'that the Lord Chancellor, as well as Sir Robert Mansell, was removed 'by the pride and insolence of Villiers, for not giving 'way to his exorbitant desires, who would not let 'him seal up his dying eyes with the seals which he 'had so long carried and so well discharged. And, 'to despite him the more, and to vex his very soul, 'in the last agony, he sent Bacon (one he hated) yet 'to be his successor for the seales; which the old 'man's spirit could not brook; but sent them by his 'own servant; and, shortly after, yielded his soule 'to his Maker.' Sir Anthony must be wrong in this part of his narration. He hated Villiers himself and Bacon too, (because he had conceived them to have been enemies to Essex,) of which last he says— 'Surely never so many brave parts and so base and 'abject a spirit ever tenanted together in any one 'earthen cottage as in this man (66); and will have 'the Chancellor, whom all men loved, to hate them 'too.' Mr. Stephens, in his Introduction to Bacon's Letters, affirms, 'that he voluntarily resigned in full 'possession of the King's favour, notwithstanding 'what some pamphleteers have reported (67).' Mr. Stephens, in another place, calls Sir Anthony '*a loose 'writer* (68).'

(64) P. 125. Edit. Lond. 1650. 12mo.

(66) Court and Ch. of King James, p. 123.

(67) Introd. to Bacon's Letters, p. 7. See Mallet's Life of Bacon, p. 78.

(68) Ibid. p. 22.

[*AA*] *Chancellor of the University of Oxford.*]

'To the Right Reverend Father in God Arthurie 'Lord Bishoppe of Bath and Wells, and Vice-Chan-'cellor of the Universitie of Oxon.

'My Lord,

'At your last being with me, I tould you that I had 'lately resigned three places to ease myself of my care 'and trouble concerning the same, which I did then 'by way of idle discourse, *tanquam aliud agens*, 'although mine intention was seriously fixed upon 'that which I doe, that is, that as a weary traveller 'desires to be unburthened by little and little of some 'part of his loade towards the end of his journey; so 'now, after theis three to free myself of the fourth, 'which is the charge that lyeth upon me as Chauh-'cellor of the Universitie of Oxford. I have volun-'tarily and freely resigned the same, as by the instru-'ment which I send you herewith under my hand and 'seale may appeare. And I trust, ere it be long, to 'bee discharged of a greater charge and burthen, 'either by God's merciful calling mee hence (for '*cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo*) or by his Majesty's 'gratious and favourable graunting my most humble 'suite. So praying God to bless that famous Uni-'versitie with all happiness, and wishing to yourselfe 'all contentment in Christ Jesus, I rest,

'Your Lordship's very loving Friend,

'BRACKLEY, *Canc.*

'*At York-House*, 25 *Jan.* 1616.

'Be it knowen to all to whome this present writy-'ing shall come: That I Sir Thomas Egerton, 'Knight, Viscount Brackley, Baron of Ellesmere, 'Lord Chauncelor of England, and Chauncelor of 'the Universitie of Oxford, wishing all godly bless-'ings and honourable happiness to that worthy and 'famous Universitie: And waighing my great age 'and infirmities, and being wearied with the multi-'tude of many great affaires and busines, wherein I 'have bene and am dayly imployed, have, upon ad-'vised and serious consideration thereof and upon 'mature deliberations, reseigned, surrendred, and given 'upp, and doe by this my present deede voluntarily 'and freely resigne, surrender, and give upp, to the 'Vice-chancelor, Masters, and Schollers of the said 'Universitie, the office and dignitie of the Chaunce-'lorship of the same Universitie, which they graunted 'unto mee by there deede under there common seale, 'bearing date the sixte day of November, An. 'D'ni. 1610. It witnes whereof I have hereunto 'subscribed my name and putt my seale the foure 'and twentieth day of January, in the yeare of the 'reigne of our most gratious Soveraigne Lord James, 'by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, 'France, and Ireland, that is to witte of England, 'Fraunce, and Ireland, the fourteinth, and of Scot-'land the syftieth, 1616.

'BRACKLEY, *Canc* (69).'

(69) Reg. N. 23. fol. 34. a. and b.

[*BB*] *The King sent.*] 'The very day I wrote '(Mar. 15) the late Lord Chancellor left this busy 'world, visited *in articulo mortis*, or not full half an 'hour before, by the new Lord Keeper, with a 'message from his Majesty, that he meant presently to 'bestow on him the title of Earl of Bridgewater, to 'make him President of the Council, and to give 'him a pension of 3000l. a year during his life. But 'he was so far past, that no words or worldly com-'forts could work with him, but only thanking his 'Majesty for his gracious favours, said, "That these 'things were all to him but Vanities."

*Carleton's Letters, Birch MSS.* 4175.
*Sloane Collect.* *dated March* 29, 1617.

[*CC*] *Accompanied with an annual pension.*] In a little book entitled "Grandeur of the Law," the brief account of Lord Ellesmere closes thus, viz. 'Created Baron of *Ellesmere* and Viscount *Brackley*, 'leaving at his death *an estate of his own raising of at 'least eight thousand per annum* (70).'

(70) Grandeur of the Law by H. P. Gent. printed at Lond. 1635. p. 5.

racters: but, whilſt the miſconduct or misfortune of a Devereux, a Raleigh, a Bacon, and a Coke, expoſed them to public diſgrace, or to an ignominious death; the prudence, diſcretion, and integrity of an Egerton, ſecured him a ſafe and honourable retreat from this life: for, he died at York-houſe, in the Strand, on the 15th day of March, 1617, in his 77th year, "in a good old age, and full of virtuous fame," and in the words of Camden, "*Forte quanto propius Reipublicæ mala viderat, ut integer honeſ-*"*tum finem voluit.*" To ſum up his character, ſays the Right Reverend Author, of the Life of Archbiſhop Williams, he was one "Qui nihil in Vitâ niſi laudandum aut fecit, "aut dixit, aut ſenſit (*c*)." He was buried at Doddleſton, in Cheſhire, on the 6th of April, without any other pomp or glory "than what reſulted from the fame of his "virtuous actions (*d*)."

(*c*) Velleius Paterc.

(*d*) Dugdale's Baron. in loco. Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, Camden. Ibid.

After his death he was ſucceeded, according to his wiſh, in the office of Lord Chancellor by that great lawyer and ſtateſman Sir Francis Bacon; and, in addition to his diſtinguiſhed merit as a lawyer and ſtateſman, we cannot form an idea of him as [*DD*] a general ſcholar and encourager of learning, on higher authority than from the teſtimony of that luminary of ſcience, who has left us the following monument raiſed to the univerſal erudition of his illuſtrious friend and benefactor. [Sir Francis Bacon's Letter to the Lord Chancellor Elleſmere, accompanied with his book on the (*e*) Advancement of Learning].

(*e*) London printed for Henry Jones, at Gray's Inn Gate, 4to, 1605; again 1629, and 1633. In the new Edition of Bacon's Works, 1740, Vol. II. p. 364. Biog. Brit. Vol. I. p. 459, note [P].

'It may pleaſe your Lordſhip,

'I humbly preſent your Lordſhip with a work, wherein, as you have much commandment over the author, ſo your Lordſhip hath great intereſt in the argument: for, 'to ſpeak without flattery, few have like uſe of learning, or like judgment in learning, 'as I have obſerved in your Lordſhip. And, again, your Lordſhip hath been a great 'planter of learning, not only in thoſe places in the church which have been in your 'own gift, but, alſo, in your commendatory note, no man hath more conſtantly held '*detur digniori*. And, therefore, both your Lordſhip is beholding to learning, and 'learning beholding to you; which maketh me preſume, with good aſſurance, that 'your Lordſhip will accept well of theſe my labours, and ſo, with ſignification of my 'moſt humble duty and affection to your Lordſhip, I remain (*f*).'

(*f*) Bacon's Works, p. 563. Cabala, p. 64.

Sir Francis Bacon likewiſe addreſſes to him a letter, with propoſitions at large, to procure the Hiſtory of Great Britain, then united under one King, to be repreſented by ſome able hand in a manner becoming the dignity of the ſubject (*g*).

(*g*) Ibid. p. 565, 566.

His Lordſhip left four manuſcripts of choice collections. "1. The Prerogative "Royal. 2. The Privileges of Parliament. 3. Proceedings in Chancery. 4. The Power "of the Star-Chamber (*EE*);" and, when he was lying upon his death-bed, to teſtify his affection to his Chaplain Williams, he deſired him to chuſe what moſt acceptable legacy he ſhould leave him; (*FF*) when Williams requeſted only theſe four books.

The

[*DD*] *Of learning.*] 'Her Majeſty and the ſtate 'had long experience of his (Lord Elleſmere's) in-'tegrity and Wiſdom. He was a lover of learning, 'and a moſt conſtant favourer of the Clergy, and 'Church Government eſtabliſhed; as alſo, a faithful 'loving friend to the Archbiſhop Whitgift, in all his 'affairs, &c (71).'

(71) Sir G. Paul's Life of Whitgift, page 77.

At the conference of Divines at Hampton Court concerning Conformity in 1603-4, the Lord Chancellor Elleſmere took occaſion thus to expreſs his opinion. 'Livings rather want learned men, than 'learned men livings, many in the Univerſities pining 'for want of places. I wiſh, therefore, ſome may 'have ſingle coats, before others have doublets: and 'this method I have obſerved in beſtowing the King's 'benefices (72).'

(72) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Book 10, p. 16.

Sir Simon Degge records this conduct of the Lord Chancellor in his "Parſon's Counſellor," page 37, calling it "a worthy Precedent."

In 1612, Francis Rollenſon, B.D. ſome time Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, publiſhed a volume of curious ſermons, entitled, "Twelve Prophetical "Legacies," &c. which he dedicated to Lord Chancellor Elleſmere. In the Dedication he premiſes, that '*Counſel* and *Helpe* be the two maine pillars and 'ſupporters of every Commonwealth:' then he adverts to the value of the Lord Chancellor in theſe reſpects, and records alſo his exemplary attention to the intereſts of learning. 'This *Counſell*, and this '*Helpe*, are the pillar-like feet of every noble Theophilus, who treadeth the ſteppes of Chriſt, and 'walketh in his pathes; and ſuch a Theophilus may 'your Lordſhip be juſtly accounted; for, not only by '*Counſell* as being one of the chiefeſt oracles of this 'land, but alſo by *Helpe*, as being one of the *beſt* '*nurſing Fathers of the Church*, your honour ſeeketh 'the welfare of Zion, and the good of God's Temple. 'It is not I alone that ſay thus, but it is *Muſarum* '*Vox*, the voice of the learned twins of this realme 'the *two Univerſities*, many of whoſe ſons had died 'and beene buried in their ſelles, had not your 'Honour called them forth, and ſent them into God's 'vineyard (73).'

(73) Extract from the Dedication, &c. See alſo the note [*K*] of this article.

[*EE*] *Star-Chamber.*] Mr. Hudſon, a barriſter of eminence, and a contemporary of Lord Chancellor Egerton's, in his manuſcript treatiſe on the Star-Chamber, continually refers to his Lordſhip in terms of high encomium and great veneration. That manuſcript is in the Britiſh Muſeum (Harl. Catal. 1226. Vol. I.) Sir William Blackſtone refers to it in the 4th volume of his Commentaries, page 267.

[*FF*] *When Williams requeſted theſe four books.*] Hacket thus deſcribes the Chancellor's donation of his papers to Williams. 'Well (ſaid the Chancellor), 'I know you are an expert workman: take theſe tools 'to work with, they are the beſt I have.' And he gave him ſome books and papers written with his own hand. Theſe were as valuable as the ſibylline propheecies. They were that Old Sage's collections for the well-ordering the High Court of Parliament, the Court of Chancery, the Star-Chamber, and the Council-board. An ineſtimable gift, being made over to the true heir apparent of his wiſdom. Let every one wear the garland he deſerves. For my part, I attribute ſo much to the Lord Egerton, that I believe the maſter's papers were the marrow of Mr. Williams, his prudence, and ſubtle judgment in all his negotiations. Theſe notes I have ſeen, but are loſt, as it is to be feared, in unlucky and devouring times (74).

(74) Hacket's life of Williams, fol. Part. I. p. 30—31.

*The*

The legacy was bequeathed him, 'and Williams made such use of it,' says Fuller, 'that he transcribed these four books into his own brains: books,' adds he, 'that 'were (*b*) the four elements of our English state, from which (*i*) he derived all that 'legal and political knowledge which qualified him for those high and eminent stations 'he afterwards filled.' This appears from the King's declaration to his (*k*) Privy-Council on the 10th of July, 1621, when he gave the Great Seal to him, who, among other reasons of his choice, mentions, as one, the great experience he had in Chancery business, under the Lord Ellesmere (*l*). These books, which were principal instruments of his future fortunes, he so highly valued as to deem them a present fit to be offered to King James, to whom he gave them (*m*). In Lord Chancellor Egerton's life-time (*n*), was printed in quarto, in sixteen sheets, Lond. 1609, his "Speech in the "Exchequer-Chamber," in Robert Calvine's cause, son and heir-apparent of James Lord Calvine, of Colcross, in the Realm of Scotland, commonly called the case of the (*o*) Postnati. In the year 1641 was printed at London "The Priviledges and Prerogatives of the High Court of Chancery, written by the Right Honourable Thomas "Lord Ellesmere, late Lord Chancellor of England." In the year 1651 there was published at London a small octavo book, entitled, "Certaine Observations concerning the Office of Lord Chancellor," composed by the Right Honourable and most learned Thomas Lord Ellesmere, late Lord Chancellor of England, small octavo, extracted chiefly from records. And Mr. George Paul published some papers found amongst the manuscripts of Mr. Laughton, of Cambridge, which were said to have been written with the Lord Chancellor Egerton's own hand. These were entitled, "The "Lord Chancellor Egerton's Observations on the Lord Coke's reports, particularly in "the Debate of Causes relating to the Right of the Church, the Power of the King's "Prerogative, the Jurisdiction of Courts, or the Interest of the Subject:" but, it is not generally agreed that these papers are truly ascribed to Lord Chancellor Egerton.

His person, as to its exterior, was possessed of such grave and striking dignity, as to excite the curiosity of many to go to the Chancery in order to see and admire his venerable presence; (and happy they, observes the facetious Fuller, who had no other business there (*p*); ) and his interior presented a subject of higher admiration [*GG*]. His apprehension was keen and ready, his judgment deep and sound, his reason clear and comprehensive, his method and elocution elegant and easy (*q*). As a lawyer, he was prudent in counsel, extensive in information, just and honest in principle; so that, while he lived, he was excelled by none, and, when he died, he was lamented by all (*r*). As a statesman, he was able, faithful, and sincere, on all occasions; and, as a judge, impartial and incorrupt. When he saw King James so profuse to the Scots, in his honest and open zeal for the interest of the crown, he scrupled not frequently to admonish him, however he held it necessary that his Majesty should amply reward his countrymen, not to be too lavish of the crown-lands, but to preserve them for his own support, since he or his successors might meet with Parliaments which would not supply his occasions but on such conditions as he would not like (*s*). It was with him a common saying—*Frost and fraud both end in foul* [*HH*] (*t*), a maxim his successor, the great Bacon, might lament he had not weighed in time.

(*b*) Church Hist. Book II. p. 225.

(*i*) Hacket's life of Williams, fol. part I. p. 30, 31.

(*k*) K. James's Works. Speech to the Privy Council.

(*l*) Stephens's Introd. to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 56.

(*m*) Drake's Hist and Antiq. of the City of York, B. II. Chap. I. fol. Ed. of 1736, p. 462.

(*n*) Royal and noble Authors, title Ellesmere. Nicolson's Histor. Libr. Granger's Biog. Hist. Worrall's Cat. of Law Books.

(*o*) See the Case of the Postnati in Hargrave's State Trials, Vol. V. p. 75.

(*p*) Dugdale Fuller's Worthies in Cheshire, p. 176. Minshew's Ductor in linguas, under the word *Chancellour*.

(*q*) Fuller. Ibid.

(*r*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Col. 418.

(*s*) Fuller. Ibid. p. 177.

*The Lord Chancellor Egerton's observations on the Lord Coke's Reports.*]

In Mr. Hargrave's Collection of Law Manuscripts, there is a piece intitled—'Abridgment of the Lord 'Coke's Reports under the Lord Egerton's own 'hand.' It contains a short account of each case in the eleven volumes of Reports published by Lord Coke himself; and, probably, was a labour undergone by Lord Chancellor Egerton, as a preliminary to his observations on Lord Coke's Reports.—There is also, in Mr. Hargrave's collection of Law Manuscripts, a piece with this title,—"Observations upon Lord "Coke's Reports, made by the Lord Chancellor "Egerton, taken by me out of his own papers, written "with his own hand." These observations are not the same as those in print, but seem to be additional. Who the transcriber was doth not appear.

[*GG*] *Higher admiration.*] Anagram from Camden's Remains, 4th Edit. page 512.

THOMAS EGERTON
Gestat Honorem.
Oris honore viget, vi mentis *gestat honorem*
Juris Egertonus, dignus honore coli.

Epigram 74th of Ben Jonson.

To THOMAS LORD CHANCELLOR.

'Whilst thy weigh'd judgments, Egerton, I hear,
'And know thee, then, a judge, not of one year:
'Whilst I behold thee live with purest hands,
'That no affection in thy voice commands;
'That still thou'rt present in the better cause,
'And no less wise than skilful in the laws;
'Whilst thou art certain to thy words, once gone,
'As is thy conscience, which is always one:
'The Virgin, long since fled from earth, I see
'T' our times return'd, hath made her heaven in thee.

[*HH*] *Frost and fraud both end in foul.*]

'I have heard my Lord High Steward say sometimes in the Chancery, that frost and fraud end in 'foul; and I may add a third, and that is, the 'friendship of ill men, which is truly said to be conspiracy, and not friendship.'

*Sir Francis Bacon's speech at the trial of the Earl of Somerset* (75).

Lord Bacon has, in his apophthegms, recorded two of Lord Ellesmere's familiar observations, viz.

'They were wont to call referring to the Masters 'in Chancery, *Committing*. My Lord Keeper Egerton, when he was Master of the Rolls, was wont to 'ask, what the cause had done that it should be committed (76).'

'My Lord Chancellor Egerton, when he had read 'a petition, which he disliked, would say; "What, 'you would have my hand to this now?" and the 'party answering, "Yes;" he would say farther, "Well, so you shall; nay, you shall have both my 'hands to it;" and so would, with both his hands, 'tear it in pieces.'

(75) State Trials, 14 Jac. I.

(76) Bacon's Works, fol. Vol. III. p. 275.

The tranſition from a great man's public to his private character is often diſadvantageous to him, and it is the opinion of many that, in the hiſtory of his life, it ought not to be made. In that, however, which is the ſubject of this article, it may be done with great advantage, as the private, will give a ſtill higher luſtre to the public, and prove that the heart of this virtuous ſtateſman was no way inferior to his head. To his friends, who were great and many, he was generous, beneficent, and condeſcending: to his enemies, who were few, he was merciful and forgiving; and the ſame ſpirit of benevolence and affection which diſtinguiſhed the whole of his public character, pervaded his more intimate and domeſtic connections, and diſplayed themſelves in every act of his private life.

So richly gifted with the beſt endowments both of heart and underſtanding, he devoted a long and laborious life to the ſervice of his King and Country, having filled all the higher departments of his profeſſion with an ability which ſeldom can be equalled, and with an integrity which can never be excelled. The fruit of all his honeſt and active labours he reaped in the favour and affection of his Prince, as well as the teſtimony and approbation of all good men, and in the more heartfelt ſatisfaction derived from the ſenſe of having faithfully diſcharged his duty. And, though uncommonly ſucceſsful in every occurrence of his life, and promoted through the merit of ſuperior parts and application to the higheſt honours, neither the inſolence of fortune, nor the ſplendour of theſe honours, could, in his enlarged and exalted mind, efface the ſentiments of the Chriſtian, nor deaden the feelings of the man. Fine ſenſibility, the inſeparable attendant on fine genius, cultivated by philoſophy and religion, was his privilege and ornament; and the pain which it neceſſarily and occaſionally experienced from the feelings and diſtreſſes of humanity, was abundantly repaid, and often heightened into enjoyment, by the exerciſe of a benevolent, and by the reflections of a Chriſtian and conſcientious, mind. His heart was full of faith, and his hope of immortality(*u*). "*Cupio diſſolvi et eſſe cum Chriſto.*"

(*u*) See his own words in his firſt letter to James I. in this article. Alſo Cabala, p. 219.

Independently of the immediate object of biographical hiſtory, which is to diſplay the characters of men who have been eminent and uſeful, in order to teach the riſing generation how to emulate their virtues, and to ſhun their faults, the mind feels a complacency and enlargement in contemplating the lives of thoſe, who, by their learning, patriotiſm, or virtue, were the benefactors of mankind; and, though the General who conquered, or the Patriot who bled, in the public cauſe, is calculated to excite the more univerſal but tranſient admiration of the vulgar, the character we have now diſplayed will inſure the more valuable and permanent eſteem of the wiſe and good.]

*** [ELLYS (ANTHONY), a learned Prelate of the Church of England, was born in the year 1693. Who his parents were, and what was the place of his birth, we are not informed. After having gone through a proper courſe of grammatical education, he was entered of Clare-Hall, in the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he took his Bachelor's Degree in 1712, and that of Maſter of Arts in 1716 (*a*). It is highly probable that he likewiſe became a Fellow of his College. Some time after, having taken holy Orders, he was promoted to the Vicarage of *St. Olave, Jewry*, and to the Rectory of *St. Martin, Iremonger Lane*, which is united to the former. This was in 1724; and, in 1725, he was preſented, by the Lord Chancellor Macclesfield, whoſe Chaplain he is ſaid to have been, to a Prebendal Stall in the Cathedral Church of Glouceſter. On the 25th of April, 1728, when King George the Second paid a viſit to the Univerſity of Cambridge, Mr. Ellys was created Doctor of Divinity, being one of thoſe who were named in the Chancellor's liſt upon that occaſion (*b*). In 1736, when the Proteſtant Diſſenters were engaged in endeavouring to obtain a repeal of the Corporation and Teſt Acts, Dr. Ellys appeared in oppoſition to that meaſure, and publiſhed a work, entituled, "A Plea for the Sacramental Teſt, as a juſt Security to the Church eſtabliſhed, and "very conducive to the Welfare of the State," quarto. This work has ſince been re-printed in our author's tracts, hereafter to be mentioned. It is an elaborate performance, written with great ability and learning; and is undoubtedly to be conſidered as one of the principal pieces on that ſide of the queſtion. In 1749, Dr. Ellys publiſhed a Sermon, which he preached before the Houſe of Commons on the thirtieth of January. This Diſcourſe, the text of which was, Matt. xxii. 21. was printed, as then was cuſtomary, at the requeſt of the Houſe (*c*). Our author's next publication was early in 1752, being "Remarks on an Eſſay concerning Miracles, publiſhed by David "Hume, Eſq. among his Philoſophical Eſſays," quarto. In this ſmall piece, which was written in a ſenſible and genteel manner, Dr. Ellys conſidered what Mr. Hume had advanced, relating to Miracles, in a ſomewhat different light from what had been done by Dr. Rutherforth and Mr. Adams. This Tract being anonymous, and coming after what Mr. Adams had ſo admirably written on the ſame ſubject, it did not, perhaps, excite that attention which it deſerved (*d*). In October, 1752, Dr. Ellys was promoted to the

(*a*) Cantabrigienſes Graduati, p. 131.

(*b*) Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 364. Cantabrigienſes Graduati, ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Cooke's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 116.

(*d*) Monthly Review, Vol. VI. p. 313.

See of St. David's, in the room of the Honourable Dr. Richard Trevor, tranſlated to the Biſhopric of Durham, and was conſecrated on the twenty-eighth of February, 1753 (*e*). It had for many years been underſtood, that our author was engaged in preparing, and had frequently declared his intention of publiſhing, a work, the deſign of which ſhould be to illuſtrate, confirm, and vindicate, the principles of religious liberty, and the reformation from Popery, founded upon them. This deſign recommended him to the notice of the excellent perſons at that time in adminiſtration, and particularly to Archbiſhop Herring; and it was the reputation of being employed in the accompliſhment of it, that occaſioned Dr. Ellys's advancement to the high ſtation which he held in the church. Why our Prelate never completed his deſign during his life-time, and why he received no farther marks of favour from the great perſonages who firſt countenanced him, appear to have been ſubjects of conjecture (*f*). Dr. Ellys, after his promotion to the Biſhopric of St. David's, continued to hold his prebend of Glouceſter, and his city living *in commendam*. The writer of this article, who lived for ſome time near him in Queen's-Square, Weſtminſter, well remembers how regularly the good Biſhop went every Sunday morning, in the Winter ſeaſon, to preach to his pariſhioners. Beſides his other preferments, he was vicar of Great Marlow, Bucks (*g*). In 1754, he publiſhed the Sermon which he had preached before the Houſe of Lords on the thirtieth of January. The text was, 1 Pet. ii. 16. In 1758, he was called to a ſimilar ſervice, before the ſame houſe, on the twenty-ninth of May, being the Anniverſary of King Charles the Second's Reſtoration (*h*). The laſt diſcourſe publiſhed by him was in 1759, having been delivered, from John xv. 8. before the Society for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts (*i*). On the ſeventeenth of January, 1761, our Prelate died at Glouceſter, and was buried in the South aile of the Cathedral there, where a neat pyramidal monument is erected to his memory, with the following epitaph on a tablet of white marble, ſupported by a cherub:

(*e*) Beatſon's Political Index, Vol. I. p. 133. Gent. Mag. Vol. XXII. p. 479. Anecdotes of Bowyer, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Monthly Review, Vol. XXIX. p. 117, 118. Anecdotes of Bowyer.

(*g*) Anecdotes of Bowyer, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) From Iſaiah, i. 26.

(*i*) Cooke's Hiſtorical Regiſter, ubi ſupra.

" Near this Place
lieth the Body of
*Anthony Ellys*, D. D.
Miniſter of the united Pariſhes of
*St. Olave, Old Jewry*, and *St. Martin's*
*Iremonger-lane*, in the City of *London*, 38 years;
Prebendary in this Church, 37 Years;
conſecrated Biſhop of *St. David's*, 28 *Feb.* 1753:
who departed this Life 17 *Jan.* 1761,
aged 68 Years.
A perſon truly excellent,
learned, juſt, benevolent, pious,
to whoſe rare Virtues and Abilities
Adulation cannot add,
Envy cannot deſervedly take from.
He married *Anne*, the eldeſt Daughter
of Sir *Stephen Anderſon*, of *Eyworth*,
in the County of Bedford, Bart.
whom he left, with only one Daughter,
to lament the common Loſs
of one of the beſt of
Mankind (*k*)."

(*k*) Anecdotes of Bowyer, ubi ſupra.

The unfortunate marriage of Biſhop Ellys's daughter, after his deceaſe, and the ſubſequent derangement of her mind, would form a melancholy tale of domeſtic hiſtory.

The few publications of our author, which appeared in his life-time, were a ſufficient evidence of his general learning and abilities; but the grand proof of his talents was not diſplayed till after his death. In 1763, was publiſhed, in quarto, the firſt part of " Tracts on the Liberty, ſpiritual and temporal, of *Proteſtants* in England. Addreſſed " to J. N. Eſq. at Aix-la-Chapelle." The ſecond part was given to the world in 1765, under the title of " Tracts on the Liberty, ſpiritual and temporal, of *Subjects* in Eng- " land." Theſe two parts together form one great and elaborate work, which had been the principal object of the Biſhop's life. The greateſt part of the papers which were left by him, as we are informed by the editors, had been tranſcribed and fitted for the preſs; but the diffidence that often attends men of the moſt extenſive underſtanding, prevented him from coming to a reſolution of publiſhing them, though often ſolicited by his friends who had ſeen them, and by others of his acquaintance, who were ſo fully ſatisfied of his rare abilities, and knowledge of our civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, as to believe no man of his time had better conſidered that ſubject, or was more capable of ſhewing it in a good light. The firſt volume, beſides the plea for the ſacramental teſt, conſiſts of ſeven tracts, the titles of which are as follow: " I. Of the Right of private Judgment in all Matters of Religion. II. Of the Liberty of publicly worſhipping God. III. On the Liberty, as to Matters eccleſiaſtical, when a Religion is publicly

eſtabliſhed. IV. On the Liberty recovered to the People of England, by ſuppreſſing the Authority formerly exerciſed over this Realm by the Biſhop of Rome. V. An Anſwer to the Objections to the ill Uſe which, it is alleged, has been made of the Liberty we have gained, by having broken with the See of Rome. VI. The Nature of Supremacy, in Matters Eccleſiaſtical, veſted in the Crown. VII. The Claim of ſome Engliſh Proteſtants to greater Liberty than they now enjoy." Though Dr. Ellys, in theſe Tracts, vindicates the Eſtabliſhment of the Church from the objections of the Proteſtant Diſſenters, his principal concern is with the Church of Rome, the tenets of which he very particularly examines and confutes. Conſidering the turn of ſentiment, and the change in the courſe of reading which have ſince taken place, our author may, perhaps, be thought to have diſcuſſed the points in debate more minutely than would now be univerſally agreeable in the peruſal. But the ſubject was deemed highly important at the time in which he wrote. There was then an apprehenſion of danger from Popery; and this ſentiment he has expreſſed in his introduction to J. N. Eſq. "The increaſe," ſays he, "of the Romiſh intereſt in Europe has been ſo great for theſe laſt hundred "years, and is ſo likely to go farther, that it certainly is very neceſſary that the peo- "ple of this nation ſhould be acquainted at leaſt with the chief arguments againſt that "Religion. Of theſe, therefore, you will here find ſome account; not a large one "indeed, becauſe none but things of the greateſt moment have been ſelected; yet "ſuch a one as will, I hope, clearly ſhew that our anceſtors were indiſpenſably obliged "to leave the Communion of the Church of Rome, and that we are as ſtrictly bound to "continue that ſeparation as long as the terms of her communion remain what they are." The Pope of Rome does not, at preſent, ſeem likely to lift up his head; but, ſhould the controverſy between the Roman Catholics and the Church of England be revived, excellent materials for conducting it may be found in Biſhop Ellys's performance. Beſides, there can be no period in which a Proteſtant ſhould be a ſtranger to the grounds of his profeſſion, and in which it will not be extremely proper that literary men in general, and Divines in particular, ſhould have a good acquaintance with the ſubject.

The ſecond part of our Prelate's work is more likely to be a permanent object of attention. It comprehends ſix tracts, under the following titles. "I. Of the Liberty of the Subjects in Judicial Proceedings, as to Matters both Criminal and Civil. II. Of the Right and Manner of impoſing Taxes; and of the other Privileges of the Parliament. III. Of the Means whereby the free Conſtitutions of other Nations have been impaired, while that of England has been preſerved and improved. IV. Of the Antiquities of the Commons in Parliament. V. Of the Royal Prerogative, and the hereditary Right to the Crown of Britain. VI. Of the Dangers that may be incident to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and the Proſpect there is of its Continuance." The ſecond, third, fifth, and ſixth, of theſe tracts are divided into ſections, containing various important and learned diſcuſſions. On the queſtion concerning the antiquities of the Commons in Parliament, our author's concluſion is as follows: "However, this in general is certain, "that, even from the Conqueſt till the time that the Commons were regularly ſum- "moned to Parliament, there were always lower kinds of men, as well as the greater "Barons, Members of Parliament. And, before the Conqueſt, during the Saxon "Conſtitution, the Commons had always a ſhare in the legiſlative authority (*l*)." The ſpecific character of Biſhop Ellys's work is, that it is a copious defence of moderate whiggiſm, joined with a zealous attachment to our eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment; and that it contains a large fund of hiſtorical, conſtitutional, and legal, knowledge (*m*). The language of the editors of the tracts, concerning our Prelate, and their judgment of his writings, ſhall be added to the preſent article. "He was not only eminent for his fine "parts, extenſive knowledge, and ſound judgment, jewels truly valuable in them- "ſelves, but they were ſet in him to the higheſt advantage, by a heart ſo overflowing "with benevolence and candour as never even to conceive terms of acrimony or re- "proach towards the opinions or perſons of thoſe who differed from him. This chriſ- "tian temper of his is diſcoverable in all the parts of theſe tracts that are taken up in "controverſy; for, he always thought a perſon, though on the right ſide of the queſ- "tion, with principles of perſecution, to be a worſe man than he that was on the "wrong. Theſe diſpoſitions engaged him in defence of toleration, and all thoſe in- "dulgences that he thought ought to be allowed to tender conſciences. But when that "liberty was once granted (as it was by law to our Diſſenters) he ſaw no neceſſity it "ſhould be attended with civil power, which might endanger the eccleſiaſtical eſta- "bliſhment; and, if he has ſhewed, beyond all doubt, the right of private judgment "in matters of Religion, and a liberty of publicly worſhipping God in conſequence of "that judgment, he has alſo as undeniably proved the neceſſity of a teſt, as a juſt "ſecurity to the eſtabliſhed Church, and a proper guard to the welfare of the State: "for he was perſuaded, that human laws cannot bind conſcience, but they may ex- "clude thoſe from civil power who profeſs a private conſcience repugnant to the public "conſcience of the State: all which he has managed with ſuch gentle, charitable, and "Chriſtian, liberty, as meant only to anſwer the arguments, not inflame the reſent- "ments, of the opponents (*n*)."]

K.

(*l*) Tracts on the Liberty, ſpiritual and temporal, of Proteſtants in England, p. 470.

(*m*) Ibid. paſſim. Edition of 1767.

(*n*) Preface to the Tracts, p. viii, ix.

*** [ELSTOB

*** [ELSTOB (WILLIAM), a Divine and Antiquary, was born at Newcaſtle upon Tyne, in the year 1673, and was the ſon of Mr. Ralph Elſtob, a merchant of that place. Being intended for the church, he received his grammatical education at Eton; after which, he was admitted of Catharine Hall, in Cambridge; but, the air of the country not agreeing with him, he removed to Queen's College, Oxford. Here his ſtudious turn acquired him ſo much reputation, that he was choſen Fellow of Univerſity College, and was appointed Joint Tutor with Dr. Clavering, afterwards Biſhop of Peterborough (*a*). At this College Mr. Elſtob took the degree of Maſter of Arts, on the eighth of June, 1697 (*b*). In 1701, he tranſlated into Latin the Saxon Homily of Lupus, with notes, for Dr. Hickes. About the ſame time he tranſlated into Engliſh Sir John Cheke's Latin Verſion of Plutarch, "De Superſtitione." This tranſlation was printed at the end of Strype's Life of Cheke. The copy, made uſe of by Mr. Elſtob, was a manuſcript in Univerſity College, out of which Obadiah Walker, when Maſter of that College, had cut ſeveral leaves, containing Cheke's Remarks againſt Popery. In 1702, Mr. Elſtob was appointed Rector of the United Pariſhes of St. Swithin and St. Mary Bothaw, London, where he continued to his death. This appears to be the only Eccleſiaſtical preferment he ever obtained. In 1703, he publiſhed, at Oxford, an Edition of Aſcham's Latin Letters. He was the author, likewiſe, of an "Eſſay on the "great Affinity and mutual Agreement betwen the two Profeſſions of Law and "Divinity." It was printed at London, and the Preface to it was written by Dr. Hickes (*c*). This book, in proceſs of time, became ſo little known, that Mr. Philip Cartaret Webbe inſiſted upon it that there was no ſuch work. He was, however, convinced of the contrary, by an abſtract or view of it, which was ſent to Mr. Pegge, from a copy in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge. It is a thin octavo. Mr. Gough has a copy; and the book is not ſo very ſcarce as has commonly been apprehended (*d*). In 1704, Mr. Elſtob publiſhed two ſermons; one, a thankſgiving Sermon, from Pſalm ciii. 10, for the victory at Hockſtet; and, the other, from 1 Timothy i. 1, 2, on the Anniverſary of the Queen's Acceſſion (*e*). Beſides the works already mentioned, our author, who was a great proficient in the Latin tongue, compiled an Eſſay on its hiſtory and uſe; collected materials for an Account of Newcaſtle; and, alſo, the various proper names formerly uſed in the North: but what is become of theſe manuſcripts is not known (*f*). In 1709, he publiſhed, in the Saxon Language, with a Latin Tranſlation, the Homily on St. Gregory's Day (*g*). Mr. Elſtob had formed ſeveral literary deſigns, the execution of which was prevented by his death. This event took place in 1714, when he was only forty-one years of age. The moſt conſiderable of his deſigns was an edition of the Saxon Laws, with great additions, and a new Latin Verſion by Somner, together with notes of various learned men, and a Prefatory Hiſtory of the Origin and Progreſs of the Engliſh Laws, down to the Conqueror, and to Magna Charta. This great plan was completed, in 1721, by Dr. David Wilkins, who, in his Preface, thus ſpeaks concerning our author: "Hoc "*Gulielmus Elſtob*, in Literis *Anglo-Saxonicis* verſatiſſimus, præſtare inſtituerat. Hinc "*Wheloci* veſtigia premens, Leges quas Editio ejus exhibet, cum MSS. *Cantabrigienſibus*, "*Bodleiano*, *Roffenſi*, et *Cottonianis* contulerat, Verſioneque nova adornare propo- "ſuerat, ut ſic Leges, antea jam publici juris factæ, ejus Opera et Studio emendatiores "prodiiſſent. Verum Morte immatura præreptus, propoſitum exequi non potuit." Whilſt Mr. Elſtob was engaged in this deſign, Dr. Hickes recommended him to Mr. Harley, as a man whoſe modeſty had made him an obſcure perſon, and which would ever make him ſo, unleſs ſome kind patron of good learning ſhould bring him into light. The Doctor added his teſtimony to Mr. Elſtob's literature, his great diligence and application, and his capacity for the work he had undertaken. Mr. Harley ſo far attended to Dr. Hickes's recommendation as to grant to Mr. Elſtob the uſe of the books and manuſcripts in his library, which our author acknowledged in a very humble letter (*h*). It is ſaid, in the Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, that a ſpecimen of Mr. Elſtob's deſign was actually printed at Oxford, in 1690 (*i*). This, if true, is a moſt extraordinary circumſtance; ſince our antiquary, at that time, could only be a little more than ſeventeen years of age. He intended, alſo, a Tranſlation with notes, of Alfred's Paraphraſtic Verſion of Oroſius; his Tranſcript of which, with Collations, is in Dr. Pegge's hands. Another Tranſcript, by Mr. Ballard, with a large Preface on the uſe of Anglo-Saxon Literature, was left by Dr. Charles Lyttelton, Biſhop of Carliſle, to the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. Alfred's Verſion of Oroſius has ſince been given to the public, with an Engliſh Tranſlation, by the Honourable Daines Barrington (*k*). In his publication, Mr. Barrington obſerves, that he has made uſe of Mr. Elſtob's Tranſcript, and that he has adopted from it the whimſical title of Hormeſta (*l*). When it is conſidered that Mr. Elſtob died in early life, it will be regretted, by the lovers of antiquarian learning, that he was prevented from acquiring that name and value in the literary world, to which he would otherwiſe probably have ariſen.]

K.

(*a*) Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 11.

(*b*) Oxford Graduates, p. 114.

(*c*) Anecdotes of Bowyer, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 503.

(*e*) Cooke's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 116.

(*f*) Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 11.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 10.

(*h*) Ibid. p. 11. p. 18.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 11.

(*k*) Ibid.

(*l*) Preface, p. iv.

*** [ELSTOB (ELIZABETH), ſiſter of Mr. William Elſtob, and engaged in the ſame learned purſuits, was born at Newcaſtle in 1683. It is ſaid, that ſhe owed the rudiments of her extraordinary education to her mother; of which advantage, however, ſhe was ſoon deprived; for at the age of eight years ſhe had the misfortune of loſing this intelligent parent. Her guardians, who entertained different ſentiments, diſcouraged as much as they were able her progreſs in literature, as improper for her ſex (*a*). But their efforts were to no purpoſe; for ſhe had contracted too great a fondneſs for literary ſtudies to be diverted from the proſecution of them. During her brother's continuance at Oxford, ſhe appears to have reſided in that city, where ſhe was eſteemed and reſpected by Dr. Hudſon and other Oxonians (*b*). Upon her brother's removal to London, ſhe probably removed with him; and, it is certain, that ſhe aſſiſted him in his antiquarian undertakings. The firſt public proof which ſhe gave of it was in 1709, when, upon Mr. Elſtob's printing the Homily on St. Gregory's Day, ſhe accompanied it with an Engliſh Tranſlation. The preface, too, was written by her, in which ſhe anſwers the objections made to female learning, by producing that glory of her ſex, as ſhe calls her, Mrs. Anna Maria Schurman (*c*). Mrs. Elſtob's next publication was a Tranſlation of Madame Scudery's Eſſay on Glory. She aſſiſted, alſo, her brother in an edition of Gregory's paſtoral, which was probably intended to have included both the original and Saxon Verſion; and ſhe had tranſcribed all the hymns, from an ancient manuſcript in Saliſbury Cathedral (*d*). By the encouragement of Dr. Hickes, ſhe undertook a Saxon Homiliarum, with an Engliſh Tranſlation, notes, and various readings. To promote this deſign, Mr. Bowyer printed for her, in 1713, "Some Teſtimonies of "learned Men, in favour of the intended Edition of the Saxon Homilies, concerning "the Learning of the Author of thoſe Homilies, and the Advantages to be hoped for "from an Edition of them. In a Letter from the publiſher to a Doctor in Divinity." About the ſame time ſhe wrote three letters to the Lord Treaſurer, from which it appears, that he ſolicited and obtained for her Queen Anne's bounty towards printing the Homilies in queſtion (*e*). Her Majeſty's deceaſe ſoon deprived Mrs. Elſtob of this benefit; and ſhe was not otherwiſe ſufficiently patronized, ſo as to be able to complete the work. A few only of the Homilies were actually printed at Oxford, in folio. Mrs. Elſtob's Portraiture was given in the initial of "The Engliſh Saxon Homily, on the "Birth Day of St. George (*f*). In 1715, ſhe publiſhed a Saxon Grammar, the types for which had been cut at the expence of the Lord Chief Juſtice Parker, afterwards Earl of Macclesfield (*g*). Mrs. Elſtob had other literary deſigns in view, but was prevented from the proſecution of them, by her diſtreſſed circumſtances, and the want of due encouragement. After her brother's death, ſhe was ſo far reduced, that ſhe was obliged to retire to Eveſham in Worceſterſhire, where ſhe ſubſiſted with difficulty by keeping a ſmall ſchool. In this ſituation ſhe experienced the friendſhip of Mr. George Ballard, and of Mrs. Capon, wife of the Reverend Mr. Capon, who kept a boarding-ſchool at Stanton, in Glouceſterſhire. Theſe worthy perſons exerted themſelves among their acquaintance, to obtain for Mrs. Elſtob ſome annual proviſion. At length ſhe was recommended to Queen Caroline, who granted her a penſion of twenty guineas a year. This being determined by the Queen's deceaſe, Mrs. Elſtob was again brought into difficulties, and, though miſtreſs of eight languages, beſides her own, was obliged to ſeek for employment as a preceptreſs of children. She may, however, be conſidered as having been very fortunate in the ſituation which ſhe obtained in this capacity; for, in 1739, ſhe was taken into the family of the Ducheſs Dowager of Portland, where ſhe continued till her death, which happened on the thirtieth of May, 1756. She was buried at St. Margaret's, Weſtminſter (*h*). Mr. Rowe Mores deſcribes her as having been the *indefeſſa comes* of her brother's ſtudies, and a female ſtudent of the Univerſity; and as having originally poſſeſſed a genteel fortune, which, by purſuing too much the drug called learning, ſhe did not know how to manage. He adds, that upon viſiting her in her ſleeping-room at Bulſtrode, he found her ſurrounded with books and dirtineſs (*i*). If her friend Mr. Ballard had lived himſelf to have given a new edition of his "Memoirs of learned Britiſh Ladies," he would undoubtedly have added Mrs. Elſtob to the number. As to ourſelves, we have pleaſure in having paid this ſhort teſtimony of reſpect to the memory of a woman, whoſe literary attainments were of a nature ſo different from thoſe which have been commonly purſued by ſuch of her ſex as have appeared in the world under the character of Authors.] K.

(*a*) Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 10.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 49.

(*c*) New Dictionary, vol. V. p. 84.

(*d*) Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 10.

(*e*) Ib. p. 11, 48.

(*f*) Ib. p. 11, 49.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 313. 310.

(*h*) New Dictionary, ubi ſupra. Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 10.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 49.

ELSYNGE (Henry), clerk of the Houſe of Commons in the reign of King Charles I. was born at Batterſea, in Surrey, in the year 1598, being the eldeſt ſon of Henry Elſynge, Eſq. (*a*) [*A*]. After a ſuitable education in Weſtminſter-ſchool, he was admitted in 1621 (*b*), into Chriſt's-Church-College, in Oxford; and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, June 22, 1625 (*c*). But, without taking any farther degrees, he went and travelled abroad; and ſpent, at ſeveral times, about ſeven years in foreign countries. By this he became ſo accompliſhed a gentleman, that his company and converſation were deſired by perſons of the higheſt quality and beſt judgment. He was in particular ſo highly valued by Archbiſhop Laud, that his Grace procured him the place of Clerk of the Houſe of Commons, to which he proved of infinite uſe, as well as a ſingular ornament (*d*). For he was the moſt excellent clerk, both to take and expreſs the ſenſe of the Houſe, that ever ſat there: and, alſo, ſo great a help to the Speaker, and to the Houſe, in ſtating the Queſtions, and drawing up the Orders free from exceptions, that it much conduced to the diſpatch of buſineſs, and the ſervice of the Parliament (*e*). His diſcretion alſo and prudence were ſuch, that, though the Long Parliament was by faction kept in continual diſorder, yet his fair and temperate carriage made him commended and eſteemed by all parties, how furious and oppoſite ſoever they were among themſelves. And therefore, for theſe his abilities and good conduct, more reverence was paid to his ſtool than to the Speaker Lenthall's chair, who, being obnoxious, timorous, and intereſted, was often much confuſed in collecting the ſenſe of the Houſe, and drawing the debates into a fair queſtion; in which Mr. Elſynge was always obſerved to be ſo ready and juſt, that generally the Houſe acquieſced in what he did of that nature (*f*). At length, when he ſaw that the greater part of the Houſe were impriſoned and ſecluded, and that the remainder would bring the King to a trial for his life; he deſired, on the 26th of December, 1648, to quit his place, by reaſon, as he alleged, of his bad ſtate of health: but moſt people underſtood his reaſon to be (and he acknowledged it to Mr. Whitelock and others of his friends) becauſe he would have no hand in the buſineſs againſt the King (*g*). After having quitted his advantageous employment, he retired to his houſe at Hounſlow, in Middleſex; where, contracting many infirmities of body, by his ſedentarineſs, ſome diſtreſſes in his family, and by a deep melancholy for the ſufferings and loſs of his Sovereign, he departed this life about the middle of Auguſt in the year 1654, and in the fifty-ſixth of his age. He was buried in his private chapel at Hounſlow, which is the burying-place of his family (*h*). He was a man of very great parts, and ingenuous education; was very learned, eſpecially in the Latin, French, and Italian languages; a great ſtudent, and a very juſt and honeſt man; one, in a word, of whom the great Mr. Selden was very fond (*i*). He was author of a few good things, of which we ſhall give an account in the note [*B*].

(*a*) Wood's Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 177.

(*b*) Mr. Wood ſays it was in 1622, but by the time of taking his degree, it muſt have been in Michaelmas term, 1621.

(*c*) Id. Faſti, Vol. I. col. 231.

(*d*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 364.

(*f*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Whitelock, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Whitelock, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Being the eldeſt ſon of Henry Elſynge, Eſq.*] Who was clerk of the Houſe of Lords, and a perſon of great abilities. His father was Henry Elſynge, citizen of London, ſon of John Elſynge, of Daxworth, in Cambridgeſhire (1).

(1) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *He was author of a few good things, &c.*] Namely, 1. 'The ancient Method and Manner of 'holding Parliaments in England.' Lond. 1663. reprinted ſince in 12mo, the third edition being in 1675. Mr. Wood ſuppoſes (2), that it is moſtly taken from a MS. entituled, *Modus tenendi Parliamentum apud Anglos:* 'Of the Form and Manner of holding a Par-'liament in England, and all Things incident there-'unto, digeſted and divided into ſeveral Chapters 'and Titles,' an. 1626, 'written by our Author's 'Father, who died while his Son was in his travels.' This curious little book, which ſeems to have been a collection made by the author for his own uſe, is divided into eight chapters. Ch. 1. Of ſummons. Ch. 2. Of appearance. Ch. 3. Of the place of meeting, and form of ſitting. Ch. 4. Of Parliament-days. Ch. 5. Of Proxies. Ch. 6. Of the cauſe of Summons. Ch. 7. Of the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. Ch. 8. Receivers and Triers of Petitions. ——In Chap. 1. He ſhews, among other curious particulars, 'who were antiently ſummoned to Parlia-'ment.' And they were 'Archbiſhops, and Biſhops;' on account of their dignity and tenure. 'All Ab-'bots and Priors, which held by an Earldom or a 'Barony,' by reaſon of their tenure. 'All Earls 'and Barons,' by reaſon of their inheritable Nobility and tenure; and their 'Peers' alſo, by reaſon of their tenure. 'The Judges and Barons of the Exchequer, the King's Privy Council, and 'his learned Counſel,' were alſo ſummoned; but had no vote, nor were ſummoned on account of their tenure.——'The Knights of the Shires, and the 'Barons of the Cinque Ports' were alſo ſummoned: and, 'The Citizens and Burgeſſes were ever elected 'and ſent to the Parliament.' Next he enquires, 'whether the ſummons were antiently by one general 'writ or particular writs:' and affirms, that 'before 'the Conqueſt, the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, and 'the Peers were ſummoned to Parliament by one ge-'neral Summons; and that the others, who were 'neither Lords nor Peers had particular writs.' He alſo gives, the firſt writ of Summons extant upon record, namely, that of 49 Hen. iii; the titles of the parties ſummoned; the form of the antient writ for the election of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, &c. In Chap. III. he examines, 'Whether the Lords 'and Commons did antiently ſit in one room toge-'ther. And, whether the Commons did antiently 'ſit at conference with the Lords.' In Chap. IV. he enquires, 'On what days the Parliament may not 'ſit:' and ſhews by ſome inſtances, that they formerly uſed to ſit on Sundays ——II. Mr. Elſynge likewiſe wrote 'A Tract concerning Proceedings in 'Parliament;' never publiſhed. It was ſome time in manuſcript in the poſſeſſion of Sir Matth. Hale, who bequeathed it in his Will to Lincoln's-Inn Library. III. Our author left alſo behind him ſome Tracts and Memorials of his own writing, but ſo imperfect, that his executor would not publiſh them, leſt they ſhould prove injurious to his memory. IV. Ant. Wood aſcribes moreover to Mr. Elſynge 'A Declaration 'or Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom, 'agreed on by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in 'Parliament, 19 May, 1642.' Lond. 1642. in ſix ſheets, 4to. But it is too virulent to be conſiſtent with Mr. Elſynge's character as given above. The reader may ſee it in Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collect.

(2) Athen. ubi ſupra.

Vol. IV. and in Edw. Huſbands's Collection of Remonſtrances, &c. Lond. 1643. 4to. p. 195. M.

*** [Without intending to detract in the leaſt from Mr. Elſynge's merit in his official capacity, it was perhaps going too far to aſſert, that he was the moſt excellent clerk, both to take and expreſs the ſenſe of the Houſe of Commons, that ever ſat there. Such unqualified aſſertions ſhould not lightly be ventured upon, becauſe the truth of them depends upon a compariſon which, perhaps, has never been accurately made. It is not our intention to introduce the language of flattery; but, we are informed, that living merit, in the office we are ſpeaking of, is very great. A new edition of Mr. Elſynge's Treatiſe of "The Manner of holding Parliaments in Eng-"land" was publiſhed in 1768, which had not only the advantage of being more correct than any preceding one, but was enriched with a large addition from the author's original manuſcript, preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum.] K.

ELYOT (Sir THOMAS), a Gentleman of eminent learning in the reign of King Henry VIII. and author of ſeveral works [*A*], was ſon of Sir Richard Elyot, of the county of Suffolk; and educated in academical learning at St. Mary's Hall in Oxford [*B*], where he made a conſiderable progreſs in logick and philoſophy (*a*). After ſome time ſpent at the univerſity, he travelled into foreign countries, and upon his return was introduced to the Court of King Henry, who, being a great patron of learned men, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and employed him in ſeveral embaſſies, particularly to Rome in 1532, about the affair of the divorce of Queen Catharine, and afterwards, about the year 1536, to the Emperor Charles V. (*b*). Sir Thomas was an excellent Grammarian, Poet, Rhetorician, Philoſopher, Phyſician, Coſmographer, and Hiſtorian; and no leſs diſtinguiſhed for his candour, and the innocence and integrity of his life (*c*). He was courted and celebrated by all the learned men of his time, particularly the famous antiquary Leland, who addreſſed a copy of Latin verſes to him [*C*]. A ſimilitude of manners, and ſameneſs of ſtudies, recommended him to the intimacy and friendſhip of Sir Thomas More (*d*). He died in 1546, and was buried, the 25th of March, in the church of Carleton, in Cambridgeſhire, of which county he had been Sheriff (*e*).

(*a*) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. VIII. n. 77; and Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 67.

(*b*) Wood, ibid.

(*c*) Pitſeus, de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. ann. 1546. n. 969.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Author of ſeveral works.*] I. 'The Caſtle of 'Health,' Lond. 1541, 1572, 1580, 1595, &c. in 8vo. II. 'The Governor,' in three books. Lond. 1544, 1547, 1580, &c. in 8vo. III. 'Of the Education of 'Children.' Lond. in 4to. IV. 'The Banquet of 'Sapience.' Lond. in 8vo. V. 'De Rebus Memo-'rabilibus Angliæ:' for the completing of which he had peruſed many old Engliſh monuments (*). V. 'A 'Defence or Apology for good Women.' VI. 'Bibli-'otheca Eliotæ: Elyot's Library, or Dictionary.' Lond. 1541, &c. fol. Which work Cooper augmented, and enriched with thirty-three thouſand words and phraſes, beſides a fuller account of the true ſignification of words. He tranſlated likewiſe, from Greek into Engliſh, 'The Image of Governance, 'compiled of the Acts and Sentences by the Emperor 'Alexander Severus.' Lond. 1556, 1594, &c. in 8vo. And from Latin into Engliſh, 1. 'St. Cyprian's 'Sermon of the Mortality of Man.' Lond. 1534, in 8vo. 2. 'The Rule of a Chriſtian Life,' written by Picus Earl of Mirandola. London, 1534, in 8vo (1).

(*) See Roger Aſcham's *Toxophilus*, p. 28.

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 67.

[*B*] *Educated in academical learning at St. Mary's Hall in Oxford.*] The year of his admiſſion, through the defect of the record, cannot eaſily be determined; unleſs it was about the year 1514: for, four years after, viz. in 1518, one Thomas Elyot was admitted *ad lecturam alicujus libri facultatis Artium Logices Ariſtotelis*, which is the admiſſion to the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and in Lent the ſame year he completed that degree by determination in School-Street. It appears likewiſe, that the ſaid Thomas Elyot was, in the beginning of Auguſt, 1524, admitted *ad lecturam alicujus libri inſtitutionum*, that is, to the degree of Bachelor of the Civil Law. Now, if it could be made appear, that Sir Thomas Elyot died at about fifty years of age, we might certainly conclude him to be the ſame with Elyot the Bachelor of Arts and of the Civil Law; otherwiſe not (2). Parker (3) makes our author to have been bred in Jeſus College in Cambridge.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) In his Σκελετος Cantabr.

[*C*] *Leland addreſſed a copy of Latin verſes to him.*] We ſhall tranſcribe them for the entertainment of the learned reader. They are extant in his "Encomia il-"luſtrium virorum (4)."

(4) *Apud* Jo. Lelandi de reb. Britan. Collectanea, Oxon. 1715, 8vo. In Append. P. i. p. 144.

Ad Thomam Eliotam, Equitem ornatiſſimum.

Forſitan expectas, Eliota diſerte, venuſtum
  Ut tranſmittam aliquod munus ab urbe tibi.
Ut non exſpectes, mentis tamen intimus in me
  Promeruit candor munus at omne tuæ
At ne quid temere mittam, vel quod ſit ineptum,
  Reſtat in officiis unica cura meis.
Non aurum mittam, longo nam temporis uſu
  Fulgidus eſt auri deperiturus honor.
Non in Erythræis creſcentia munera conchis;
  Margaritarum gratia fluxa, brevis.
Sed neque gemmarum radiantia ſidera mittam:
  Tantum oculos paſcunt, cætera nuda quidem.
Excutienda mihi quare ſunt munera, quæ non
  Corrumpant ullo ſæcula longa modo.
Talia ſed magno quæruntur dona labore,
  Et poſcunt animi fertilioris opem.
Quum mea nil aliud poſſit præſtare Camœna,
  Præter Caſtaliis carmina miſta modis:
Carmina fac igitur capias hæc fronte remiſſa,
  Munera, ſed meritis inferiora tuis.
Queis modo ſi annuerint ſtabilem fata optima vitam,
  Longè auro & gemmis ſplendidiora dedi.
Sic te perpetuo victuros ſcribere libros,
  Edere me juvet & carmina digna cedro. B.

*** [In Strype's Eccleſiaſtical Memorials are ſome farther particulars concerning Sir Thomas Elyot, which will make a proper addition to the preceding article. There was iſſued, in the year 1585, a proclamation for calling in ſeditious books: under which deſcription were reckoned, and chiefly intended, ſuch writings as favoured the Biſhop of Rome. Upon this occaſion Sir Thomas Cromwell directed letters to ſeveral perſons, ordering them to ſend in all publications of the nature deſigned to be condemned. Among others, he wrote to Sir Thomas Elyot, whom, though an old friend of his own, he ſuſpected, from his having been intimate with Sir Thomas More, to be attached to the Romiſh religion. In anſwer, Elyot declared his judgment of the need of a reformation of the clergy, and diſclaimed all undue connection with papiſts. As to any of the prohibited books he might chance to have by him, and which were very few, he was ready to deliver them up. Part of the language which he uſes is as follows: "Sir, As ye know, I "have been ever deſirous to read many books, eſpe-"cially concerning humanity and moral philoſophy. "And, therefore, of ſuch ſtudies I have a competent "number. But, concerning the Scripture I have "very few. For in Queſtioniſts I never delighted. "Unſavory gloſſes and comments I ever abhorred. "The boaſters and advancers of the pompous autho-"rity of the Biſhop of Rome I never eſteemed. But, "after that, by a judgment, or eſtimation of things, "I did anon ſmell out their corrupt affection, and "beheld

" beheld with ſcornful eyes the ſundry abuſions of " their authorities, adorned with a licentious and " diſſolute form of living. Of the which, as well in " them as in the univerſal ſtate of the clergy, I have " oftentimes wiſhed a neceſſary reformation (5)."

(5) Strype's Eccleſiaſtical Memorials, vol. I. p. 221, 222. Append. p. 153.

Sir Thomas Elyot's work, entitled, " The Go- " vernor" was deſigned to inſtruct men, eſpecially great men, in good morals, and to reprove their vices. It conſiſted of ſeveral chapters, treating concerning affability, benevolence, beneficence, the diverſity of flatterers, and other ſimilar ſubjects. In theſe chapters were ſome ſharp and quick ſentences, which offended many of the young men of faſhion at that time. They complained of Sir Thomas's *ſtrange terms*, as they called them; and ſaid that it was no little preſumption in him to meddle with perſons of the higher and nobler ranks. The complaints of theſe gentlemen, who were always kicking at ſuch examples as did bite them, our author compared to a galled horſe, abiding no plaſters. King Henry read and much liked Sir Thomas Elyot's Treatiſe; and was particularly pleaſed with his endeavours to improve and enrich the Engliſh language. It was obſerved by his Majeſty, that, throughout the book, there was no new term made by him of a Latin or French word, and that no ſentence was hereby rendered dark or hard to be underſtood.

Sir Thomas Elyot's Caſtle of Health ſubjected him to various ſtrictures. When ſome gallants had mocked at him for writing a book of medicine, and ſaid, in deriſion, that he was become a phyſician, he gave this anſwer: " Truly, if they call him a phyſician, which " is ſtudious about the weal of his country, I vouch- " ſafe they ſo name me. For, during my life, I will " in that affection always continue." Indeed, Sir Thomas's work expoſed him to the cenſures both of the gentry and the medical faculty. To the former, who alleged that it did not beſeem a Knight to write upon ſuch a ſubject, he replied, " that many Kings and " Emperors (whoſe names he ſets down) did not only " advance and honour that ſcience with ſpecial pri- " vileges, but were alſo ſtudious in it themſelves." He added, " that it was no more ſhame for a perſon " of quality to be the author of a book on the ſcience " of phyſick than it was for King Henry the Eighth " to publiſh a book on the ſcience of grammar, which " he had lately done." What offended the phyſicians was, that Sir Thomas ſhould meddle in their department, and particularly that he ſhould treat of medicine in Engliſh, to make the knowledge thereof common. But he juſtified himſelf by endeavouring to ſhew, that his work was intended for their benefit. As for thoſe who found fault with him for writing in Engliſh, he, on the other hand, blamed them for affecting to keep their art a ſecret. To ſuch of the college as reflected upon his ſkill he repreſented, that before he was twenty years old, one of the moſt learned phyſicians in England, read to him the works of Hippocrates, Galen, Oribaſius, Paulus Celius, Alexander Trallianus, Pliny, Diſcorides, and Joannicius. To theſe Sir Thomas afterwards added the ſtudy of Avicen, Averroes, and many more. Therefore, though he had never been at Montpelier, Padua, or Salerno; yet, he ſaid, " that he had found " ſomething in phyſick, by which he had experienced " no little profit for his own health."

On the whole, Sir Thomas Elyot was both one of the moſt learned, and one of the wiſeſt men of his time. Having, in the earlier part of his life, ſerved his King and Country in embaſſies and public affairs, he devoted his latter years to the writing of ſuch diſcourſes as he hoped would be ſerviceable in promoting true wiſdom and virtue. From his youth he had a great deſire after knowledge, and an earneſt ſolicitude to be uſeful to his countrymen. The books which he moſt diligently peruſed, and which he eagerly ſought after wherever they could be found, were all the ancient works, whether in Greek or Latin, that treated of moral philoſophy, and the right inſtitution of life. Strype has produced ſome examples of the wiſdom of our Knight in thoſe weighty ſentences which often came from his pen (6).

(6) Strype's Eccleſiaſtical Memorials, ubi ſupra. p. 222—224.

We are endebted to Thomas Aſtle, Eſq. for pointing out to us the author who has enabled us to make this, we truſt, not unpleaſing addition to Sir Thomas Elyot's article.] K.

*** [EMYLN (Thomas), an eminent and learned divine among the Proteſtant Diſſenters, was born at Stamford in Lincolnſhire, on the twenty-ſeventh of May, 1663. His father, Silveſter Emlyn, who was a man of great plainneſs and honeſty, was poſſeſſed of a ſmall eſtate in that neighbourhood, which he kept in his own hands and management. His mother, whoſe Chriſtian name was Mildred, was the daughter of Mr. John Dering, near Chairing in Kent, a perſon of excellent parts and endowments; and ſhe herſelf, beſides being a woman of the ſtricteſt piety and virtue, had an enlargement of underſtanding, and a knowledge of books, far ſuperior to the generality of her ſex. Young Emlyn, who was their only ſon, was educated at Stamford till he was in his eleventh year, when he was put to a boarding-ſchool, under the care of Mr. Boheme, at Walcot, near Folkingham. Here he continued four years, and on Sundays was the conſtant auditor of the famous Mr. Richard Brockleſby, at that time Incumbent of the pariſh. Mr. Emlyn's parents were frequenters of the Eſtabliſhed Church, and particularly intimate with the learned and worthy Dr. Richard Cumberland, afterwards Biſhop of Peterborough; but being inclined to the ſentiments of the Non-Conformiſts, they choſe to bring up their ſon to the Miniſtry among them, though the times afforded no encouraging proſpect to perſons of that denomination. For this purpoſe, in the year 1678, he was ſent for academical education to Mr. Shuttleworth, at Sulby, near Welford, in Northamptonſhire, where he ſtayed other four years. However, in 1679, he took a journey to Cambridge, and was admitted into Emanuel College, notwithſtanding which, he returned again to Shuttleworth. This private obſcure academy, in which there were but very few books, and thoſe chiefly of one kind, was by no means ſuited to Mr. Emlyn's taſte and inclination. He wiſhed to be placed where he could have ſuperior opportunities of gratifying his inquiſitive mind, and his eager thirſt for knowledge. Accordingly, in Auguſt, 1682, he removed to Mr. Doolittle's academy, which was kept firſt at Iſlington, then at Clapham, and afterwards at Batterſea. Here he was near the public ſcene, and had the opportunity of peruſing a variety of books, and of enjoying literary converſation. In conſequence of theſe advantages, united with the ſtrength of his own genius, he made much greater improvements than by the inſtructions of his tutor, who, though a very worthy and diligent divine, was not eminent for compaſs of knowledge, or depth of thought. He ſoon ſoared above the low leſſons of the ſeminary into which he had entered; nor could

his enlarged mind ſubmit to be cramped by narrow ſchemes of ſyſtematical divinity; for he was early poſſeſſed with an opinion, that in religious matters he ought to judge for himſelf, and be tied down by no authority, where the arguments did not appear convincing, though no reaſon was with him ſtronger than this, "That God had ſaid it." His firſt eſſay as a preacher was on the nineteenth of December, 1682, at Mr. Doolittle's Meeting-houſe, near Cripplegate (*a*).

In the year 1683, Mr. Emlyn became Chaplain to the Counteſs of Donegal, a Lady of great quality and eſtate in the North of Ireland, but then living in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. While the family reſided there, he was the ſorrowful ſpectator of the tragical and affecting execution of the renowned patriot, Lord William Ruſſell. It was obſerved, by Mr. Emlyn, that even the guards themſelves diſcovered, in their melancholy and dejected countenances, their deep concern and grief at the fatal blow given to that noble Lord, and through him to the liberties of the nation. The next year (1684) Mr. Emlyn went over with the Counteſs and the reſt of her family to Belfaſt in Ireland, where ſhe was ſoon after married to Sir William Franklin, and lived in great ſtate and ſplendour. Here our Chaplain had a very liberal and handſome allowance, uſually wore the habit of a clergyman, and was treated by Sir William and the Counteſs with every mark of civility. Indeed they ſhewed to him the reſpect of an equal, and required their ſervants and attendants to behave to him with the ſame regard as to themſelves. He had too much good ſenſe to make an improper uſe of this encouragement. Sir William Franklin, who had a good eſtate in the Weſt of England, offered him a conſiderable living there; but this offer he declined, not being ſatisfied with the terms of miniſterial conformity, though at that time he had no ſcruples on the ſubject of the Trinity. He was far, however, from being ſtiff in trifles, or bigoted to any party. He conſtantly attended the ſervice of the Church both parts of the day; and when in the evening he preached in the Counteſs's Hall, he had the Miniſter of the pariſh (Mr. Claude Gilbert) for his auditor, with whom he lived in great intimacy, and for whom he often officiated in the pariſh-church. Indeed, without any ſubſcription, he had from the Biſhop of the dioceſe a licence to preach *Facultatis exercendæ Gratiâ*; inſomuch, that it was reported that he had entirely left the Diſſenters, and was gone over to the Eſtabliſhment. While Mr. Emlyn was in this ſtation, he made a journey to Dublin, where he preached once to the congregation of which Mr. Daniel Williams and Mr. Joſeph Boyſe were then paſtors; and ſo acceptable were his ſervices to the audience, that the people were hence afterwards induced to invite him thither. Towards the latter end of King James's reign, the North of Ireland was thrown into ſuch confuſion and diſorder, that the family of Sir William Franklin, and the Counteſs of Donegal, broke up; an event which was accelerated by ſome domeſtic differences. Mr. Emlyn, therefore, returned to London, where he arrived in December, 1688. Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Daniel Williams had ſome time before retreated to the ſame place, having quitted the paſtoral care of the congregation at Dublin, which he could never be perſuaded to reſume. When this determination was known, and Mr. Emlyn had not yet left Ireland, Mr. Boyſe ſounded him by letter, to know whether he was diſpoſed to become Mr. Williams's ſucceſſor, and wiſhed him to take Dublin in his way to England. He declined the propoſal. In Mr. Emlyn's journeyings between Ireland and London, he ſeveral times accepted of invitations to preach in the pariſh-churches of ſome towns through which he paſſed. At Liverpool in particular, as he was ſtanding at the door of his inn one Saturday evening, the Miniſter of the place, concluding by his garb that he was a clergyman, requeſted him to give his pariſhioners a ſermon the next day, which he accordingly did. What was very remarkable, when he paſſed that way again ſome time afterwards, the Miniſter being dead, ſeveral of the people, who had heard him before, deſired him to preach for them the next Sunday, which ſervice he performed ſo much to their ſatisfaction, that they offered to uſe their intereſt with their patron to procure him the living; an offer with which his views of things did not permit him to comply. After Mr. Emlyn had returned to London, being out of employment, he was invited by Sir Robert Rich, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, in May, 1689, to his houſe near Beccles, in Suffolk, and was by him prevailed upon to officiate as Miniſter to a diſſenting congregation at Leoſtoff in that county. This place he ſupplied for about a year and a half, but refuſed the invitation of becoming their paſtor, having determined not to accept the paſtoral care where he was not likely to ſettle for life, or at leaſt for a long continuance. Here alſo he cultivated a friendly correſpondence with the Pariſh-Miniſter, frequently taking ſeveral of his people along with him to church, and accompanying the ſaid Miniſter in collecting public charities; by which means a perfect harmony ſubſiſted between the Members of the Eſtabliſhment and the Diſſenters. During Mr. Emlyn's reſidence at Leoſtoff, he contracted a cloſe and intimate acquaintance with Mr. William Manning, a worthy Non-conformiſt Miniſter at Peaſenhall in that neighbourhood. Being both of them of an inquiſitive temper, they frequently conferred together, and jointly examined into the principal points of Religion, mutually communicating to each

(*a*) Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Thomas Emlyn, prefixed to his Works, p. v—vii.

other their reſpective ſentiments. This correſpondence, notwithſtanding the great diſtance to which they were afterwards ſeparated, was carried on by letters as long as Mr. Manning lived. Dr. Sherlock's "Vindication of the Trinity," having been publiſhed about this time, their thoughts were very much turned to the conſideration of that ſubject; and, the more they enquired into it, the more did they ſee reaſon firſt to doubt of, and afterwards to differ from, the received doctrine in that article. Mr. Manning embraced the Socinian opinion, and ſtrove hard to bring Mr. Emlyn into the ſame way of thinking; but he could not be brought to doubt either of the preexiſtence of our Saviour as the *Logos*, or that by him God had created the material world. The interpretations which the Socinians gave of the Scriptures appeared to our divine ſo forced and unnatural, that he could by no means accede to them; nor did he ever, in the ſucceeding part of his life, change his ſentiments upon the ſubject. Nevertheleſs, upon occaſion of his carrying a letter from Mr. Whiſton to the Prolocutor of the lower Houſe of Convocation in 1711, he was, without any regard to truth, reflected on as a Socinian preacher (*b*).

(*b*) Ibid. p. vii—xiv.

When James the Second had fled from Ireland to France, and affairs were tending to a ſettlement in the former kingdom, the Proteſtant congregations began to reaſſemble in large numbers. Upon this occaſion, Mr. Boyſe again preſſed Mr. Emlyn to accept the paſtoral care, jointly with himſelf, of the Diſſenting Society, in Wood-ſtreet, Dublin. The invitation being earneſtly recommended by Mr. Nathanael Taylor, an eminent Miniſter in London, Mr. Emlyn thought proper to comply with it, after having taken a conſiderable time for deliberation. Accordingly, in May, 1691, he removed to Dublin. Here he ſoon came into great reputation as a preacher. He had not only a portly preſence, a ſtrong clear voice, and a graceful delivery, but his diſcourſes were for the moſt part rational and perſuaſive, and always accompanied with ſomething ſerious and pathetic. This he deemed the right mode of inſtruction, and often lamented that an addreſs to the affections was ſo much neglected by rational divines. Controverſial points he ſcarcely ever introduced into the pulpit. Few excelled him in prayer; and he was exemplary in the private duties which were incumbent upon him as a Chriſtian Miniſter. Mr. Emlyn being thus ſettled in Dublin, contracted an acquaintance there with Mrs. Eſther Bury, who, though an uſual attendant on the Church-ſervice, had been induced, by the fame of his preaching, to become his auditor. She was one of the daughters and coheireſſes of Mr. David Sollom, a gentleman of good eſtate in the county of Meath. At this time ſhe was the wife of Richard Cromleholme Bury, Eſq. who was poſſeſſed of a large eſtate near Limerick, and who, dying on the twenty-third of November, 1691, left her a widow, with a handſome jointure. In this ſtate, though ſhe had many admirers, Mrs. Bury continued till the year 1694, when ſhe was married to Mr. Emlyn. He was now arrived to the utmoſt height of his deſires. Being poſſeſſed of an eaſy fortune, he lived in affluence; beſides which he was in a ſtation of large and extenſive uſefulneſs, was highly beloved by his people, and was well reſpected by all who knew him. In 1697 he had ſome thoughts of openly declaring his ſentiments in relation to the Trinity, and of breaking off from the congregation: but, on mature deliberation, he determined not to proceed abruptly in ſo important an affair, nor haſtily to throw himſelf out of a ſtation of uſefulneſs. At the ſame time, he was reſolved to embrace the firſt fair occaſion of declaring his opinion concerning the Trinitarian doctrine. Till the year 1701, Mr. Emlyn continued in a moſt happy ſituation, both with regard to public and private life. But towards the end of that year he began to experience a very afflictive change in his condition. His firſt calamity was of a domeſtic nature; for, on the thirteenth of October, he loſt his wife, who was endeared to him by every conſideration. This event was ſucceeded, in a very few weeks, by the deceaſe of his mother; and he had a little before been deprived of a young ſon. The death of his wife, in particular, inflicted a deep and tender wound upon his heart, as may be perceived in the ſermon which he preached upon the occaſion; and, which was printed at Dublin, in 1703, under the title of "Funeral Conſolations." This Sermon exhibits one of the fineſt examples of unaffected pathetic eloquence that our language affords; and had nothing elſe ever been publiſhed by our author, it would have entitled him to high eſtimation among the readers of practical divinity. The excellence of the diſcourſe has occaſioned it to be ſeveral times re-printed. It is added to the volume of Sermons publiſhed after his deceaſe, and it is inſerted in the "Proteſtant Syſtem," and in the "Practical Preacher." Perhaps, it may be found in other collections. It is obſervable, that Mr. Emlyn never once mentions his wife, but, towards the concluſion of the diſcourſe, has covertly and delicately delineated her character. Afterwards it was a conſolation to him that his beloved conſort did not live to ſee the troubles which ſoon came upon him; ſince they might too deeply have affected her gentle ſpirit (*c*).

(*c*) Memoirs, ubi ſupra, p. xiv—xxii.

In leſs than nine months after Mrs. Emlyn's deceaſe, the perſecution of our author commenced on account of his opinions in relation to the Trinity. The firſt occaſion was given to it by Dr. Duncan Cummins, a noted phyſician in Dublin, and a leading member

ber of the congregation in Wood-ſtreet. This gentleman had been brought up to the ſtudy of divinity, but afterwards choſe the medical profeſſion; and he had done ſo many kind offices to Mr. Emlyn, that his conduct could not be imputed to ill-will, but to a miſtaken zeal for what he apprehended to be important truth. Having obſerved that Mr. Emlyn avoided expreſſing the common opinion, and thoſe arguments which are ſuppoſed to ſupport it, he ſtrongly ſuſpected that his judgment was againſt the ſupreme deity of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. This ſuſpicion he communicated to Mr. Boyſe, the conſequence of which was, that, in June, 1702, they jointly waited upon Mr. Emlyn, acquainting him with their jealouſies, and earneſtly deſiring to know his real ſentiments in the matter. Being thus applied to, he thought himſelf bound, as a Chriſtian, to declare openly his faith in ſo great a point. Accordingly, he freely owned himſelf to be convinced, that *the God and Father of Jeſus Chriſt* is alone the Supreme Being, and ſuperior in Excellence and Authority to his Son, who derives all from Him. At the ſame time, Mr. Emlyn told the gentlemen that he did not aim to make any ſtrife among the people of the congregation, but was willing to leave them peaceably, that, if they pleaſed, they might chuſe another Miniſter. This, however, was not to be permitted him. Mr. Boyſe, not willing to take ſuch a weighty matter upon himſelf, brought it before the Dublin Miniſters, though he well knew the narrowneſs of their principles, and that ſome of them had reflected upon his own orthodoxy, having charged him with being a Pelagian. Theſe Miniſters were Mr. Weld, Mr. Travers, Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Iredel, and Mr. Tate. At an interview with them, he candidly explained his ſentiments, the only reſult of which was, that, on that very day, they agreed to caſt him off, and that he ſhould not be permitted to preach any more: and, this they did, without conſulting his congregation, who, as yet, were entire ſtrangers to the affair. Indeed, he had never any hearing before them at all. He directed, however, the Deacons and chief managers of the church to be called together, when he informed them, that a difference of opinion relative to the Trinity, had rendered him offenſive to ſome who were preſent, and to the Miniſters of Dublin; upon which account, thankfully acknowledging the kindneſs and reſpect they had ſhewn him for ſo many years, he deſired his diſmiſſion. At this information the gentlemen aſſembled were greatly ſurprized and grieved; and Dr. Cummins himſelf then wiſhed that he had not begun the buſineſs. It was propoſed that Mr. Emlyn ſhould lie by for ſome time without preaching; but to this he would not conſent without a declaration of the cauſe, leſt he ſhould be ſuſpected of having been guilty of ſome immorality. The next propoſition was, that he ſhould retire for a while to England, provided it was approved of by the Miniſters. To this they agreed, accompanying their agreement with an imperious meſſage, ſent by two of their number, charging him not to preach any where, to whatever place he went. Mr. Emlyn embarked for England the next day, with great inconvenience to himſelf and family; and, no ſooner was he gone, than a loud clamour was raiſed againſt him and his opinions. He had now leiſure to look back, and reflect on the change in his condition. He ſaw that he was entered upon a dark ſcene, and muſt arm himſelf for various trials. He had not been of ſo unſocial a nature as not to reliſh the ſociety and love of his dear friends, nor was he inſenſible to the pangs of a violent ſeparation. Neither was he yet ſo mortified to the world as not to feel the difference between contempt and reſpect, between affluence and ſtraits. Nevertheleſs, his convictions of what he believed to be truth were ſtill ſo clear, that theſe things never ſtaggered his reſolutions of adhering to it, in the midſt of all diſcouragements. When Mr. Emlyn came to London, he found ſome perſons who were diſpoſed to treat him with candour and charity. This, however, when they heard of it, was ſo offenſive to the Dublin Miniſters, that they endeavoured, by their letters, to render him as odious as poſſible. While he was in London, he publiſhed a ſhort account of his caſe (*d*).

(*d*) Narrative of the proceedings againſt Mr. Thomas Emlyn, p. 17—22. Appendix to ditto, p. 45—50.

After about ten weeks abſence, though Mr. Emlyn received diſcouraging accounts of the rage that prevailed againſt him in Dublin, he thought it neceſſary to return to his family. Finding that both his opinion and his perſon lay under a great odium among many who knew little of the ſubject in diſpute, he deemed it an act of juſtice to himſelf, and eſpecially to the truth, to ſhew what evidence there was in the Scriptures for the doctrine which he embraced. Accordingly, he wrote his "Humble Inquiry into the "Scripture-Account of Jeſus Chriſt: or, a ſhort Argument concerning his deity and glory, "according to the Goſpel [*A*]." A few days after this work was printed, our author intended

[*A*] *Accordingly, he wrote his "Humble Inquiry,* &c.] The contents of this Tract are as follows:

CHAP. I.

I. That the term GOD is uſed in Scripture in different ſenſes, *ſupreme* and *ſubordinate*. II. That our Lord Jeſus ſpeaks of *another* as God, diſtinct from Himſelf, and owns this God to be *above or over him*.

CHAP. II.

That our Lord Jeſus diſclaims thoſe infinite perfections, which belong only to the Supreme God. 1. Underived Power. 2. Abſolute Goodneſs. 3. Unlimited Knowledge.

CHAP. III.

I. An Anſwer to the Objections founded on ſome indeterminate expreſſions of Scripture. 1. Such as ſpeak

tended to return England; but ſome zealous diſſenters, getting notice of his deſign, reſolved to have him proſecuted. Two of them, one of whom was a Preſbyterian, and the other a Baptiſt-church officer, were for preſenting Mr. Emlyn; but, upon reflection, this method was judged to be too ſlow, and too uncertain in its operation. Mr. Caleb Thomas, therefore, the latter of the two diſſenters, immediately obtained a ſpecial warrrant from the Lord Chief Juſtice (Sir Richard Pyne) to ſeize our author and his books. Thomas himſelf accompanied the Keeper of Newgate in the execution of the warrant, and was afterwards a very forward and eager witneſs at Mr. Emlyn's trial. Our author, with part of the impreſſion of his work, being thus ſeized, was carried before the Lord Chief Juſtice, who at firſt refuſed bail, but afterwards ſaid that it might be allowed, with the Attorney-General's conſent; which being obtained, two ſufficient perſons were bound in a recognizance of eight hundred pounds for Mr. Emlyn's appearance. This was in Hilary term, February, 1702-3, at the end of which he was bound over to Eaſter term, when the grand jury found the bill, wherein he was indicted of blaſphemy. To ſuch a charge he could not in juſtice ſubmit, and therefore choſe to traverſe. The indictment was altered three times before it was finally ſettled, which occaſioned the trial to be deferred till the fourteenth of June, 1703. On that day, Mr. Emlyn was informed, by an eminent gentleman of the long robe (*e*), that he would not be permitted to ſpeak freely, but that it was deſigned to run him down like a wolf, without law or game; and he was ſoon convinced that this was not a groundleſs aſſertion. The indictment was for writing and publiſhing a book, wherein he had blaſphemouſly and maliciouſly aſſerted, that Jeſus Chriſt was not equal to God the Father, to whom he was ſubject; and this with a ſeditious intention. For the amuſement of ſuch of our readers as are curious in their enquiries into the hiſtory of perſecution, a copy of the indictment ſhall be given below [*B*]. Mr. Emlyn knew that it would be difficult to convict him of being the author of the work; and, no queſtion being put to him on that head, he did not think himſelf bound, by a forward confeſſion, to be his own accuſer. The proſecutor, not being able to produce ſufficient evidence of the fact, at length ſent for Mr. Boyſe. This gentleman, being examined as to what Mr. Emlyn had preached of the matters contained in the book, acknowledged that he had ſaid nothing of them in the pulpit directly, but only ſome things that gave ground of ſuſpicion. Mr. Boyſe being farther aſked, what our author had ſaid in private conference with the miniſters, anſwered, "that what he had declared there was "judged by his brethren to be near to Arianiſm." Though this only proved the agreement of the book with Mr. Emlyn's ſentiment, it had a great effect upon the minds of the jury, and tended more than any other conſideration to produce a verdict againſt him. The Queen's counſel, ſenſible that they had only preſumption to allege, contended, that ſtrong preſumption was as good as evidence; which doctrine was ſeconded by the Lord Chief Juſtice, who repeated it to the jury. In ſhort, the torrent

(*e*) Sir Richard Levins, afterwards Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas.

ſpeak generally of Chriſt's *knowing all things*. 2. Such as ſpeak of His *knowing men's thoughts and hearts* in particular. II. An anſwer to the arguments drawn from the worſhip due to our Lord Jeſus, ſhewing *ultimate ſupreme worſhip* of Him to be inconſiſtent with the Goſpel Doctrine of his Mediation. III. The writers againſt the Unitarians unſay their own arguments againſt the Papiſts. IV. The concluſion, exhorting Chriſtians to moderation and temper in their management of this controverſy (1).

(1) Emlyn's Works, vol. I. p. 82.

[*B*] *A copy of the indictment ſhall be given below.*]

'This indictment was (in Engliſh) as follows: 'The 'jury for our ſovereign Lady the Queen, upon their 'oaths ſay and preſent, that Thomas Emlyn, of the 'city of Dublin, Gent. not having God before his eyes, 'nor yielding reverence to the true and orthodox holy 'Chriſtian religion, eſtabliſhed in the kingdom of 'Ireland; but being wholly moved by the inſtigation 'of the devil, and preſumptuouſly treating of the 'Divinity of our Saviour and Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, 'did, on the eighth day of February, in the firſt year 'of the reign of our ſovereign Lady Anne, by the 'grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and 'Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c. at 'Merchants-key, in the pariſh of St. Owen, in the 'county of the city of Dublin aforeſaid, by force and 'arms, namely, by ſword, ſtick, &c. write, and cauſe 'to be printed, a certain infamous and ſcandalous 'libel, intitled, "An Humble Inquiry into the 'Scripture-account of Jeſus Chriſt, or a ſhort Argu'ment concerning his Deity and Glory, according to 'the Goſpel;" in which libel he, the ſaid Thomas 'Emlyn, did in pioully, blaſphemouſly, falſely, and 'maliciouſly, aſſert, affirm, and declare, in theſe Eng'liſh words following, namely, "I (meaning him the 'ſaid Thomas Emlyn) ſee no reaſon there will be to 'oppoſe thoſe Unitarians who think him (meaning 'Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour and Redeemer) to be a ſuf'ficient Saviour and Prince; though he (meaning 'Jeſus Chriſt our Lord aforeſaid) be not the only 'Supreme God. Nor can any with reaſon atttempt 'to prove him (meaning the ſame Jeſus Chriſt) to 'be ſuch from his works and office, as king of his 'Church; ſince it is implied that as ſuch he (meaning 'Jeſus Chriſt our Lord aforeſaid) muſt do homage to 'God the Father, in delivering up his kingdom to 'him, and the very expreſſion to God the Father 'makes it plain that there is no God the Son in the 'ſame ſenſe or in the ſame ſupreme eſſence with the 'Father. So then Jeſus Chriſt in his higheſt capacity 'being inferior to the Father, (meaning God the 'Father,) how can he (meaning Jeſus Chriſt our Lord 'aforeſaid) be the ſame God to which he (mean'ing Jeſus Chriſt our Lord aforeſaid) is ſub'ject, or of the ſame rank and dignity? So 'that I (meaning him the ſaid Thomas Emlyn) 'may ſafely ſay thus much, that the bleſſed Jeſus has 'declared himſelf not to be Supreme God, or equal 'to the Father, as plainly as words could ſpeak, or 'in brief expreſs"——And he the ſaid Thomas 'Emlyn did on the day and year aforeſaid, at Mer'chants-key aforeſaid, in the pariſh and ward afore'ſaid, in the county of the city of Dublin aforeſaid, 'publiſh the ſaid infamous and ſcandalous libel with 'intention to diſturb the peace and tranquillity of this 'kingdom, to ſeduce the pious, true, and faithful, 'ſubjects of our ſaid Lady the Queen from the true 'and ſacred Chriſtian faith and religion, eſtabliſhed in 'this kingdom of Ireland; to the evil and pernicious 'example of others, and againſt the peace of our 'ſaid Lady the Queen, who now is, her crown and 'dignity, &c. (2).'

(2) Narrative of the Proceedings againſt Mr. Thomas Emlyn, p. 27, 28. Note.

was

was ſo violent, that our author's own counſel could not withſtand it. All this, however, related only to the fact of his writing the book, while the main queſtion ſtill remained, whether the paſſages produced in the indictment amounted to blaſphemy. But this matter was never ſpoken to at all. Mr. Emlyn's own counſel dared not to touch upon the ſubject, and he was not permitted to ſpeak for himſelf. In concluſion, the jury brought him in *Guilty*; for which ſome of them afterwards expreſſed their concern. The verdict being pronounced, the Attorney-General moved that our author might have the honour of the pillory; but the paſſing of the ſentence was deferred to June the ſixteenth, being the laſt day of the term. In the mean time Mr. Emlyn was committed to the common jail. During this interval, Mr. Boyſe ſhewed great concern for our author, and uſed all his intereſt to prevent the rigorous ſentence for which the Attorney-General (Robert Rochford, Eſq.) had moved. It being thought proper that Mr. Emlyn ſhould write to the Lord Chief Juſtice, he accordingly did ſo; and his letter was expreſſed in ſuch candid, ſerious, and manly, terms, that it ought to have excited a greater attention [*C*]. When he appeared to have judgment given againſt him, it was moved by one of the Queen's counſel (Mr. Brodrick) that he ſhould retract; but to this our author could not conſent. The Lord Chief Juſtice, therefore, proceeded to paſs ſentence on him; which was, that he ſhould ſuffer a year's impriſonment, pay a thouſand pounds fine to the Queen, and lie in priſon till paid; and that he ſhould find ſecurity for good behaviour during life. The pillory, he was told, was the puniſhment due; but, on account of his being a man of letters, it was not inflicted. Then, with a paper on his breaſt, he was led round the four Courts to be expoſed. This ſentence, for bare matters of ſpeculation and belief, was by ſome thought to be very ſevere and cruel; but the Lord Chief Juſtice did not ſcruple to magnify the mercy of it, becauſe in Spain and Portugal the puniſhment would have been no leſs than burning. After judgment had been paſſed, Mr. Emlyn was committed to the Sheriffs of Dublin, and was a cloſe priſoner, for ſomething more than a quarter of a year, in the houſe of the Under-Sheriff. On the ſixth of October, he was haſtily hurried away to the common jail, where he lay among the priſoners in a cloſe room, filled with ſix beds, for about five or ſix weeks; and then, by an *habeas corpus*, he was upon his petition removed into the Marſhalſea for his health. Having here greater conveniences, he wrote, in 1704, a tract, entituled, "General Remarks on Mr. Boyſe's Vindication of the true "Deity of our Bleſſed Saviour [*D*]." In the Marſhalſea our author remained till the twenty-firſt of July, 1705, during the whole of which time his former acquaintances were eſtranged from him, and all offices of friendſhip or civility in a manner ceaſed; eſpecially among perſons of a ſuperior rank. A few, indeed, of the plainer tradeſmen belonging to his late congregation were more compaſſionate and friendly. But, of all men, the diſſenting miniſters of Dublin were the moſt deſtitute of kindneſs. Not one

[*C*] *That it ought to have excited a greater attention.*] It was as follows;

'My Lord,

'Though your Lordſhip may perhaps judge me 'guilty of a fault that you cannot admit any apo- 'logy for, yet I may preſume upon ſo much com- 'paſſion as to have leave to offer ſomething by way 'of mitigation: I do aſſure your Lordſhip, that I 'have no greater deſire than to learn the truth from 'the holy Scriptures, by which I ſhall always be guided 'according to my beſt light; and, if I am miſtaken in 'my opinions, God knows, 'tis altogether unwillingly. 'It is moſt obvious that I have forfeited my intereſt, 'and ſacrificed my reputation in the world, and ex- 'poſed myſelf to ſuch evils as nothing could ever 'make me ſubmit to but the real fear of offending 'God; which your Lordſhip will, I doubt not, 'allow for a very great reaſon. I am ready to do any 'thing conſiſtent with my judgment and conſcience; 'but I am afraid to do that, for fear of ſhame from 'men, for which, my conſcience may ſuggeſt to me, 'that Jeſus Chriſt will be aſhamed of me at the great 'day. I imagine, by ſomething ſpoken on my trial, 'that your Lordſhip conceived I had written ſome 'deriding ſcornful expreſſions of the Holy Jeſus, 'which I am ſure I never deſigned; the ſum of this 'whole book being only to ſhew the Father to be 'greater than he, not denying him any glory con- 'ſiſtent with that. I hope, that as the great and 'merciful God will ſooner forgive many errors of the 'underſtanding than one wilful crime, ſo your 'Lordſhip will make a conſiderable difference between '*diſputable errors*, which men of probity and learning 'are divided about, and *ſcurrilous reflexions* on the 'Bleſſed Jeſus, which are intended for contempt, 'which my ſoul ſhall ever abhor. I ſhall only pre- 'ſume to add, that as 'tis entirely for my conſcience 'that I ſuffer, ſo I can never be deprived of the com- 'fortable ſupport which ſuch a conſideration carries 'in it; having, I hope, learned in ſome meaſure, 'to be conformed to him who endured the croſs, 'and will ſhortly appear the righteous Judge of all. 'Knowing how much depends on your Lordſhip's 'favour, and clemency, as to the penalty I am liable 'to, I intreat for it,

'And am,

'Your Lordſhip's, &c. (3).'

(3) Narrative, ubi ſupra, p. 33, 34.

[*D*] *General Remarks on Mr. Boyſe's Vindication of the true Deity of our Bleſſed Saviour.*] We ſubjoin the Contents. "Introduction."

Chap. I.

'That God and his Son Jeſus Chriſt are two 'diſtinct Beings, the one underived, and the other 'derived.'

Chap. II.

'Of a derived Being, ſuch as the Son of God is 'granted to be.' 'Examination of the Anſwer to 'the Objection from Chriſt's not knowing the Day 'of Judgment, Matt. xxiv. 36. and Mark xiii. 32.' 'Reflection on the argument for the Supreme Deity 'of Jeſus Chriſt from the Creation being aſcribed to 'him (4).'

(4) Emlyn's Works, vol. 1. p. 132.

of them (Mr. Boyſe excepted) vouchſafed to Mr. Emlyn that ſmall office of humanity, the viſiting him in priſon; nor had they ſo much pity on the ſoul of their erring brother (as they thought him) as to ſeek to turn him from the error of his way. For a long time our author continued with little appearance of relief; content with this, that he knew for whom and for what he ſuffered. At length, through the zealous and repeated ſolicitations of Mr. Boyſe, the generous interference of Thomas Medlicote, Eſq. the humane interpoſition of the Duke of Ormond, and the favourable report of the Lord Chancellor (Sir Richard Cox, to whom a petition of Mr. Emlyn's had been referred), and whoſe report was, that ſuch exorbitant fines were againſt law, the fine was reduced to ſeventy pounds, and it was accordingly paid into her Majeſty's Exchequer. Twenty pounds more were paid, by way of compoſition, to Dr. Narciſſus March, Archbiſhop of Armagh, who, as Queen's Almoner, had a claim of one ſhilling a pound upon the whole fine. During Mr. Emlyn's confinement in the Marſhalſea, he regularly preached there. He had hired a pretty large room to himſelf; whither, on the Sundays, ſome of the impriſoned debtors reſorted; and from without doors there came ſeveral of the lower ſort of his former people and uſual hearers. That they would not wholly forſake him, nor refuſe to worſhip God with him, was a great pleaſure to our author in his ſtate of impriſonment (*f*).

(*f*) Narrative, ubi ſupra, p. 23—44.

Soon after his releaſe Mr. Emlyn returned to London, where a ſmall congregation was found for him, conſiſting of a few friends, to whom he preached once every Sunday. This he did without ſalary or ſtipend; although, in conſequence of his wife's jointure having devolved to her children, his fortune was reduced to a narrow income. The liberty of preaching, which our author enjoyed, gave great offence to ſeveral perſons, and eſpecially to Mr. Charles Leſlie, the famous non-juror, and Mr. Francis Higgins, the noted rector of Balruddery, in the county of Dublin. Complaint was made upon the ſubject to Dr. Teniſon, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. That great and good prelate was not unacquainted with Mr. Emlyn's having a meeting in London, or with what had befallen him in Dublin; but, he had heard ſuch an account of his character, that his Grace was not inclined to moleſt him. Even Mr. Higgins himſelf did not pretend to ſay, that our author made controverted points the ſubjects of his preaching. Nevertheleſs, in the repreſentation of the lower Houſe of Convocation to the Queen, in 1711, it was aſſerted, that weekly ſermons were preached in defence of the Unitarian principles. This aſſertion was ſo groundleſs, that Mr. Emlyn thought proper to write a paper containing ſome obſervations upon it. After a few years, his congregation was diſſolved by the death of the principal perſons who had attended upon his miniſtry, and he retired into a ſilent obſcurity (*g*), but not into idleneſs; for the greater part of his life was diligently ſpent in ſupporting, by various works, the principles he had embraced, and the cauſe for which he had ſuffered. The firſt performance publiſhed by him, after his releaſe from priſon, was, "A Letter to the Reverend "Dr. Willis, Dean of Lincoln; being ſome friendly Remarks on his Sermon before "the Honourable Houſe of Commons, November 5, 1705." The intention of this letter was to ſhew that the puniſhment even of Papiſts for religion was not warranted by the Jewiſh laws; and that Chriſtians had been more cruel perſecutors than Jews (*h*). In 1706, Mr. Emlyn gave to the world one of his moſt elaborate productions, which is, "A Vindication of the Worſhip of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, on Unitarian Principles. "In Anſwer to what is ſaid, on that Head, by Mr. Joſeph Boyſe, in his Vindication of "the Deity of Jeſus Chriſt. To which is annexed, An Anſwer to Dr. Waterland on "the ſame Head." That our theological readers may more diſtinctly perceive the ſpecific nature and object of this performance, we ſhall inſert the contents of it below [*E*].

(*g*) Memoirs of Mr. Emlyn's Life, p. xlv—l.

(*h*) Emlyn's Works, Vol. I. p. 379, 380.

[*E*] *We ſhall inſert the Contents of it below.*].

Chap. I.

'Supreme divine worſhip of Jeſus Chriſt not required nor practiſed in Scripture. 1. Not in prayer. '2. Not in internal acts, as faith, love, &c. 3. Not 'in external acts, as baptiſm, Lord's ſupper. 4 Not 'to be inferred from the foundation on which thoſe 'acts of worſhip are grounded. II. An inferior 'religious worſhip of Jeſus Chriſt is allowed and required by the Scriptures. 1. In that He is worſhipped as Mediator. 2. In that He cannot be worſhipped through a Mediator. 3. In that his claim 'to worſhip is founded on ſubordinate derived 'dominion.

Chap. II.

'I. The paying inferior religious worſhip to Jeſus 'Chriſt does not intrench on the peculiar honour of 'God. 1. Not from the nature of the thing itſelf. '2. Not from Scripture teſtimony or example. 'II. The allowing inferior religious worſhip to Jeſus 'Chriſt will not clear Pagans or Papiſts from the 'charge of idolatry. For, 1. All idolatry is not 'founded on the nature of the act: nor, 2. Is it true 'that the Pagans did only give inferior or ſubordinate 'worſhip to their idols or dæmons.

Chap. III.

'I. The judgment and practice of the primitive 'fathers as to the point of worſhip. II. The concluſion, blaming the raſhneſs of ſome Trinitarian 'writers, and ſhewing the Unitarian principles of 'worſhip to be more ſafe.

'An anſwer to Dr. Waterland on the head of 'worſhip. Sect. I. From the common allowed 'practice of adoration or bowing the body to others 'beſides God. Sect. II. From the religious worſhip 'given to Jeſus Chriſt when on earth, and conſidered 'only as a ſacred prophet. Sect. III. From the religious worſhip due and allowed to the human nature 'of Jeſus Chriſt. Sect. IV. From the doctor's interpreting the imploring of grace and peace to be a 'religious invocation; and here of the imploring of 'grace from the ſeven ſpirits. Rev. i. 4. (5).

(5) Emlyn's Works, ubi ſupra, p. 205, 206.

Two

Two publications came from our author in 1707, the first of which was entitled, "The Supreme Deity of God the Father demonstrated. In Answer to Dr. Sher-"lock's Arguments for the Supreme Divinity of Jesus Christ, or whatever can be "urged against the Supremacy of the First Person of the Holy Trinity." The other was, "A brief Vindication of the Bishop of Gloucester's (Dr. Fowler) Discourses con-"cerning the *Descent of the Man Christ Jesus from Heaven*; from Dr. Sherlock the "Dean of St. Paul's Charge of Heresy. With a Confutation of his new Notion in his "late Book of *The Scripture Proofs of our Saviour's Divinity*." In 1708, Mr. Emlyn printed three Tracts, all of them directed against Mr. Leslie. The titles of them are as follow: "Remarks on Mr. Charles Leslie's first Dialogue on the Socinian Controversy. "A Vindication of the Remarks on Mr. Charles Leslie's first Dialogue on the Socinian "Controversy." "An Examination of Mr. Leslie's last Dialogue, relating to the "Satisfaction of Jesus Christ. Together with some Remarks on Dr. Stillingfleet's "*True Reasons of Christ's Sufferings* (*i*)." In this piece, the doctrine of Infinite Satisfaction is opposed with great ability. One of our Author's most curious productions was published by him in 1710. It is entituled, "The previous Question to the several "Questions about valid and invalid Baptism, Lay-Baptism, &c. considered, viz. "Whether there be any Necessity (upon the Principles of Mr. Wall's History of Infant "Baptism) for the continual Use of Baptism among the Posterity of baptized Chris-"tians." The contents of the work will be given in the note [*F*]. Though Mr. Emlyn has supported his hypothesis with ingenuity and learning, we do not find that he has obtained many converts to his opinion; though, perhaps, the number of them is at present rather increasing. Our Author did not again appear from the press till the year 1715, when he published, "A full Inquiry into the Original Authority of that "Text, 1 John v. 7. *There are three that bear Record in Heaven, &c.* Containing an "Account of Dr. Mill's Evidence, from Antiquity, for and against its being genuine. "With an Examination of his Judgment thereupon." This piece was addressed to Dr. William Wake, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, President, to the Bishops of the same province, his Grace's Suffragans, and to the Clergy of the lower House of Convocation, then assembled. The disputed text found an advocate in Mr. Martin; Pastor of the French Church, at the Hague, who published a Critical Dissertation on the subject, in opposition to Mr. Emlyn's "Inquiry." In 1718, our Author again considered the Question, in "An Answer to Mr. Martin's Critical Dissertation on 1 John v. 7. Shewing "the Insufficiency of his Proofs, and the Errors of his Suppositions; by which he "attempts to establish the Authority of that Text from supposed Manuscripts." Mr. Martin having published an Examination of this Answer, Mr. Emlyn printed a Reply to it in 1720 (*k*). A third Tract was written upon the subject by Mr. Martin; so that he had the honour of being left in the possession of the field; and this has been thought by many learned men, to have been the only honour he obtained. It is generally allowed that Mr. Emlyn shewed distinguished abilities and literature in the controversy, and that there were numerous converts to his opinion. Bishop Smallbrooke seems not to have been satisfied with Martin's defence (*l*). On Emlyn's side of the question are Father Simon, La Croze, Sir Isaac Newton, Dr. Bentley, Dr. Benson, Wetstein, Griesbach, and other respectable writers and critics. Indeed, such was the state of the controversy, that the learned in general had abandoned the defence of the verse (*m*), when a new and spirited advocate for its authenticity appeared in Mr. Archdeacon Travis. The Archdeacon's work, however, has not been permitted to be triumphant. Strictures have been made upon it by several authors, both at home and abroad; and Mr. Porson in particular (to whose eminence in Greek literature words cannot easily do justice) has examined Mr. Travis's positions with such ingenuity, ability, and critical precision, that, if the Archdeacon can produce an answer equally distinguished by the same qualities, he will justly be esteemed one of the most fortunate of mankind. In fact, the subject is considered, by many learned men, as for ever decided. Indeed, we have often been surprized, and this for two reasons, that so much stress should be laid upon the text in question by some zealous Trinitarians. In the first place, the words are capable of being explained of an Unity of Consent, and not of Substance; as is evident from similar language, in the seventeenth chapter of St. John's Gospel. And, secondly, in the proof of any important doctrine, the truth of it should be made to rest upon undisputed

(*i*) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 333, 361. Vol. II. p. 1, 19, 41.

(*k*) Emlyn's Works, Vol. II. p. 107—110. 167, 221.

(*l*) Porson's Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis, Preface, p. viii.

(*m*) Ibid. p. x.

[*F*] *The contents of the work will be given in the note.*] 'Sect. I. The use of baptism among the Jews 'urged in proof of infant-baptism among Christians. 'Sect. II. From hence it will equally follow, that 'only such children as are born of unbelieving parents 'need to be baptized. Sect. III. In fact there do not 'appear any early instances of any (infants or adults) 'who being born of Christian parents were baptized. 'Sect. IV. Objections against the above inference con-'sidered and answered, particularly with regard to 'circumcision. Sect. V. As to any harm in bapti-'zing, though not required. How this notion of 'baptism cuts off many occasions of contention among 'Christians. Sect. VI. Remarks on Mr. Wall's un-'just Reflections on the Unitarians. As to the ad-'mission of those, who have not been personally 'baptized, to the Communion. Postscript. Infant 'baptism, how far according to the Apostolical 'Constitutions, &c. A letter of the author in answer 'to some objections proposed to him on this head(6).'

(6) Emlyn's Works, vol. I. p. 390.



passages,

paſſages, and not upon thoſe, the authenticity of which muſt at beſt be pronounced to be extremely doubtful. Such dubious paſſages can never have any effect upon the minds of thoſe who are previouſly ſceptical with regard to any great queſtion.

While Mr. Emlyn was engaged in this celebrated controverſy, he found leiſure for other publications. In 1718, he printed a tract entituled, "Dr. Bennet's New Theory "of the Trinity examined: or, ſome Conſiderations on the Diſcourſe of the ever bleſſed "Trinity in Unity; and his Examination of Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the "Trinity." Dr. Bennet's explication of the Trinity (as we have ſeen in his article (*n*)) was ſingular, and approached to Sabellianiſm; on which account he laid himſelf open to the ſtrictures both of Trinitarian and Unitarian Divines. Mr. Emlyn knew how to make the moſt of the Doctor's miſtakes. Three pieces were publiſhed by Mr. Emlyn in 1719. The firſt was, "Remarks on a Book, entituled, 'The Doctrine of the bleſſed "Trinity, ſtated and defended,' by four London Miniſters, Mr. Tong, Mr. Robinſon, "Mr. Smith, and Mr. Reynolds. With an Appendix, concerning the Equality of the "three Perſons, and Mr. Jurieu's Teſtimony to the primitive Doctrine on this point." Theſe four Diſſenting Clergymen, who had united their talents upon the ſubject, were not men of ſuch diſtinguiſhed abilities as to be reckoned among the moſt formidable antagoniſts with whom our author ever contended. His next publication was, "A true "Narrative of the Proceedings of the Diſſenting Miniſters of Dublin againſt Mr. Thomas Emlyn; and of his Proſecution (at ſome of the Diſſenters Inſtigation) in the "ſecular Court, and his Sufferings thereupon, for his humble, 'Inquiry into the "Scripture Account of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt:" Annis, 1702, 3, 4, 5. To which is "added an Appendix, containing the Author's own and the Dublin Miniſters Account "of the Difference between him and them, with ſome Remarks thereon." It has been thought that this narrative, which is now prefixed to Mr. Emlyn's works, has had a tendency to diſpoſe perſons, and young minds eſpecially, the more favourably to receive his ſentiments. Simple truth, indeed, ought to be the ſole point attended to in every controverſy; but it is in human nature to be ſometimes influenced by collateral conſiderations. The laſt tract publiſhed by our author, in 1719, was "The Reverend "Mr. Troſſe's Arguments anſwered; relating to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the Deity "of the Holy Ghoſt. Taken from his Catechiſm, and Sermon on Luke xxii. 31. "printed at Exon (*o*)."

(*n*) Biog. Brit. Second Edition, Vol. II. p. 199. 200. Notes.

(*o*) Emlyn's Works, Vol. II. p. 301, p. 367. Vol. I. p. 1—79. Vol. II. p. 429.

It was a great ſatisfaction to Mr. Emlyn, to perceive that the doctrine, for which he had written and ſuffered ſo much, gradually gained ground both in England and Ireland. Nevertheleſs, he ſtill continued to be ſo obnoxious, that none of the Divines among the Diſſenters in London dared to aſk him to preach for them, excepting the Miniſters of the Baptiſt congregation at Barbican. Theſe gentlemen, who were Mr. Burroughs and Mr. (afterwards Dr.) James Foſter, to ſhew their catholic temper, and truly Chriſtian ſpirit, invited him more than once to that office; and, notwithſtanding the reflections of the cenſorious, were not aſhamed publicly to own him for a brother. About the year 1726, upon the deceaſe of the worthy and learned Mr. James Peirce, of Exeter, ſeveral of the people wiſhed to invite Mr. Emlyn thither, and had formed a deſign for that purpoſe. As ſoon, however, as he was acquainted with it, he requeſted them to deſiſt, thanking them for their reſpectful attention to him, and excuſing his acceptance of an invitation, on account of his declining years, and the feebleneſs of his limbs. Though our author lived in private retirement, he was honoured with the eſteem and friendſhip of divers perſons of diſtinguiſhed learning and in eminent ſtations. He was particularly intimate with the truly excellent Dr. Samuel Clarke. That great and good man, though at firſt he was ſhy and upon the reſerve with Mr. Emlyn, when he came to be farther acquainted with him, expreſſed a high value and regard for him, generally adviſed with him in matters of importance, and, notwithſtanding his uſual caution towards men, opened his mind to him with the utmoſt freedom. The Doctor's language to our author was, "I can ſay any thing to you (*p*)." Another of Mr. Emlyn's friends was Mr. Whiſton, who, in his account of his own life, has ſpoken of him ſeveral times in terms of great reſpect. In 1731, our author wrote "Obſervations on Dr. "Waterland's Notions in Relation to Polytheiſm, Ditheiſm, the Son's Conſubſtantiality "with and Inferiority to the Father;" and, in the ſame year, he drew up ſome "Memoirs of the Life and Sentiments of the Reverend Dr. Samuel Clarke." Theſe two tracts, we believe, were not given to the world till his works were collected together. They now form the concluding articles of the ſecond volume (*q*). Mr. Emlyn, who was naturally of a very chearful and lively temper, enjoyed, in all reſpects, a large ſhare of health, the gout excepted; which, by degrees, impaired his health, and by its annual returns greatly diſabled him in his limbs. For the laſt two or three years of his life he grew much feebler; and about a year before his death, he received a violent ſhock, which it was feared would have carried him off. However, he ſo well recovered from it that he weathered the next winter, though a ſevere one, without any farther breach upon his health. On Friday, the ſeventeenth of July, 1743, he was ſuddenly taken ill in the night, but grew ſo far better as to be able, for ſome days, to converſe

(*p*) Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Thomas Emlyn, p. lxii. lxiv.

(*q*) Emlyn's Works, Vol. II. p. 451—496.

converſe with his friends, and to teſtify the great ſatisfaction he enjoyed in the conſciouſneſs of his integrity. His diſorder returning, he departed this life on Tueſday, the thirtieth day of the month, in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age (*r*). On the ſixteenth of Auguſt following, his funeral ſermon was preached, at Barbican, by Mr. Foſter, who has given him an excellent and a juſt character (*s*). His character is, likewiſe, diſplayed at large in the memoirs of his life, which conclude it with aſſerting, that he was one of the brighteſt examples of ſubſtantial unaffected piety, of ſerious rational devotion, of a ſteady unſhaken integrity, and an undaunted chriſtian courage (*t*). He was buried in Bunhill-Fields, where there is an inſcription to his memory. His epitaph, as it was firſt deſigned in Latin, and as it was afterwards inſcribed on his tomb-ſtone in Engliſh, will be found below [*G*]. The Memoirs of his life were written by his ſon, Sollom Emlyn, Eſq. and ſeparately publiſhed in 1746. In the ſame year they were prefixed to a collection of his works, in two volumes, octavo. An appendix is added, containing ſeveral ſhort papers, drawn up by our author, on various ſubjects. Mr. Sollom Emlyn, who was bred to the law, and became an eminent Counſellor, was employed to publiſh Lord Chief Juſtice Hale's "Hiſtory of the Pleas of the Crown," which he did in 1736, in two volumes, folio, together with a preface and large notes. He died in the year 1756, and left one ſon, our worthy friend, the preſent Thomas Emlyn, Eſq. Barriſter at Law, a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, and Fellow of the Royal Society.

(*r*) Memoirs, ubi ſupra, p. xcvi. xcvii.

(*s*) Funeral Sermon, p. 28—40.

(*t*) Memoirs, ubi ſupra, p. xcviii, xcix.

Mr. Emlyn was one of the moſt eminent divines of the Arian perſuaſion which this country has produced. His works, which are written with great ability on that ſide of the queſtion, have made many converts, eſpecially among the Proteſtant Diſſenters. Though his writings are, perhaps, not now ſo much read as they formerly were, they ſtill continue to be held in reputation, and have a number of admirers. Our author was what is called a high Arian; believing our bleſſed Saviour to be the firſt of derived Beings, the Creator of the World, and an object of worſhip. We apprehend that ſeveral perſons, who are advocates for the pre-exiſtence of Chriſt, do not entirely coincide with the ſentiments which Mr. Emlyn has advanced upon theſe ſubjects.] K.

[*G*] *Will be found below.*]

H. S. E.
THOMAS EMLYN, V. D. M.
*Stamfordiæ* in agro *Lincolnienſi* natus
xxviimo die Maij, anno Salutis MDCLXIII.
Pietate, Eruditione, ac Judicio,
Non parùm inſignis,
Apud *Dublinienſes* per undecim Annos
Officium pervigilis Paſtoris
Summâ cum Laude, ſummâ cum Diligentiâ, exercuit.
Quædam verò Dogmata (heterodoxa ut vocabantur)
amplexus
Officio ejectus eſt, ſtipendio ſpoliatus,
In carcerem detruſus, et mille libris mulctatus,
Propterea quòd Monarchiam, et ſupremam Majeſtatem
Summi Dei Patris aſſeruerat.
Poſt binos denique annos elapſos
Carcere liberatus, in Angliam rediit,
Ubi primariam illam Chriſtianæ Fidei Veritatem
Tam ſtrenuè vindicavit, tam lucidis argumentis ſuffulſit,
Ut nullus quidem reſponſo locus ſupereſſet.
Senio tandem confectus et Arthritide perfractus,
Viribus obrepente Febre penitùs exhauſtis,
Fato ſuccubuit xxxmo die Julij anno MDCCXLI,
Spe lætâ beatæ Reſurrectionis
Ad Vitam eternam.

Here lie the remains
Of the Reverend Mr. THOMAS EMLYN,
Eminent for his great piety and learning,
Strong parts and ſound judgment.
Born at *Stamford* in *Lincolnſhire*,
May 27, 1663.
He was Paſtor of a congregation
Of Proteſtant Diſſenters at *Dublin*,
Which office he diſcharged during eleven years
With great faithfulneſs, diligence, and applauſe.
But, having maintained the Supreme unequalled
Majeſty
Of the ONE GOD and FATHER of all,
He was, to the ſhame and reproach of a Chriſtian
country,
Perſecuted even to bonds and impriſonment,
And the ſpoiling of his goods;
All which he endured with great patience and conſtancy,
With ſuch firmneſs and fortitude of mind,
As left no room to doubt his integrity,
And in his writings ſupported that important truth
With ſuch ſtrength of reaſon and argument
As left no room to make a reply.
At length, full of days and ripe for glory,
He departed this life in peace,
July 30, 1741,
In joyful hope of a bleſſed reſurrection
To eternal life (7).

(7) Memoirs of the life of Mr. Thomas Emlyn, p. c, ci.

*** [ERIGENA (JOHN SCOTUS), an eminent ſcholar of the middle age, was born in an early part of the ninth century. The moſt common account of him is, that he was a native of Air, in Scotland, though ſome writers have ſaid that the place of his birth was Ergene, on the borders of Wales, and others have contended that he was an Iriſhman (*a*). It is, we apprehend, moſt probable that he was a Scotſman. However this may have been, he was animated, in a very dark period, with a moſt uncommon deſire of literature. Seeing his country involved in great confuſion and ignorance, and that it afforded no means of acquiring the knowledge after which he thirſted, he travelled into foreign parts; and it is even aſſerted, by ſeveral authors, that he went to Athens, and ſpent ſome years in ſtudying the Greek, Chaldaic, and Arabic, languages (*b*). In whatever place he obtained his learning, it is certain that in philoſophy he

(*a*) Cave's Hiſtoria Literaria, Vol. II. p. 45.

(*b*) Mackenzie's Scotch Writers, Vol I. p. 49. Tanner's Bibliotheca, p. 263.

he had no ſuperior, and in languages no equal, in the age during which he flouriſhed. Theſe extraordinary accompliſhments, together with his wit and pleaſantry, which rendered his converſation as agreeable as it was inſtructive, procured him an invitation from Charles the Bald, King of France, the greateſt patron of Literature in that period, to reſide with him. Of this invitation Erigena accepted, and lived a number of years in the Court of that Prince, on a footing of the moſt intimate acquaintance and familiarity. He ſlept often in the royal apartments, and dined daily at the royal table. From the following repartee, which is preſerved by one of our ancient hiſtorians, we may judge of the freedom which Scotus uſed with the monarch. As they were ſitting one day at table oppoſite to each other, after dinner, the philoſopher having ſaid ſomething that was not quite agreeable to the rules of politeneſs, the King, in a merry humour, aſked him, "Pray what is between a Scot and a ſot?" To which he anſwered, "Nothing but the table." Charles, ſays the hiſtorian, laughed heartily, and was not in the leaſt offended, as he made it a rule never to be angry with his maſter, as he always called Erigena. But the King valued this great man for his wiſdom and learning ſtill more than for his wit, and retained him about his perſon, not merely as an agreeable companion, but as his preceptor in the ſciences, and his beſt counſellor in the moſt arduous affairs of government. While Scotus reſided in the Court of France, he compoſed, at the deſire of his royal patron, a number of works, which procured him many admirers on the one hand, and many adverſaries on the other. The Clergy, in particular, were diſſatisfied with ſome of his notions, as not being perfectly orthodox (*c*). One of the ſubjects which employed his pen was the doctrine of Predeſtination. In his treatiſe on this ſubject, which was addreſſed to Hincmar, Archbiſhop of Rheims, and Pardulus, Biſhop of Laon, the poſition he begins with is, that every queſtion may be reſolved by four general rules of philoſophy, viz. diviſion, definition, demonſtration, and analyſis. By theſe rules he endeavours to prove, that there cannot be a double predeſtination, of one to glory, and another to damnation; and that predeſtination doth not impoſe any neceſſity, but that man is abſolutely free; and that, although he cannot do good without the grace of Jeſus Chriſt, yet he doth it, without being conſtrained or forced to do it by the will of God, by his own free choice. Sin, and the conſequences of it, and the puniſhments with which it is attended, are, ſays Erigena, mere privations, that are neither foreſeen nor predeſtinated by God; and predeſtination hath no place but in thoſe things which God hath pre-ordained in order to eternal happineſs; for, our predeſtination ariſeth from the foreſight of the good uſe of our free-will (*d*). Sentiments ſo bold, and delivered in ſuch an age, could not fail of exciting great indignation. Wemlo, or Ganelo, Archbiſhop of Sens, having read the work, collected out of it ſeveral propoſitions, which he arranged under nineteen heads, according to the number and order of the chapters of Scotus's treatiſe, and ſent them to Prudentius, Biſhop of Troyes. This prelate, having examined them, found in them, as he thought, not only the errors of Pelagius, but the impiety of the Collyridians. He employed himſelf, therefore, in anſwering Erigena; and another anſwer to him was written by Florus, a Deacon of the Church of Lyons. It does not appear that Scotus engaged any farther in the controverſy (*e*). Another of his works was upon the ſubject of the Euchariſt, in anſwer to a famous book of Paſchaſius Radbertus, concerning the body and blood of Chriſt. Upon this head, Erigena had the good ſenſe to oppoſe the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation (*f*).

While our author was employed in theſe diſcuſſions, an incident occurred, which drew upon him the diſpleaſure of the Roman Pontiff. Michael Balbus, the Greek Emperor, had ſent, in the year 824, a copy of the works of Dionyſius, the Philoſopher, to the Emperor Lewis the Pious, as a moſt acceptable preſent (*g*). In France theſe treatiſes were eſteemed to be an invaluable treaſure; and therefore Charles the Bald, who could not read Greek, was earneſtly deſirous of peruſing them in a Latin tranſlation. This deſire was undoubtedly increaſed by an opinion which at that time univerſally prevailed, though without any proof, that Dionyſius, the Areopagite, or St. Denys, was the firſt Chriſtian teacher, or Apoſtle, in France. At the requeſt of Charles, Joannes Scotus undertook the taſk of tranſlating the works in queſtion, the titles of which were, "On the Celeſtial Monarchy;" "On the Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy;" "On Divine Names;" and, "On Myſtic Theology." Theſe books were received with great eagerneſs by the Weſtern Churches; but the tranſlation having been made without the licence of the ſovereign Pontiff, and containing many things contrary to the received faith of the Church of Rome, the Pope, Nicholas the Firſt, was highly diſpleaſed, and wrote a threatening letter to the French King, requiring that Scotus ſhould be baniſhed from the Univerſity of Paris, and ſent to Rome. Charles had too much affection and reſpect for our author to obey the Pope's order; but Erigena thought it adviſable, for his ſafety, to retire from Paris. According to ſome writers, it was upon this occaſion that he returned to England. It was the tranſlation of the works of the pretended Dionyſius which revived the knowledge of Alexandrian Platoniſm in the Weſt,

(*c*) Henry's Hiſtory of Great Britain, Vol. II. P. 343—345.

(*d*) Mackenzie, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 50. Cave, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Mackenzie, ubi ſupra, p. 50, 55.

(*g*) Henry, ubi ſupra.

Weſt, and laid the foundation of the myſtical ſyſtem of Theology, which afterwards ſo generally prevailed. Hence it was, that philoſophical enthuſiaſm, born in the Eaſt, nouriſhed by Plato, educated in Alexandria, matured in Aſia, and adopted into the Greek Church, found its way, under the pretext and authority of an apoſtolic name, into the Weſtern Church, and there produced innumerable miſchiefs (*b*).

(*b*) Enfield's Hiſtory of Philoſophy, Vol. II. p. 340, 341.

The moſt capital work of Scotus was his treatiſe "On the Diviſion of Nature, or the "Natures of Things;" which, after long lying in manuſcript, was publiſhed at Oxford, in 1681, by Dr. Thomas Gale. In various reſpects this was the moſt curious literary production of the age in which Erigena flouriſhed, being written with a metaphyſical ſubtlety and acuteneſs then unknown in Europe. This acuteneſs he acquired by reading the writings of the Greek philoſophers: and by applying the refinement of logic to the diſcuſſion of theological ſubjects, he became the father of that ſcholaſtic divinity, which made ſo diſtinguiſhed a figure in the middle ages, and ſo long reſiſted the progreſs of genuine ſcience. The remarks of one of our ancient hiſtorians (Hoveden) on Scotus's work are not unjuſt. "His book, entituled, 'The Diviſion of Nature,' "is of great uſe in ſolving many intricate and perplexing queſtions; if we can forgive "him for deviating from the path of the Latin philoſophers and divines, and purſuing "that of the Greeks. It was this that made him appear a Heretic to many; and it "muſt be confeſſed that there are many things in it which, at firſt ſight at leaſt, ſeem "to be contrary to the catholic faith." Of this kind are his opinions of God and the univerſe, which bear a conſiderable reſemblance to the pantheiſm of Spinoza (*i*). At the entrance of his work, Erigena divides nature into that which creates, and is not created; that which is created, and creates; that which is created and does not create; and that which neither creates nor is created. As a farther proof of the ſingularity of John Scotus's genius, we ſhall produce his argument for the eternity of the world. "Nothing can "be an accident with reſpect to God; conſequently, it was not an accident with reſpect to "him to frame the world: therefore God did not exiſt before he created the world; for, if "he had, it would have happened to him to create; that is, creation would have been "an accident of the divine nature. God therefore precedes the world, not in the order "of time, but of cauſality. The cauſe always was, and is, and will be; and therefore "the effect always has ſubſiſted, doth ſubſiſt, and will ſubſiſt; that is, the Univerſe is "eternal in its cauſe." Hence Erigena taught that God is all things, and that all things are God; by which he might only mean the ſame with the Oriental, Cabbaliſtic, and Alexandrian, Philoſophers; and, after theſe, with the followers of Origen, Syneſius, and the ſuppoſed Dionyſius, that all things have eternally proceeded by emanation from God, and will at length return into him as ſtreams to their ſource. Accordingly he ſays, that "after the Reſurrection nature itſelf will return to God; God will be all in "all, and there will remain nothing but God alone." From theſe brief ſpecimens it appears, that the philoſophy of Scotus was founded in the enthuſiaſtic notions of univerſal deification; and conſequently, that he is rather to be ranked among the fanatical than among the atheiſtical philoſophers. The monaſtic life, which then ſo generally prevailed, afforded ſo much leiſure for indulging the flights of imagination, and ſo many opportunities for an oſtentatious diſplay of piety, that it was peculiarly favourable to the propagations of Enthuſiaſm. To this it may be added, that the ignorance of the times made it perfectly eaſy for thoſe, who were inclined to practiſe upon vulgar credulity, to execute their deſign. It is not, therefore, ſurpriſing, that the dreams of myſticiſm ſhould be extenſively propagated, under the authority of a ſuppoſed apoſtolical name (*k*).

(*i*) Henry's Hiſtory of Great Britain, ubi ſupra, p. 346.

(*k*) Enfield, ubi ſupra, p. 342, 343.

The concluding period of Erigena's life is involved in ſome degree of uncertainty. According to Cave and Tanner, he removed from France to England in 877, and was employed by King Alfred in the reſtoration of learning at the Univerſity of Oxford. It is ſaid, by Tanner, that, in 879, he was appointed Profeſſor of Mathematics and Aſtronomy in that Univerſity. Here he continued three years, when, upon account of ſome differences which aroſe among the gownſmen, he retired to the Abbey of Malmſbury, where he opened a ſchool. Behaving, however, with harſhneſs and ſeverity to his ſcholars, they were ſo irritated, that they are reported to have murdered him with the iron bodkins which were then uſed in writing. According to others, the ſcholars were inſtigated to this atrocious act by the Monks, who had conceived a hatred againſt Scotus, as well for his learning as his heterodoxy. The time of his death is differently ſtated, but is generally referred to the year 883. Some, however, place it either in 884 or 886 (*l*). Such is the ſtate of facts, as given by moſt of the Engliſh writers; but other authors ſuppoſe that our hiſtorians have confounded John Scotus Erigena with another John Scot, who was an Engliſhman, contemporary with Alfred, and who taught at Oxford. According to Mackenzie, Erigena retired to England in 864, and died there about the year 874. As a proof of the laſt circumſtance, he refers to a letter of Anaſtaſius, the Librarian to Charles the Bald, written in 875, which ſpeaks of

(*l*) Cave and Tanner, ubi ſupra. New Univerſal Dictionary, Vol. V. p. 163.

Scotus as of a dead man. Dr. Henry thinks it moſt probable that he ended his days in France (*m*). Anaſtaſius had ſo high an opinion of Erigena, that he aſcribed his tranſlation of the works of Dionyſius to the eſpecial influence of the Spirit of God. He was undoubtedly a very extraordinary man for the period in which he lived. During a long time he had a place in the liſt of the Saints of the Church of Rome; but at length, on account of its being diſcovered that he was heterodox with regard to the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, Baronius ſtruck his name out of the calendar. A catalogue of Scotus's works in general may be ſeen in Cave. Bale has added to the number, but probably without ſufficient reaſon (*n*)]. K.

(*m*) Mackenzie, ubi ſupra, p. 55, 56. Henry, ubi ſupra, p. 347.

(*n*) Cave, ubi ſupra, p. 45, 46. Tanner, ibid.

ETHEREGE (George), a celebrated Wit in the reigns of King Charles and King James II, and eminent for his poetical genius, eſpecially in comedy. He is ſaid to have been deſcended of an antient family in Oxfordſhire [*A*], or allied to it (*a*), and born about the year 1636, but not very diſtant from London, it is believed, as ſome of his neareſt relations appear to have been ſettled not far from this metropolis, in the county of Middleſex. It is thought he had ſome education at the Univerſity of Cambridge, but it ſeems he travelled into France, and perhaps Flanders alſo, in his younger years; and, at his return, ſtudied, for a while, the Municipal Laws, at one of the Inns of Court in London (*b*). But the polite company he kept, and his own natural talents, inclining him rather to court the favour of the Muſes, and cultivate the "Belles Letters," he purſued the ſame ſo effectually, that the town was obliged with his firſt dramatic performance in the year 1664 (*c*), intituled, "The Comical Revenge: or, "Love in a Tub [*B*];" the writing whereof brought him acquainted, as he has himſelf informed us, with Charles, afterwards Earl of Dorſet; to whom it is, by the author, dedicated. And the fame of this play, with his lively humour, engaging converſation, and refined taſte in the faſhionable gallantries of the town, ſoon eſtabliſhed him in the ſocieties, and rendered him the delight of thoſe leading Wits among the quality and gentry of chief rank and diſtinction, who made their pleaſure the chief buſineſs of their lives, in that reign; ſuch as George Villiers Duke of Bucks, John Wilmot Earl of Rocheſter, Sir Car. Scroop, Sir Charles Sidley, Henry Savile, &c. Encouraged hereby to proceed, he brought another comedy upon the Stage; but it was four years after, in the year 1668 (*d*), intituled "She would if ſhe could;" which alſo gained him no leſs applauſe [*C*]. And it was expected that he would, by the continuance of his ſtudies to poliſh

(*a*) MS. notes on the Lives of the Engliſh Poets, by Tho. Coxeter, Eſq.

(*b*) Idem. Alſo C. Gildon's Lives and Characters of the Engl. Dramatic Poets, 8vo. p. 53.

(*c*) So Mr. Coxeter in his Notes above cited; though neither Langbaine, nor any of his followers, ever ſaw that firſt edition.

(*d*) In both the Catalogues of the Bodleian Library; that by Dr. Tho. Hyde, fol. 1674; and the laſt, by Mr. Robert Fyſher, fol. 1738, this firſt edition of that Play is dated in 1663; though the ſecond is only cited, after Langbaine, by C. Gildon; and after him, by G. Jacob.

[*A*] *An ancient family in Oxfordſhire.*] Whereof, there was one, reſiding at Thame in that county, before the Reformation; whence ſprang the learned Dr. George Etherege, who was born there about the year 1520; educated at Chriſt-Church College, in the Univerſity of Oxford; was King's Profeſſor of the Greek Tongue there, in the reign of Queen Mary, and ſome part of Queen Elizabeth's; but then, as he had been an oppoſer of the Proteſtants, was obliged to reſign it; whereupon he followed his Profeſſion of Phyſick in the city of Oxon, and inſtructed ſeveral ſcholars, who were the ſons of ſome Roman Catholic gentlemen, in the Sciences, to his old age, being alive in 1588; and was buried in the ſaid city, when he died. He wrote and tranſlated many learned books in his younger years; as John Leland has, in his poetical Encomiums, remembered (1); being a good Hebrician, Grecian, and Poet; ſome of them written in divinity, phyſick, muſick, and verſe; among which was his *Acta Henrici Octavi*, in a Greek Poem, which he preſented to Queen Elizabeth, when, in a progreſs, ſhe viſited that Univerſity, Anno 1566. But, it being thought only deſigned for the uſe of her Majeſty and its author, it was during his life kept from the preſs, and ſo has continued ever ſince in MS. and *ſub noctibus Atticis* (2). He alſo tranſlated a book written by Paulus Æginéta into Engliſh; the Pſalms of David into Hebrew verſe; and moſt part, or all of Juſtin Martyr, from the original Greek; beſides ſome other things, for the particulars whereof we ſhall at preſent refer to our author (3)

(1) Vid. *Princip. ac Illuſtrium aliquot & Eruditorum in Anglia Virorum, Encomia, &c. a Joanne Lelando* Antiquario conſcripta. edit, 4to, Lond. 1589, p. 111.

(2) Biſhop Nicolſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, edit. fol. 1736, p. 85.

(3) See A. Wood, in Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 289, a. And Athen. Oxon. Tom. I. col 237.

[*B*] *The Comical Revenge: or, Love in a Tub.*] This Comedy was acted at his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York's Theatre, then newly erected in Lincoln's-Inn Fields; and firſt printed, as is obſerved above, in Quarto, 1664, again, in 1669 1680, 1690; and afterwards in the volume of our Author's Comedies printed together. It is dedicated by him to the Honourable Charles Lord Buckhurſt; to whom he ſays, 'I could not have wiſhed myſelf more fortu-'nate than I have been in the ſucceſs of this poem: 'the writing of it was a means to make me known 'to your Lordſhip; the acting of it has loſt me no 'reputation; and the printing of it has now given 'me an opportunity to ſhew how much I honour you, '&c. (4).' Mr. Langbaine ſays that 'This Comedy, 'though of a mixed nature; part of it being ſerious, 'and writ in heroic verſe, yet has ſucceeded admira-'bly on the ſtage; it having been always acted with 'general approbation (5).'

(4) Sir George Etherege's Dedicat. to the Lord Buckhurſt of *The Conical Revenge*, &c.

(5) Account of the Dramatic Poets, 8vo. Oxon. 1691, p. 189.

[*C*] *His Comedy, intitled She would if ſhe could, gained him no leſs applauſe.*] This alſo, was acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, as was obſerved above, in 1668; again, in 1671, &c. Alſo acted at the Theatre-Royal by their Majeſties Servants, and printed, quarto, 1693, &c. And, though it has neither dedication, preface, prologue, nor epilogue, that might inform us of its ſucceſs, the reaſon whereof may perhaps preſently appear, yet has it had great encomiums alſo beſtowed upon it. One of our comic writers, who was his contemporary, and afterwards Poet Laureat, writes thus of this play, 'She would if 'ſhe could, I think, and have the authority of ſome of 'the beſt judges for it, is the beſt Comedy that has 'been written ſince the reformation of the ſtage. 'And even that, for the imperfect repreſentation of 'it at firſt, received ſuch prejudice, that had it not 'been for the favour of the Court, in all probability 'it had never got up again; and it ſuffers for it, in 'great meaſure, to this very day (6).' Mr. Phillips ſays of theſe two Comedies, *Love in a Tub*, and *She would if ſhe could*, that, for pleaſant wit and no bad œconomy, they are judged not unworthy the approbation they have met with (7). Gildon agrees with Langbaine, that this laſt is a Comedy of the firſt rank; and Langbaine farther wiſhes, 'For the public 'ſatisfaction, that this great maſter would oblige the 'world with more of his performances; which would 'put

(6) See *The Humourift*, a Comedy, by Tho. Shadwell of the Middle Temple, 4to, 1671, in Preface.

(7) E. Phillips's Collection of the Poets, P. ii. p. 535 and W. Winſtanley copies his words.

poliſh and enliven the theatrical taſte, be no leſs conſtant in ſuch entertainments than the moſt aſſiduous of his contemporaries. But it was aſcribed to his indolence, or too great an indulgence to his pleaſures, rather than any cloſe engagement, at that time, to more ſerious applications in the affairs of State, that there was an interval of above ſeven years between that and the appearance of his next, which was alſo his laſt dramatic production; and which, by the way, will ſhew us when that poem was written by his friend the Earl of Rocheſter, which we ſhall here below cite; wherein, though our author is highly complimented with all the requiſites of an accompliſhed poet, he is yet condemned to loſe the laurel for that delay [*D*]; his ſaid laſt comedy not being publiſhed till 1676. It is intituled, "The Man of Mode: or, Sir Fopling Flutter." It is dedicated by him to the Dutcheſs of York, who then was Mary, the daughter of the Duke of Modena; in the ſervice of which Dutcheſs, our author, as he ſays in his ſaid dedication, then was; and this play ſtill exalted his reputation, even above what both the former had done; he having therein, as perhaps he had alſo partly ſet himſelf ſome example in the others before, ſhadowed forth (but ſomewhat diſguiſedly) ſome of his noted acquaintance and contemporaries who were known, or thought to be ſo, by his ſaid draughts of them, to many of the audience, which rendered the play very popular [*E*]. It ſeems he was addicted to ſome great extravagances; being too free of his purſe

(8) Langbaine's Account of the Engl. Dramatic Poets, p. 187.

'put a ſtop to the crude and indigeſted plays, which, 'for want of better, cumber the ſtage (8).' Theſe applauſes aroſe from our Author's changing the ſtudy after old copies, and chimerical draughts from ungrounded ſpeculation, which is but painting with dead colours for thoſe taken directly from the freſheſt practice and experience in original life. He drew his characters from what they called the *Beau monde*; from the manners and modes then prevailing with the gay and voluptuous part of the world; which has made them appear the more natural, though we cannot ſay the more innocent. He has alſo ſpirited his dialogues, eſpecially in the courtſhip of the fair ſex, for which he is diſtinguiſhed, by Mr. Dryden and others, with a ſparkling gaiety which had but little appeared before upon the ſtage, in parts pretending to the character of modiſh gallants; and, to judge of his figures according to the rules of true ſemblance, he will appear a maſterly hand; but, ſtrictly to examine them by the rules of honour, morality, and the principles of virtue, where none ſuch are ſeriouſly profeſſed, as the main buſineſs in the Comedies of thoſe times and moſt ſince, are intrigues of unlawful love, would be a ſeverity that might tend to eclipſe that expoſure of thoſe corruptions which has ever been allowed as the greateſt benefit of theatrical repreſentations; according to the reflexions which have been made on the comic writings of our Author, and ſome other contemporaries, by a late writer (9): though it is by the ſame hand alſo owned, on the other ſide, that corruptions are too often taught upon the ſtage, under the pretence of expoſing them. To deſcribe and make known thoſe poiſonous things which are baneful to the body, may be neceſſary and ſufficient for the avoidance of the ignorant; but thoſe examples that poiſon the morals and virtues of the mind are ſo palatable to the vicious, that the ſimple or bare deſcriptions of them often prove fatal, unleſs accompanied with ſuch powerful antidotes as may deſtroy their miſchievous efficacy, or ſuch proſpects of their deſtructive conſequences as may terrify mankind more by their durable diſaſters than tempt them by their fleeting delights; as the ſame Author has alſo obſerved upon this topic (10): and this part of the argument has been alſo more directly applied to Sir George's plays, particularly by a late reformer of the ſtage, who had been a comic writer himſelf; and who, upon quoting a reflexion that had been made on a ſpeech in one of his own Comedies, as too much inclining to a vein of wantonneſs, may ſeem to have aimed at ſome apology for it, by recriminating upon this play of our Author's, as what is entirely written in that vein; where, ſpeaking of luſcious expreſſions and deſcriptions that gratify a ſenſual appetite, he ſays, 'This expedient to ſupply the deficiency of wit has 'been uſed more or leſs by moſt of the authors who 'have ſucceeded on the ſtage, though I know but one 'who has profeſſedly writ a play upon the baſis of 'the deſire of multiplying our ſpecies; and that is, 'the polite Sir George Etherege; if I underſtand what 'the lady would be at in the play called *She would*

(9) In a Diſcourſe upon Comedy, MS. 4to, among the Collections of the late N. Boothe, Eſq. of Gray's Inn, p. 13.

(10) Idem, p. 15.

'*if ſhe could*. Other poets have here and there given 'an intimation that there is this deſign under all the 'diſguiſes and affectations which a lady may put on; 'but no author, except this, has made ſure work of 'it, and put the imaginations of the audience upon 'this one purpoſe from the beginning to the end of 'this Comedy. It has always fared accordingly; 'for, whether it be, that all who go to this piece '*would if they could*, or that the innocents go to it 'to gueſs only what *She would if ſhe could*, the play 'has always been well received (11).'

(11) See The Spectator, Vol. I. No. 51.

[*D*] *Condemned to loſe the laurel for that delay.*] In the ſaid famous poem, written by the Lord Rocheſter (*), after the example of Sir John Suckling's upon the like ſubject, Apollo finds ſome plauſible pretence of exception to the claim of every poetical candidate for the laurel crown; therefore our poet, by the ſcheme or drift of it, could eſcape no leſs diſappointment than the reſt; yet his Lordſhip, to do him ample juſtice, has ſufficiently ſhewed his merits to it, in every thing but his perſeverance to exert them; which, after having firſt of all diſcarded Mr. Dryden, he next expreſſes thus:

(*) Though it has ſince been fathered as well as ſome others, without any authority, upon George Duke of Buckingham. See The Trial of the Poets, for the Bays, in Imitation of a Satire in Boileau, among The Miſcellaneous Works of George late Duke of Buckingham, &c. 8vo. 1704, p. 41.

This reverend Author was no ſooner ſet by,
But Apollo had got gentle George in his eye;
And frankly confeſs'd, of all Men that writ,
There's none had more fancy, ſenſe, judgment, or wit:
But i'th' crying ſin idleneſs he was ſo harden'd,
That his long *ſev'n years* ſilence was not to be pardon'd.

Which plainly ſhews that the poem in which theſe lines are written (12) was juſt before the publication of our Author's next play above-mentioned in the text, and here in the following note.

(12) The Seſſion of the Poets, in Lord Rocheſter's Works, 8vo. 1739. And in Dryden's Miſcellanies, edit. 12mo, 1716, P. ii. p. 96.

[*E*] *Which rendered the play very popular.*] This Comedy called, "The Man of Mode, or Sir Fopling "Flutter," acted alſo at the Duke's Theatre, beſides the firſt edition, above-mentioned, in 1676, had other impreſſions in 1684, &c. Our Author, in his courtly Dedication to the ſaid Ducheſs of York has this, among other very complaiſant and reſpectful expreſſions: 'I hope the honour I have of *belonging to you* 'will excuſe my preſumption: 'tis the firſt thing I 'have produced in your ſervice, and my *duty* obliges 'me to what my *choice* durſt not elſe have aſpired.' The ſong in the laſt act was tranſlated by Sir Car Scroop, from part of an Elegy written in French by Madame la Comteſſe de la Suze (13). The Prologue was alſo written by the ſaid Baronet; in which he has theſe verſes:

(13) See *Le Recueil des Pieces Galantes*, Tom. I. p. 42.

With modeſt fears a Muſe does firſt begin,
Like a young wench newly entic'd to ſin:
But, tickled once with praiſe, by her good will
The wanton fool would never more lie ſtill.
'Tis an old miſtreſs you'll meet here to night,
Whoſe charms you once have look'd on with delight;
But, now of late ſuch dirty drabs have known ye,
A Muſe o' th' better ſort's aſham'd to own ye, &c.

purſe in gaming, and of his conſtitution with women and wine; which embarraſſed his fortune, impaired his health, and brought ſome ſatirical reflexions upon him. Gildon ſays,

And he goes on to cenſure the ſuperfluous importation of any foreign characters of folly, when we are overſtocked with ſuch varieties as are giving continual provocation to be expoſed at home. Therefore he entreats the audience to be favourable to their own breed, and forbear to damn in the copy what they have admired in the original. The Epilogue to this play was written by Mr. Dryden; in which he found it proper to anticipate the audience with an opinion that there was no perſonal ſatire intended, and to prevent any thing of that kind being ſuſpected therein: ſo he deſcribes one of the principal characters, that of Sir Fopling, which was moſt liable to ſuch ſuſpicion, as a draught drawn only from the imagination, or its ideas ariſing from the collective body of fops in general, and pointing, by no means, at any particular man. To which purpoſe the former part of that Epilogue is thus written:

Moſt modern wits ſuch monſtrous Fools have ſhewn,
They ſeem not of Heav'ns making, but their own.
Thoſe nauſeous Harlequins in Farce may paſs,
But there goes more to a ſubſtantial aſs;
Something of man muſt be expos'd to view,
That, Gallants, they may more reſemble you:
Sir Fopling is a Fool, ſo nicely writ,
The ladies would miſtake him for a wit.
And, when he ſings, talks loud, and cocks, would cry,
I vow, methinks he's pretty company;
So briſk, ſo gay, ſo travell'd, ſo refin'd!
As he took pains to graff upon his kind.
True Fops help Nature's work, and go to ſchool,
To file, and finiſh God Almighty's Fool:
Yet none Sir Fopling him or him can call;
He's Knight o' th' Shire, and repreſents you all:
From each he meets, he culls what e'er he can,
Legion's his name—a People in a Man.

And to the ſame ſenſe concludes,

Yet every man is ſafe from what he fear'd,
For, no one Fool is hunted from the herd.

And yet he has here ſo deſcribed his dreſs, his airs, and humours, however gathered only from this chimerical precedent, as he would have it thought, on the drama, that the town was rather confirmed in, than diverted thereby from, applying the imaginary to a real perſon. And who was the original of this picture agreed upon at laſt to be, but Beau Hewit, the moſt notorious fop of that time! as we have been credibly informed; alſo that the part of Dorimant was drawn for the Author's friend the Earl of Rocheſter; wherein his inconſtancy, falſehood, and triumphs, in the conqueſt and ruin of the fair, are varniſhed over with ſuch agreeable and captivating graces, of modiſh and polite gallantry, that they might have been no leſs delectable to the lighter, than diſpleaſing to the graver, part, or thoſe whoſe buſineſs it is to aſſume, or profeſs, this character. The Poet has alſo drawn out ſome ſketch of himſelf in this play, if we miſtake not, in the character of Medley: nay, as we alſo had it from the ſame intelligence, that of the late Mr. John Bowman, who had either acted the part of Sir Fopling, or ſome other, in this Comedy, when it was in its earlieſt and higheſt repute; the very Shoemaker, in the firſt act, was alſo meant for a real perſon, who, by his improvident courſes, having been before unable to make any profit of his trade, grew afterwards, upon this public repreſentation of him, ſo notable, and drew ſuch a reſort of the beſt cuſtomers to him, as obliged him to ſuch cloſe application in his buſineſs, and made him ſo ambitious of giving ſatisfaction, that he thenceforth became a very thriving man, and acquired a very ſubſtantial and comfortable maintenance for himſelf and family. The play met with extraordinary ſucceſs upon the ſtage, however different judgments have been given of it. Langbaine ſays, 'It is 'written with great art and judgment; and is ac-'knowledged by all to be as true Comedy, and the 'characters as well drawn to the life, as any play 'that has been acted ſince the Reſtauration of the 'Engliſh ſtage (14):' with whom Gildon agrees. 'Tis true, our Author has here in this, as well as his other Comedies before, made ſome witty alluſions and ſimilies drawn from the Sportſman's language, or phraſes uſed in the country diverſions of hunting and hawking, which might not be ſo familiarly reliſhed by ſome of his criticks, or meer courtiers, citizens, and cockneys in town; and though he may not have ſo highly built upon any little underplots, that keep up the ſpirit and buſineſs of the ſcenes, till they have gathered to one ſuch capital plot as might at laſt break out into that ſurpriſing diſcloſure of events which would anſwer the expectation of ſome judges; whence it was objected, that he had written two, as one Author, (*) or as another, not over correctly, *three taking Plays without one Plot*; though, it is by others aſſerted, theſe three plays are neither without plot or humour (15): Yet thoſe little objections, from ſome of his andience, were foundation enough, it ſeems, for a ſatirical pen to raiſe a little character of him upon, in that poem, where the ſaid ſatiriſt mentions our Author, among the better ſort of thoſe poets, who were then damned, as he acknowledges, only by the ignorant, after this manner:

A fourth, for writing ſuperfine,
With words correct in every line:
And one that does preſume to ſay,
A plot's too groſs for any play.
Comedy ſhould be clean and neat,
As gentlemen do talk and eat:
So, what he writes, is but tranſlation
From dog and partridge converſation (16).

But our Author has been handled, with regard particularly to this laſt Comedy, more ſeverely yet, by that critick in proſe, who, as we have above read, beſtowed ſome cenſure upon the laſt before-mentioned: but with what candour and equity, this has been ſo rigorouſly reflected on, is ſubmitted to other judges; by ſome of whom, it has been thought that, to ſift out ſome coarſe and indelicate ſentiments or expreſſions from the meaneſt or loweſt characters, and mention nothing that is gay, witty, or polite, from any others; nothing like what Dorimant has accoſted the widow with,

They taſte of death, who do at Heaven arrive,
But we this Paradiſe approach alive!

I ſay, to gather us out a few weeds only, and overlook every flower, has been thought in this inſtance but a partial deſcription of the Muſes garden; and ſome of our moſt celebrated comedies written ſince might ſuffer as much or more by ſuch inequitable examination. The part of Dorimant ſeems not ſo expreſsly intended for the perfect fine gentleman as the refined rake or libertine; the unconfinable rover after amorous adventures; therefore, ſtrict honour and honeſty are not to be expected in ſuch a character; and the play is unjuſtly brought to the teſt upon the falſe and unallowable propoſition of its being an abſolute pattern of genteel comedy. If all plays were to paſs the ordeal of moral virtue, it would have company enough in the fiery ſentence; and, under ſuch a mercileſs trial, it might not in ſome meaſure be denied, 'But that the negligence of every thing, which en-'gages the attention of the ſober and valuable part 'of mankind, appears very well drawn in this piece; 'as it muſt be denied, that it is neceſſary to the 'character of a fine gentleman, that he ſhould in 'that manner trample upon all order and decency.' And though we cannot be ſo very violently prejudiced as to aſſert that 'This whole celebrated piece is a 'perfect contradiction of good manners, good ſenſe, 'and common honeſty; that there is nothing in it 'but what is built upon the ruin of virtue and inno-'cence;' and, 'That nothing but being loſt to a ſenſe 'thereof can make any one ſee this comedy with-'out obſerving more frequent occaſions to move ſor-'row

(14) In his Account of Sir G. Etherege, as before.

(*) In the Works of G. Duke of Bucks, as before, p. 60.

(15) Miſcellanea Aurea: or, The Golden Medley, &c. 8vo. 1720, p. 291.

(16) See The Rambler, an Heroic Poem; with ſome Terreſtrial Hymnes and Carnal Ejaculations; by Alexander Radcliffe, of Grays Inn, Eſq. 8vo. 1682: in his News from Hell, p. 5; reprinted in Dryden's Miſcellanies, edit. 12mo, 1716, P. ii. p. 101.

says, that for marrying a fortune he was knighted (*e*); but we have it more particularly in a poem of those times, which never was printed, that, to make some reparation of his circumstances, he courted a rich old widow; but her ambition was such, that she would not marry him unless he could make her a Lady; which he was forced by the purchase of knighthood to do (*). This might be, as it is computed, (from the chronological order in which that poem seems to have been transcribed, in the volume of such like poems wherein we have seen it,) about the year 1683 (*f*). We hear not of any issue he had by this Lady: but we have been informed that he cohabited, whether before or after his said marriage we know not, for some time with Mrs. Barry, the Actress, and had a daughter by her; that he settled five or six thousand pounds upon her; but that she died young (*g*). From the same intelligence we have also learnt, that Sir George was, in his person, a fair, slender, genteel, man; but spoiled his countenance with drinking and other habits of intemperance; and, in his deportment, very affable and courteous, of a sprightly and generous temper; which, with his free, lively, and natural, vein of writing, acquired him the general character of *Gentle George*, and *Easy Etherege*; in respect to which qualities, we may often find him compared with Sir Charles Sidley [*F*]. His said courtly address, and other accomplishments, won him the favour of the Dutchess aforesaid; afterwards, when King James was crowned, his Queen; by whose interest and recommendation he was sent Ambassador abroad. In a certain pasquil that was written upon him, it is intimated as if he was sent upon some embassy to Turkey; which we shall here, in a note, transcribe [*G*], to shew how free the Wits could be with his character, who had been so with his own conduct. Gildon says, that, being in particular esteem with the late Queen, King James's consort, he was sent Envoy to Hamburgh (*h*); but it is, in several books, evident, that he was, in that reign, a Minister at Ratisbon; at least, from the year 1686 to the time that his Majesty left this kingdom, if not later; more especially it appears that he was then there, in his own letters, which he wrote thence; some, to the Earl of Middleton, in verse, to one whereof his Lordship engaged Mr. Dryden to return a poetical answer, in which he invites Sir George to write another play, and to keep him in countenance for his having been so dilatory in his last, reminds him how long the comedy, or farce, of "The Re-"hearsal" had been hatching, by the Duke of Buckingham, before it appeared (*i*); but we meet with nothing more of our author's writing, after his last comedy aforesaid, for the Stage. However, there are in being some other letters of his in prose, which were written also from Ratisbon; two whereof, which he sent to the said Duke of Buckingham when he was in his recess, because they are not only entertaining in themselves, but will give us a stronger and more exact resemblance both of the writer and receiver than any draught that could be made with the most vivid colours in a most distant description, may not, we persuade ourselves, be thought tedious here to produce [*H*].

(*e*) Lives, &c. of Engl. Dramatic Poets, as above.

(*) In a Consolatory Epist. to Capt. Julian, ascribed to G. Duke of Bucks, this match is reflected on.

(*f*) This Poem is intituled, The Present State of Matrimony; to be seen, in a fair MS. Collection of Satires, Vol. II. in the Harleian Library. There are other copies, with enlargements to the same sense.

(*g*) This from the information of the late Mr. John Bowman, the oldest actor of his time, who knew Sir George as well as Mrs. Barry.

(*h*) In his account of Sir G. Etherege, as before, p. 53.

(*i*) See these Letters in Dryden's Miscellanies, &c.

As

'row and indignation than mirth and laughter;' yet, we may partly coincide with the critick in the conclusion of his remarks on this play; where, at the same time that he allows it to be nature, we also agree, it is nature (though not in the utmost, yet) in its corruption and degeneracy (17). These three comedies were reprinted together in the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, but so blindly, as to the time when they were written, having no particulars of any date but that of the year in which they were then reprinted, that there is no knowing, by any thing in the book, whether they were ever published before, or that the Author was not then alive (18); an imperfection, for want of some considerate editor, common in the new impressions of books, often to the perplexity, obstruction, and misguidance, of studious men in their pursuits of historical knowledge. At the end of this edition, are the two poetical epistles of our author, which, in his embassy, he addressed to the Earl of Middleton; and three other small poems, that will hereafter be somewhat farther spoken of (19).

(17) The Spectator, Vol. I. edit. 8vo. 1747, No. 95, P. 399, &c.

(18) The Works of Sir George Etherege, containing his Plays and Poems: printed for J. Tonson, &c. 8vo, 1704. They were reprinted in 12mo, 1715.

(19) In note [*I*].

[*F*] *Often find him compared with Sir Charles Sidley.*] Among other testimonies, which might be produced, that of his learned friend Mr. John Evelyn is in these words,

> While fathers are severe, and servants cheat,
> Till bauds and whores can live without deceit,
> Sidley and easy Etherege will be great (20).

(20) Mr. Evelyn's Imitation of Ovid's 15th Elegy.

Another poetical writer has these lines upon them;

> Here gentle Eth'rege's and Sidley's Muse
> Warm the coy maid, and melting love infuse:
> No unchaste words, with harsh offensive sound,
> The tender ears of blushing virgins wound;
> Nor thought, which nauseous images inspire,
> And damp the glowing heat of soft desire:
> But calm and easy the sweet numbers move,
> And ev'ry verse is influenc'd by love (21).

(21) Mr. Charles Tooke, To a young Lady, with the first edition of A Collection of Poems, viz. The Temple of Death, &c. third edit. 12mo. 1716, p. 2.

[*G*] *We shall here in a note transcribe.*] This Pasquil upon our Author, also two of his plays, and his embassy to Turkey, as we have it now before us, consists of these lines:

> Ethe'rege by Knight and Lords united club,
> Pickled his play and person in a tub:
> For *Comical Revenge*, the Lord thought fit
> To have a single trial of his wit;
> In which the title, if well understood,
> Does shew, he *wou'd* write better *if he cou'd*:
> But he and's play have different mishaps;
> One's purg'd to cure, t'other to get more claps.
> His meagre face did his bad fate foretel;
> That, like himself, 'twou'd not be count'nanc'd well:
> Instead of sense, he welcomes you with sound;
> For his fee-simple was two hundred pound:
> Yet let us not at this great bounty scoff;
> He's the first fire-ship e'er was well paid off.
> Ovid to Pontus sent, for too much wit;
> Eth'rege to Turkey, for the want of it (22).

(22) So in an old MS. copy found among the Earl of Arlington's Papers, in 1739.

[*H*] *May not be thought tedious here to produce.*] We have met with but three letters of Sir George's writing in prose from Ratisbon. One is directed to his friend in London, whose name is not mentioned, and dated from that city, August 23, 1688; wherein, he

As for his other compoſitions, ſuch as have been printed, they conſiſt, for the greateſt part

he gives a ſhort account of ſome German beauties there, &c. There is moreover ſomething arch in this letter; where Sir George is ſpeaking of an indolent friend 'whoſe miſtreſs, ſays he, I ſhould pity, but 'that I am perſuaded his prudence has made him 'chuſe her in the family:' and a little farther, he talks in the very ſame ſenſe of himſelf: 'I have 'learned to ogle and languiſh in publick, like any 'Walcup; and to content myſelf in private with 'a piece of houſehold-bread as well as ſome of my 'friends (23).' But the other two letters, which are more conſiderable for their contents, being thought worthy of revival, and proper to illuſtrate this article, we ſhall here recite; the firſt of them is as follows:

(23) See Familiar Letters by John Earl of Rocheſter, &c. Vol. II. 1697. Publiſhed by Ch. Gildon, and printed for Sam. Briſcoe; who, in an advertiſement before the ſame, ſays, that, in the next Trinity Term would be publiſhed a Third Volume of Familiar Letters; which would conſiſt entirely of the Lord Rocheſter's, the Duke of Buckingham's, and Sir George Etherege's: but we learn not that ſuch volume was ever publiſhed; though perhaps ſome of thoſe written by Sir George might afterwards be printed in other Collections.

To GEORGE Duke of BUCKINGHAM.

'My Lord,

'I RECEIVED the news of your Grace's retirement into Yorkſhire, and leading a ſedate contemplative life there, with no leſs aſtoniſhment than I ſhould hear of his Chriſtian Majeſty's turning Benedictine Monk, or the Pope's wearing a long perriwig, and ſetting up for a flaming beau in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age. We have a picture here in our Town-Hall, which I never look upon, but it makes me think on your Grace; and I dare ſwear you'll ſay, there is no diſhonour done you, when you hear whoſe it is: in ſhort, 'tis that of the famous *Charles the Vth*, who, amidſt all the magnificence that this fooliſh world affords, amidſt all his African laurels and Gallic triumphs, freely diveſted himſelf of the Empire of Europe, and his hereditary kingdoms, to paſs the remainder of his life in ſolitude and retirement.

'Is it poſſible that your Grace, who has ſeen ten times more luxury than that Emperor ever knew, converſed with finer women, kept politer company, poſſeſſed as much too of the true real greatneſs of the world as ever he enjoyed, ſhould in an age, ſtill capable of pleaſure, and under a fortune whoſe very ruins would make a comfortable Electorate here in Germany; is it poſſible, I ſay, that your Grace ſhould leave the play at the beginning of the fourth act, when all the ſpectators are in pain to know what will become of the hero, and what mighty matters he is reſerved for, that ſet out ſo advantageouſly at firſt? That a perſon of your exquiſite taſte, who has breathed the air of Courts even from your infancy, ſhould be content, in that part of your life which is moſt difficult to be pleaſed, and moſt eaſy to be diſguſted, to take up with the converſation of country parſons, a ſort of people whom to my knowledge your Grace never much admired; and do penance in the nauſeous company of lawyers, whom I am certain you abominate!

'To raiſe our aſtoniſhment higher, who could ever have propheſied, though he had a double gift of Noſtradamus's ſpirit, that the Duke of Buckingham, who never vouchſafed his embraces to any ordinary beauty, would ever condeſcend to ſigh and languiſh for the heireſs apparent of a thatched cottage, in a ſtraw hat, flannel petticoat, ſtocking of as groſs a thrum as the blue-coat boys caps at the hoſpital, and a ſmock (the Lord defend me from the wicked idea of it!) of as coarſe a canvaſs as ever ſerved an apprenticeſhip to a mackarel-boat? who could have believed, till matter of fact had confirmed the belief of it, (and your Grace knows that matter of fact is not to be diſputed,) that the moſt poliſhed refined epicure of the age, that had regaled himſelf in the moſt exquiſite wines of Italy, Greece, and Spain, would, in the laſt ſcene of his life, debauch his conſtitution in execrable Yorkſhire ale? and that he, who all his life-time had either ſeen Princes his play-fellows or companions, would ſubmit to the nonſenſical chat and barbarous language of farmers and higglers!

'This, I confeſs, ſo much ſhocks me that I cannot tell what to make on't; and, unleſs the news came to me confirmed from ſo many authentic hands, that I have no room left to ſuſpect the veracity of it, I ſhould ſtill look upon it to be apocryphal. Is your Grace then in earneſt, and really pleaſed with ſo prodigious an alteration of perſons and things? for my part, I believe it; for I am certain that your Grace can act any perſon better than that of a hypocrite.

'But I humbly beg your Grace's pardon for this familiarity I have taken with you. Give me leave therefore, if you pleaſe, to tell you ſomething of myſelf. I preſume that an account of what paſſes in this buſy part of the world will not come unacceptable to you, ſince all my correſpondents from England aſſure me, your Grace does me the honour to enquire often after me, and has expreſſed ſome ſort of a deſire to know how my new character fits upon me.

'Ten years ago, I as little thought that my ſtars deſigned to make a politician of me, and that it would come to my ſhare to debate in public aſſemblies, and regulate the affairs of Chriſtendom, as the Grand Signior dreamed of loſing Hungary: but my royal maſter having the charity to believe me maſter of ſome qualities, of which I never ſuſpected myſelf, I find that the zeal and alacrity I diſcover in myſelf, to ſupport a dignity which he has thought fit to confer upon me, has ſupplied all other defects, and given me a talent for which, till now, I juſtly fancied myſelf uncapable.

'I live in one of the fineſt and beſt mannered cities in Germany, where 'tis true we have not pleaſure in that perfection as we ſee it in London and Paris; yet, to make us amends, we enjoy a noble ſerene air, that makes us hungry as hawks; and though buſineſs, and even the worſt ſort of buſineſs, wicked politics, is the diſtinguiſhing commodity of the place, yet I will ſay that for the Germans, they manage it the beſt of any people in the world; they cut off and retrench all thoſe idle preliminaries and uſeleſs ceremonies that clog the wheels of it every where elſe: and I find, that, to this day, they make good the obſervation that Tacitus made of their anceſtors; I mean, that, their affairs, let them be ever ſo ſerious and preſſing, never put a ſtop to good eating and drinking, and that they debate their weightieſt negotiations over their cups.

'Tis true, they carry this humour by much too far for one of my complexion; for which reaſon I decline appearing among them but when my Maſter's concerns make it neceſſary for me to come to their aſſembles. They are, indeed, a free-hearted, open ſort of gentlemen that compoſe the Diet, without reſerve, affectation, and artifice; but they are ſuch unmerciful plyers of the bottle, ſo wholly given up to what our ſots call good-fellowſhip, that 'tis as great a conſtraint upon my nature to ſit out a night's entertainment with them as it would be to hear half a ſcore long-winded Preſbyterian Divines cant ſucceſſively one after another.

'To unboſome myſelf frankly and freely to your Grace, I always looked upon drunkenneſs to be an unpardonable crime in a young fellow, who, without any of theſe foreign helps, has fire enough in his veins to enable him to do juſtice to Cælia, whenever ſhe demands a tribute from him. In a middle-aged man, I conſider the bottle only as ſubſervient to the nobler pleaſure of love; and he, that would ſuffer himſelf to be ſo far infatuated by it, as to neglect the purſuit of a more agreeable game, I think deſerves no quarter from the ladies: in old age, indeed, when it is convenient very often to forget and ſteal from ourſelves, I am of opinion that a little drunkenneſs, diſcreetly uſed, may as well contribute to our health of body as tranquillity of ſoul.

'Thus I have given your Grace a ſhort ſyſtem of my morals and belief in theſe affairs. But the gentlemen of this country go upon a quite different ſcheme of pleaſure: the beſt furniture of their parlours, inſtead of innocent China, are tall overgrown rummers; and they take more care to enlarge their cellars than their patrimonial eſtates. In ſhort, drinking is the hereditary ſin of this country: and that hero of a Deputy here, that can demoliſh, at



'one

part, of little airy ſonnets, ſmart lampoons, and ſmooth panegyricks; which we ſhall only

‘ one ſitting, the reſt of his brother Envoys, is men-
‘ tioned with as much applauſe as the Duke of Lorrain,
‘ for his noble exploits againſt the Turks; and may
‘ claim a ſtatue, erected at the public expence, in
‘ any town in Germany.

‘ Judge then, my Lord, whether a perſon of my
‘ ſober principles, and one, that only uſes wine, as
‘ the wiſer ſort of Roman Catholics do images, to
‘ raiſe up my imagination to ſomething more exalted,
‘ and not to terminate my worſhip upon it, muſt not
‘ be reduced to very mortifying circumſtances in this
‘ place: where I cannot pretend to enjoy converſa-
‘ tion without practiſing that vice which directly
‘ ruins it.

‘ And as I have juſt reaſon to complain of the men,
‘ for laying ſo unreaſonable a tax upon pleaſure: ſo
‘ I have no leſs occaſion to complain of the women,
‘ for wholly denying it.

‘ Could a man find out the ſecret to take as long a
‘ leaſe for his life as Methuſelah, and the reſt of the
‘ Antediluvian gentlemen, who were three hundred
‘ years in growing up to the perfection of vigour, en-
‘ joyed it the ſame number of years, and were as long
‘ in decaying, ſomething might be ſaid for the two
‘ crying ſins of both ſexes here; I mean, drunken-
‘ neſs in the men, and reſervedneſs in the ladies.
‘ What would it ſignify to throw away a week's, nay,
‘ a month's, enjoyment upon one night's debauch, if
‘ a man could promiſe himſelf the age of a patri-
‘ arch? or where would be the mighty penance in
‘ dancing a dozen years attendance after a coy female;
‘ watching her moſt favourable moments, and moſt
‘ acceſſible intervals, at laſt to enjoy her, if infirmities
‘ and old age were to come ſo late upon us?

‘ But, ſince fate has given ſo ſhort a period to taſte
‘ pleaſure with ſatisfaction, three or four days ſick-
‘ neſs is too great a rent-charge upon human nature,
‘ and drunkenneſs cannot pretend, out of its own
‘ fund, to acquit the debt. And, my Lord, ſince our
‘ gaiety and vigor leave us ſo ſoon in the lurch;
‘ ſince feebleneſs attacks us, without giving us fair
‘ warning; and we no ſooner paſs the meridian of life
‘ but we begin to decline; it is hardly worth a lover's
‘ while to ſtay as long for compaſſing a miſtreſs as
‘ Jacob did for obtaining a wife; and, without this
‘ tedious drudgery and application, I can aſſure your
‘ Grace that an amour is not to be managed here.

‘ But, my Lord, I forget that, while I take upon me
‘ to play the moraliſt, and to enlarge ſo rhetorically
‘ upon the preciouſneſs of time, I have already made
‘ bold with too much of your Grace's: for which
‘ reaſon, I here put a ſtop to my diſcourſe, and will
‘ endeavour, the next pacquet that goes from this
‘ place, to entertain your Grace with ſomething more
‘ agreeable.

‘ I am,

‘ My Lord,

‘ Your Grace's moſt obedient Servant,

‘ G. ETHEREGE(24).’

*Ratiſbon*, Nov. 12, 1686.

(24) Miſcellaneous Works, written by G. late Duke of Buckingham, &c. 8vo. 1704, p. 124, &c.

Here, our reader has the moſt frank and undiſguiſed natural and lively images of Sir George's ſentiments upon the Duke's retirement from all the ſplendour and luxury of life; his own employment in his political capacity, with the habits and tempers of thoſe gentry of both ſexes, among whom he reſided; and, what is moſt directly to the purpoſe in this place, a more faithful and perſpicuous portrait of his own humour and genius than he could have been diſplayed by, in all the characters that were to be drawn of him. Now the reader is to judge, whether there is not a ſcene as diverting, a ſpirit as briſk, and a reſemblance of himſelf as clear, in the next,

To his Grace the Duke of BUCKINGHAM.

My Lord,

‘ I NEVER enjoy myſelf ſo much, as when I can
‘ ſteal a few moments from the hurry of public buſi-
‘ neſs to write to my friends in England; and, as
‘ there are none there to whom I pay a profounder
‘ reſpect than to your Grace, wonder not if I afford
‘ myſelf the ſatisfaction of converſing with you by
‘ way of letters, the only relief I have left to ſupport
‘ your abſence at this diſtance, as often as I can find
‘ opportunity.

‘ You may gueſs by my laſt, whether I don't paſs
‘ my time very comfortably here; forced as I am, by
‘ my character, to ſpend the better part of my time
‘ in ſquabbling and deliberating, with perſons of beard
‘ and gravity, how to preſerve the balance of Chriſ-
‘ tendom; which would go well enough of itſelf, if
‘ the Divines and Miniſters of Princes would let it
‘ alone: and, when I come home ſpent and weary
‘ from the Diet, I have no Lord Dorſets or Sir Charles
‘ Sidleys to ſport away the evening with; no Madam
‘ I..... or Lady A.....s; in ſhort, none of thoſe
‘ kind charming creatures London affords, in whoſe
‘ embraces I might make myſelf amends for ſo many
‘ hours murdered in impertinent debates; ſo that, not
‘ to magnify my ſufferings to your Grace, they really
‘ want a greater ſtock of Chriſtian patience to ſupport
‘ time than I can pretend to be maſter of.

‘ I have been long enough in this town, one would
‘ think, to have made acquaintance enough with per-
‘ ſons of both ſexes, ſo as never to be at a loſs how
‘ to paſs the few vacant hours I can allow myſelf: but
‘ the terrible drinking that accompanies all our viſits
‘ hinders me from converſing with the men, ſo often
‘ as I would otherwiſe do; and the German ladies
‘ are ſo intolerably reſerved and virtuous, with tears
‘ in my eyes I ſpeak it to your grace, that it is next
‘ to an impoſſibility to carry on an intrigue with them.
‘ A man has ſo many ſcruples to conquer, and ſo many
‘ difficulties to ſurmount, before he can promiſe him-
‘ ſelf the leaſt ſucceſs, that for my part I have given
‘ over all purſuits of this nature. Beſides, there is ſo
‘ univerſal a ſpirit of cenſoriouſneſs reigns in this
‘ town, that a man and a woman cannot be ſeen at
‘ Ombre or Picquet together, but 'tis immediately
‘ concluded ſome other game has been played be-
‘ tween them; and, as this renders all manner of ac-
‘ ceſs to the ladies almoſt impracticable, for fear of
‘ expoſing their reputation to the mercy of their ill-
‘ natured neighbours, to it makes an innocent piece of
‘ gallantry often paſs for a criminal correſpondence.

‘ So that, to deal freely with your Grace, among
‘ ſo many noble and wealthy families as we have in
‘ this town, I can only pretend to be truly acquainted
‘ with one. The gentleman's name was Monſieur Hoff-
‘ man, a frank, hearty, jolly companion. His father,
‘ one of the moſt eminent wine-merchants of the city,
‘ left him a conſiderable fortune, which he improved
‘ by marrying a French jeweller's daughter of Lyons.
‘ To give you his character in ſhort, he was a ſen-
‘ ſible, ingenious man, and had none of his country
‘ vices; which I impute to his having travelled
‘ abroad, and ſeen Italy, France, and England. His
‘ lady is a moſt accompliſhed, ingenious perſon, and
‘ notwithſtanding ſhe is come into a place, where ſo
‘ much formality and ſtiffneſs are practiſed, keeps up
‘ all the vivacity, and air, and good humour, of France.

‘ I had been happy in my acquaintance with this
‘ family for ſome months; when an ill-favoured acci-
‘ dent robbed me of the greateſt happineſs I had hi-
‘ therto enjoyed in Germany, the loſs of which I can
‘ never ſufficiently regret. Monſieur Hoffman, about
‘ three weeks ago, going to make merry with ſome
‘ friends, at a village ſome three leagues from this
‘ place,

'place, upon the Danube, by the unskilfulness or 'negligence of the watermen, the boat, wherein he 'was, unfortunately chanced to overset; and, of some 'twenty persons, not one escaped to bring home the 'news, but a boy, who miraculously saved himself 'by holding fast to the rudder, and so by the rapidity 'of the current was cast upon the other shore.

'I was sensibly afflicted at the death of my worthy 'friend; and so indeed were all who had the honour 'of knowing him. But his wife took on so extrava-'gantly, that she, in a short time, was the only talk 'both of city and country. She refused to admit any 'visits from her nearest relations; her chamber, her 'antichamber, and pro-antichamber, were hung with 'black; nay, the very candles, her fans, and tea-'table wore the livery of grief: she refused all manner 'of sustenance, and was so averse to the thoughts of 'living, that she talked of nothing but death. In 'short, you may tell your ingenious friend Monsieur 'de Saint Evremond, that Petronius his Ephesian Ma-'tron, to whose story he has done so much justice in 'his noble translation, was only a type of our more 'obstinate as well as unhappy German widow.

'About a fortnight after this cruel loss, for I thought 'it would be labour lost to attack her grief in its first 'vehemence, I thought myself obliged, in point of 'honour and gratitude to the memory of my deceased 'friend, to make her a small visit, and condole her 'ladyship upon this unhappy occasion: and, though I 'had been told that she had refused to see several 'persons who had gone to wait on her with the same 'errand, yet I presumed so much upon the friend-'ship her late husband had always expressed for me, 'not to mention the particular civilities I had received 'from herself, as to think I should be admitted to 'have a sight of her. Accordingly I came to her 'house, sent up my name, and word was immediately 'brought me, that if I pleased I might go up to her.

'When I came into the room, I fancied myself 'in the territories of death; every thing looked so 'gloomy, so dismal, and so melancholy. There was 'a grave Lutheran minister with her, who omitted 'no arguments to bring her to a more composed and 'more Christian disposition of mind. "Madam," 'says he, "You don't consider, that, by abandoning 'yourself thus to despair, you actually rebel against 'Providence." "I can't help it," says she, "Providence 'may e'en thank itself for laying so insupportable a 'load upon me." "O fye, madam," cries the other, "this is downright impiety; what would you say 'now, if heaven should punish it by some exemplary 'visitation?" "That is impossible," replies the lady, 'sighing, "and, since it has robbed me of the only 'delight I had in this world, the only favour it can 'do me is to level a thunderbolt at my head, and 'put an end to all my sufferings." The parson, find-'ing her in this extravagant strain, and seeing no 'likelihood of persuading her to come to a better 'temper, got up from his seat, and took his leave of 'her.

'It came to my turn now to try whether I was 'not capable of comforting her; and, being convinced 'by so late an instance, that arguments brought from 'religion were not likely to work any extraordinary 'effects upon her, I resolved to attack her ladyship 'in a more sensible part, and represent to her the 'great inconveniences, not which her soul but her 'body received from this inordinate sorrow.

"Madam," says I to her, "next to my concern for 'your worthy husband's untimely death, I am grieved 'to see what an alteration the bemoaning of his loss 'has occasioned in you." These words raising her 'curiosity to know what this alteration was, I thus con-'tinued my discourse. "By endeavouring, Madam, 'to extinguish, or at least to alleviate, your grief, than 'which nothing can be more prejudicial to a beautiful 'woman, I intend a public benefit; for, if the publick 'is interested, as most certainly it is, in the preserving 'of a beautiful face, that man does the publick no 'little service who contributes most to its preserva-'tion."

'This odd beginning operated so wonderfully upon 'her, that she desired me to "leave this general road 'of compliments, and explain myself more particularly 'to her." Upon this, delivering myself with an un-'usual air of gravity, which your Grace knows I 'seldom carry about me in the company of ladies, 'I told her that, "Grief ruins the finest faces sooner 'than any thing whatsoever;" and that, "as Envy 'herself could not deny her face to be the most 'charming in the universe, so, if she did not suffer 'herself to be comforted, she must soon expect to take 'her farewel of it." I confirmed this assertion by 'telling her of one of the finest women we ever had in 'England, who did herself more injury in a fortnight's 'time, by lamenting her only brother's death, than 'ten years could possibly have done; that I had heard 'an eminent Physician at Leyden say, that "Tears, 'having abundance of saline particles in them, not 'only spoiled the complexion, but hastened wrinkles. 'But, Madam," concluded I, "why should I give 'myself the trouble to confirm this by foreign in-'stances, and by the testimonies of our most knowing 'Doctors, when, alas! your own face so fully justi-'fies the truth of what I have said to you.

"How!" replied our disconsolate widow, with a 'sigh, that came from the bottom of her heart; "and 'is it possible that my just concern for my dear hus-'band has wrought so cruel an effect upon me in so 'short a time?" With that, she ordered her gentle-'woman to bring the looking glass to her, and, having 'surveyed herself a few minutes in it, she told me, "she was perfectly convinced that my notions were 'true. But," cries she, "what would you have us 'poor women do in these cases; for, something," 'continues she, "we owe to the memory of the 'deceased, and something, too, to the world, which 'expects at least the common appearance of grief 'from us."

"By your leave, Madam," says I, "all this is a 'mistake, and no better; you owe nothing to your 'husband, since he is dead, and knows nothing of 'your lamentation. Besides, could you shed an ocean 'of tears upon his hearse, it would not do him the 'least service: much less do you lie under any such 'obligation to the world as to spoil a good face only 'to comply with its tyrannic customs. No, Madam, 'take care to preserve your beauty, and then let the 'world say what it pleases; your ladyship may be 'revenged upon the world whenever you see fit." "I 'am resolved," answers she, "to be intirely governed 'by you; therefore, tell me frankly, what sort of a 'course you'd have me steer?" "Why Madam," says 'I, "in the first place forget the defunct; and, in 'order to bring that about, relieve nature, to which 'you have been so long unmerciful, with the most ex-'quisite meats and the most generous wines." "Upon condition you will sup with me," cries our 'afflicted lady, "I will submit to your prescription." 'But why should I trouble your Grace with a narra-'tion of every particular?

'In short, we had a noble regale that evening in 'her bedchamber; and our good widow pushed the 'glass so strenuously about, that her comforter, mean-'ing myself, could hardly find the way to his coach. 'To conclude this farce, which I am afraid begins 'now to be too tedious to your Grace, this phœnix 'of her sex, this pattern of conjugal fidelity, two 'mornings ago, was married to a smooth-chinn'd ensign 'of Count Trautmandorf's regiment; that had not a 'farthing in the world but his pay to depend upon! 'I assisted at the ceremony; though I little imagined 'the lady would take the matrimonial receipt so soon.

'I was the easier persuaded to give your Grace the 'larger account of this Tragi-comedy, not only be-'cause I wanted better matter to entertain you with 'at this lazy conjuncture, but also to shew your 'Grace that not only Ephesus, in antient, and Eng-'land in latter, times, have afforded such fantastical 'widows, but even Germany itself; where, if the 'ladies have not more virtue than those of their sex 'in other countries, yet, they pretend at least a 'greater management of the outside of it.

'By my last pacquet from England, among a heap 'of nauseous trash, I received the "Three Dukes of 'Dunstable," which is really so monstrous and in-

'sipid

only concisely enumerate at the foot of the page [*I*]. All that we have met with, more than is here mentioned or referred to of his writing in prose, is a short piece, inti-

'sipid that I am sorry Lapland or Livonia had not the 'honour of producing it: but, if I did penance in 'reading it, I rejoiced to hear that it was so solemnly 'interred to the tune of cat-calls. The "Squire of 'Alsatia," however, which came by the following 'post, made me some amends for the cursed impertinence of the "Three Dukes;" and my witty 'friend Sir C...: S...y's "Bellamira" gave me that 'intire satisfaction, that I cannot read it over too 'often.

'They tell me my old acquaintance Mr. Dryden 'has left off the theatre, and wholly applies himself 'to the study of the controversies between the two 'churches. Pray Heaven! this strange alteration in 'him portends nothing disastrous to the state; but I 'have all along observed, that Poets do religion as 'little service by drawing their pens for it, as the 'Divines do poetry, by pretending to versification.

'But I forget how troublesome I have been to your 'Grace. I shall therefore conclude with assuring that 'I am, and to the last moment of my life shall be, 'ambitious of being,

My Lord,

'Your Grace's most obedient,

'And most obliged servant,

'G. ETHEREGE (25).'

*Ratisbon, Oct.* 21, 1689.

(25) Miscellaneous Works of George Duke of Buckingham, as before, p. 131. &c.

So this letter is dated, in the volume here referred to; whence the copy above is transcribed; but there seems to be a little mistake in it, and that the original was dated the year before: otherwise, it will appear to have been sent by our Author, to his noble friend, above a year after the said Duke was dead. Besides, 'tis likely he should have had Sir Charles Sidley's Comedy of "Bellamira" sent him sooner than two years after it was published; for, it was first printed in 1687; and, as Shadwell's "Squire of Alsatia" was first printed in 1688, it is most probable this letter was written in the same year, because Mr. Dryden had given over his Popish controversies upon the Revolution, and before the next year.

[*I*] *Enumerate at the foot of the page*] Of these his smaller poems we have met with about twenty that have been ascribed to him in print, besides the little sonnets that are interspersed in his plays; though, in the most particular account that has been given of him and his writings (26) there are not above half a dozen of them mentioned. One of the earliest, perhaps, of these his lesser poems, may be that "To her "Excellency the Marchioness of Newcastle, after the "reading of her incomparable Poems:" it consists of about forty lines, and begins thus, 'Madam, with so 'much wonder we are struck (27):' and because we have hitherto given but a very slender specimen of our Author's poetry, the conclusion of this panegyric may here serve for a farther taste of it:

(26) See Giles Jacob's Account of the Poets, in his article of Sir G. Etherege.

(27) One volume of her Ladyship's Poems, &c. was published in folio, 1653: another of her Letters and Poems, in 1676.

While we, your praise, endeav'ring to rehearse,
Pay that great duty in our humble verse;
Such as may justly move your anger, you,
Like Heav'n, forgive them, and accept them too.
But what we cannot, your brave Hero pays,
He builds those monuments we strive to raise;
Such as to after ages shall make known,
While he records your deathless fame, his own:
So, when an artist some rare beauty draws,
Both in our wonder share and our applause:
His skill, from time, secures the glorious dame;
And makes himself immortal in her fame.

Another of his panegyrical poems bears this title—"To Mr. I. N. on his Translations out of the French "and Italian;" beginning with, 'While others toil 'our country to supply,' &c. about a page and half. His translation of Voiture's "Urania," is in four stanzas of alternate verse, beginning thus—'Hopeless 'I languish out my days.' His song, "To Sylvia," is in three stanzas, or quadrains; concluding with, 'Who sees her must love, and who loves her must 'die:' by which it is still remembered among our sonneteers. Another song—'Tell me no more you 'love,' &c. in sixteen lines. "To a very young "lady;" beginning, 'Sweet bud of beauty;' in fourteen lines. "To a Lady, who fled the Sight of "him."—'If I my Celia could persuade;' in eighteen lines. "To a Lady, asking him how long he could "love her."—'It is not, Celia, in our power;' in two stanzas of six. "The Divided Heart."—'Ah! 'Colin, that I were but sure:' near a page. "The "Imperfect Enjoyment."—'After a pretty amorous 'discourse:' fifty lines. "The forsaken Mistress:" 'a dialogue between Phillis and Strephon. 'Tell 'me, gentle Strephon, why:' about a page. Here are eleven of our author's poems, which are to be found in one volume (28). In another, entitled our Author's works, we find the last of them reprinted; and four besides, that are different, viz. A song of two stanzas on the inquietudes of love; beginning with, "Ye happy "Swains, whose Hearts are free." And another "Song "of Basset," in eight stanzas of alternate verse. Beginning—"Let Equipage and Dress despair (†):" We have also, in that volume called our Author's works, the two poetical letters sent by him from Ratisbon, as was before observed, to the Earl of Middleton; both written in verse of eight feet; the former containing nearly fourscore lines, the latter nearly forty; describing the dress and humours, of the ladies especially, in those parts, and how he passed his time amongst them; much in that airy and amorous vein wherein his letters in prose are written, before recited. Those five poems are in the volume before mentioned (29). And these two poetical letters are to be found likewise in two other collections at least; one in that which is styled "Familiar Letters," by the Lord Rochester, &c. before quoted (30), where we have also a poetical answer to the former of our Author's (31), though it is not mentioned in that collection by whom it was written; but, in another, the name of Mr. Dryden appears to it (32), who, in the beginning of his said answer, takes notice, that at the time of his writing the same, about 1687, Sir George was aged fifty-one years; whence may be computed the time of his birth, as it is above given. And, in the conclusion of that answer, Mr. Dryden intimates that Sir George had some while since begun another play, which he incites him to finish, as what could not fall below the "Rehearsal;" and as he knew no George, meaning our Author and the Duke of Buckingham, who could write any thing under ten years warning; as we have partly hinted already in the text above. There are, besides that answer, the two said poetical letters, in this same volume, and two songs more of his, not before mentioned. The one beginning with these words—'Cease, anxious world, 'your fruitless pain;' in three stanzas of six lines: and the other, with these—'In some kind dream 'upon her, Slumber, steal;' in fifteen lines (33). Lastly, there are three Poems more ascribed to our Author, in another volume, which we have also before quoted. One is entituled, "The Libertine:" beginning, 'Since Death on all lays his impartial 'hand;' consisting of three stanzas of eight lines, and a chorus (34). The others are, two Satires upon Nell Guyn, one of King Charles's mistresses. The first is called "Madam Nelly's Complaint:" beginning with—'If Sylla's ghost made bloody Cat'line 'start:' in about two leaves. The other is called "The Lady of Pleasure;" with its argument at the head of it, whereof the first line is, 'The life of 'Nelly truly shown,' in about three leaves and a page (35). These two satires, as we remember, were printed before, without any author's name: and, indeed, they seem to be written, the last especially, in a grosser style, with more blunt or vulgar expressions in it than was customary to Sir George: besides, as it mentions the death of Nell Gwyn, we believe it may therefore be found that it was written after that of our Author.

(28) A Collection of Poems, viz. The Temple of Death, &c. third edit. printed for D. Brown, &c. 12mo, 1716.

(†) These Two are also printed in Dryden's Miscellanies, 12mo. 1716, P. ii. p. 268, 344.

(29) The Works of Sir G. Etherege, 8vo. 1704, at the end of his Plays.

(30) Vol. II. 1695, p. 56.

(31) Page 61.

(32) In Dryden's Miscellanies, as before, Vol. II.

(33) Id. p. 213.

(34) See The Miscel. Works of the D. of Bucks, as before, p. 120.

(35) Works of the D. of Bucks, p. 29, 34.

tuled, "An Account of the Rejoycing at the Diet of Ratiſbonne, performed by Sir "George Etherege, Knight, reſiding there from his Majeſty of Great Britain; upon "Occaſion of the Birth of the Prince of Wales. In a Letter from Himſelf." Printed in the Savoy, 1688 (*k*). How far beyond this, or the next year he lived, the writers on our Poets, who have ſpoken of him, have been, as in many other particulars of his life, ſo in the time when he died, very deficient. In Gildon's ſhort and imperfect account of him, which we have been forced to conſult in want of a better, it is ſaid, that after the Revolution he went for France to his Maſter, and died there, or very ſoon after his arrival thence in England (*l*). But there was a report, as we have received it from an ingenious gentleman, that Sir George came to an untimely death by an unlucky accident at Ratiſbon; for, after having treated ſome company with a liberal entertainment at his houſe there, in which having, perhaps, taken his glaſs too freely, and being, through his great complaiſance, too forward, in waiting on ſome of his gueſts at their departure, fluſhed as he was, he tumbled down the ſtairs and broke his neck, ſo fell a martyr to his civility (*m*). Some of his ſurviving relations, having received a credible account of it from a perſon who was acquainted with them, we ſhall ſuccinctly mention it, in the ſhort note hereunto ſubjoined [*K*].

(*k*) Printed in folio, on a half ſheet.

(*l*) Gildon, as before.

(*m*) This account we received from John Locker, Eſq.

[*K*] *In the ſhort note hereunto ſubjoined.*] Since the foregoing part of this article was printed off, we have been informed, that there are two wills in the Prerogative-office, which might poſſibly have given ſome farther light into the family, and other particulars relating to our Author, could we have had a timely extract of them. The firſt is executed by William Etherege, Anno, 1649 (36); the laſt, by another William Etherege, in Middleſex, Anno 1690 (37). Whether the former was the father of our Author, or any other relation, and the latter his brother we have not now time to examine. But, from thoſe who have been converſant with ſome ſurvivors of the family, we have received intelligence, that our Author, Sir George, had a brother, who lived and died at Weſtminſter; had been a great courtier, yet a man of ſuch ſtrict honour, that he was eſteemed a reputation to the family. His picture, painted in a gown, with his fine black curled hair, is in the poſſeſſion of a friend. He had been twice married; and, by his firſt wife, had a ſon; a little man, of a brave ſpirit, who inherited the honourable principles of his father. He was a Colonel in King William's wars; was near him in one of the moſt dangerous battles in Flanders, I think it was the battle of Landen, in 1693, when his Majeſty was wounded, and the Colonel both loſt his right eye, and received ſuch a contuſion on his ſide as he complained of to his death. He was offered, in Queen Anne's reign, twenty-two hundred pounds for his commiſſion, but refuſed to live at home in peace, when his country was at war. This Colonel Etherege died at Eling in Middleſex, about the third or fourth year of King George the Firſt; when his dear friend, the Lord Rivers, had his body opened; and there was found a gathering where he had received his bruiſe, which looked like a ſodden turnip, and probably haſtened his death. He was buried in Kenſington church, near the altar; and there is a tombſtone over his vault, in which were alſo buried his wife, ſon, and ſiſter: That ſon was graciouſly received at Court by Queen Anne; and, ſoon after his father returned from the wars in Flanders, under the Duke of Marlborough, ſhe gave him an Enſign's commiſſion, intending farther to promote him, in reward of his father's ſervice; but he died a youth: and that ſiſter married Mr. Hill of Feverſham in Kent; but we hear not of any male iſſue ſurviving. O.

(36) In the Vol. entit. Fairfax, Qu. 82.

(37) Vol. Dyke Qu. 42.

*** [The Editors of the Biographica Dramatica obſerve, that, as a writer, Sir George Etherege was certainly born a poet, and appears to have been poſſeſſed of a genius, the vivacity of which, needed no cultivation; for, there are no proofs of his having been a ſcholar (38). Though the "Comical Revenge" ſucceeded very well upon the ſtage, and met with general approbation for a conſiderable time, it is now juſtly laid aſide on account of its immorality. This is the caſe, likewiſe, with regard to Sir George's other plays. Of the "She would if ſhe could (39)," the Critic Dennis ſays, that, though it was eſteemed by the men of ſenſe for the trueneſs of ſome its characters, and the purity, freeneſs, and eaſy grace of its dialogue, yet, on its firſt appearance, it was *barbarouſly* treated by the audience. If the auditors were offended with the licentiouſneſs of the comedy, their *barbarity* did them honour; but, it is probable that, at that period, they were influenced by ſome other conſideration. Excluſively of its looſe tendency, the play is pronounced to be undoubtedly a very good one; and it was eſteemed as one of the firſt rank at the time in which it was written (40). However, Shadwell's encomium upon it, mentioned in Note C, will be judged to be too extravagant.

But the production of Sir George Etherege, which has been moſt applauded, and, on which his reputation has been principally founded, is his "Man of 'Mode, or Sir Fopling Flutter." 'This,' ſays the Biographia Dramatica, 'is an admirable play. The 'characters in it are ſtrongly marked, the plot agree-'ably conducted, and the dialogue truely polite and 'elegant. The character of Dorimant is, perhaps, 'the only completely fine gentleman that has ever yet 'been brought on the Engliſh ſtage; at the ſame time, 'that in that of Sir Fopling may be traced the ground-'work of almoſt all the Foppingtons and petit maitres 'which appeared in the ſucceeding comedies of that 'period (41).' In another part of the Biographia Dramatica it is aſſerted, that "The Man of Mode" is, perhaps, the moſt elegant comedy, and contains more of the real manners of high life, than any one with which the Engliſh ſtage was ever adorned (42). That the play exhibits a ſpirited repreſentation of what were then living characters is not denied; but, to the praiſes which are ſo generally and indiſcriminately given of it, we muſt be permitted to oppoſe the cenſures of Sir Richard Steel, in the ſixty-fifth number of the Spectator. Theſe cenſures have been very feebly anſwered, in Note E, by our learned predeceſſor.] K.

(38) Biographia Dramatica, Vol. I. p. 149.

(39) Ib. Vol. II. p. 338.

(40) Ibid.

(41) Ib. Vol. II. p. 217, 218.

(42) Ib. Vol. I. p. 149.



EVELYN

EVELYN (John), a great Philoſopher, a worthy Patriot, and a learned writer in the XVIIth century. He was deſcended from a very antient and honourable family, as appears from ſeveral authentic vouchers, a branch of which, at the time of his birth, was ſettled in the county of Surrey, though it flouriſhed originally in the county of Salop, at a place which is ſtill called Evelyn (*a*) [*A*]. George Evelyn, Eſq. purchaſed the eſtate of the family at Wotton in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and had by two wives ſixteen ſons and eight daughters; he departed this life May 30, 1603, in the ſeventy-third year of his age, leaving his eſtate at Wotton to Richard Evelyn, Eſq. his youngeſt and only ſurviving ſon by his ſecond wife (*b*). This Richard Evelyn, Eſq. married Eleanor, daughter and heireſs of John Standfield of Lewes, in the county of Suſſex, Eſq. and was a perſon of great worth and virtue (*c*) [*B*]. He had, by the Lady beforementioned, three ſons, viz. George, John, and Richard: of the ſecond of theſe, John, we are to ſpeak in this article. He was born October 31, 1620, at his father's ſeat at Wotton (*d*), and was very carefully educated in his tender years, receiving the firſt elements of learning at the free-ſchool at Lewes in Suſſex, whence he removed, in 1637, to Baliol-College, Oxford (*e*), where, as a Gentleman-Commoner, he remained till the breaking out of the Civil War, when he repaired to Oxford, and obtained leave from King Charles I, under his own hand, to travel beyond the ſeas for his improvement (*f*). In the Spring of 1644, he left England, in order to make the tour of Europe, which he performed very ſucceſsfully, making it his buſineſs to enquire carefully into the ſtate of the Sciences, and the improvements made in all uſeful arts, wherever he came; concerning which he made very large and valuable collections, the contents of which he moſt generouſly communicated to all ſuch as applied to him for information (*g*). He ſpent ſome time at Rome, and having an opportunity there to learn the true ſentiments of the Papiſts upon the cutting off Archbiſhop Laud's head, he thought himſelf obliged, in juſtice to that great Prelate's memory, to give an atteſtation thereof under his own hand (*h*) [*C*]. He viſited likewiſe other parts of Italy for the ſake of improving

(*a*) Additions to Camden's Britannia, publiſhed in Engliſh by Biſhop Gibſon; Vol. I col. 649.

(*b*) Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 126.

(*c*) See ſome farther particulars relating to him in the notes.

(*d*) Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 117.

(*e*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 941.

(*f*) So Mr. Evelyn himſelf informed Mr. Aubrey.

(*g*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 417.

(*h*) Hiſt. of the Troubles and Trial of Archbiſhop Laud, Vol. I. p. 616.

[*A*] *At a place which is ſtill called Evelyn.*] Our Author himſelf had taken great pains to enquire into the origin of his family; in conſequence of which, he found that they had formerly written their name Avelyn and Ivelyn, as well as Evelyn, which might be confirmed by a variety of inſtances. He was likewiſe informed, that a branch of their family flouriſhed in France, and that one of them was taken priſoner at the battle of Agincourt. But what had more of certainty, and deſerved better to be depended upon, was taken from the tradition of the family, that they came from Long Ditton into Surrey, and to Long Ditton, from Harrow on the Hill; but that, originally, they were ſeated at the town of Evelyn, in the hundred of South Bradford, in the County of Salop; of which county alſo, he reports, that the Onſlows likewiſe were, who removed about the ſame time from a place of that name, in the neighbourhood of Shrewſbury; as the Hattons alſo did from a place called Cold Hatton, in the ſame hundred with Evelyn, in Shropſhire; and, which is very remarkable, all ſettled again near each other in Surrey (1). George Evelyn, Eſq. the founder of this branch of the Evelyns, in Surrey, firſt carried the art of making gunpowder to perfection in England, and, for the conveniency of his works in the neighbourhood, purchaſed an eſtate at Wotton of one Mr. Owen; but who were the owners of this place in early times does not appear (2). This George Evelyn had a conſiderable intereſt at Court, and procured from Queen Elizabeth a grant, in conjunction with Thomas Reeves, of the Rectory of St. Nicolas Coleabby, in Queenhithe Ward, London, which afterwards came by meſne conveyances to the family of the Hackers, and by the attainder of Colonel Francis Hacker, who commanded the guard when King Charles the Firſt was murdered, came again to the Crown (3). It was in the latter part of his life that this gentleman came to live at Wotton, which, however, did not hinder him from planting there, as appears from what our Author himſelf tells us (4). 'In a word, to give an inſtance of what ſtore of woods 'and timber of prodigious ſize there were growing in 'our little county of Surrey, the neareſt of any to 'London, and plentifully furniſhed, both for profit 'and pleaſure, with ſufficient grief and reluctancy I 'ſpeak it, my own grandfather had ſtanding at Wotton, and about that eſtate, timber that now were 'worth one hundred thouſand pounds; ſince, of what 'was left my father, who was a great preſerver of 'wood, there has been thirty thouſand pounds worth 'of timber fallen by the axe and the fury of the late 'hurricane and ſtorm: now no more; Wotton ſtript 'and naked, and aſhamed almoſt to own its name.'

(1) Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 116.

(2) Camden's Britannia by Biſhop Gibſon, Vol. I. col. 185.

(3) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 425, 506.

(4) Camden's Britannia by Biſhop Gibſon, Vol I. col. 186.

[*B*] *Of great worth and virtue.*] Richard Evelyn, Eſq. mentioned in the text, had, beſides his three ſons, two daughters, Elizabeth, who married Edward Darey, of Dartford, in Kent, Eſq. and Jane, the wife of William Glanville, Eſq. (5). George Evelyn, Eſq. elder brother to our Author, enjoyed the family eſtate at Wotton fifty-eight years; and dying in 1698, at the age of eighty-three, he left it to his brother John. He was a perſon of great worth, and generally eſteemed by his neighbours, as appeared from his being frequently elected Knight of the Shire for the County of Surrey (6). In his time, there was a very extraordinary diſcovery made upon opening the family vault, of which there is a full account in the additions to the Engliſh Britannia, which there is ſo much the more reaſon to credit as thoſe additions came from our Author himſelf. After deſcribing the ridge of hills that divide Surrey from Suſſex and Kent, he proceeds thus (7): 'Not far from the bottom, ſtands an an'cient ſeat of the Evelyns, of Wotton, among ſeveral 'ſtreams gliding through the meadows, adorned with 'gentle riſings and woods, which as it were encom'paſs it. And theſe, together with the gardens, 'fountains, and other hortulane ornaments, have 'given it a place and name amongſt the moſt agreeable 'ſeats. In opening the ground of the churchyard of 'Wotton, to enlarge a vault belonging to this family, 'they met with a ſkeleton, which was nine foot and 'three inches long, as the (*) worthy and famous Mr. 'John Evelyn had it atteſted, by an antient and un'derſtanding man then preſent, who accordingly 'meaſured it and marked the length on a pole, with 'other workmen, who affirmed the ſame. They 'found it lying in full-length between two boards of 'the coffin, and meaſured it before they had diſcom'poſed the bones. But, trying to take it out, it fell 'all to pieces; for which reaſon they flung it amongſt 'the reſt of the rubbiſh, after they had ſeparately 'meaſured ſeveral of the more ſolid bones.'

(5) Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 127.

(6) Camden's Britannia by Biſhop Gibſon, col. 164, in the edit. of 1695, but left out in the laſt edit. to which there is no date.

(7) Ibid. Vol. I. col. 186.

(*) Theſe epithets added ſince our author's deceaſe.

[*C*] *Under his own hand.*] In order to underſtand this matter, it is neceſſary that the reader ſhould know,

proving himself in Architecture, Painting, the knowledge of Antiquities, Medals, and other branches of polite literature, and, at the same time, left nothing unexamined, that could contribute to the perfect understanding of Natural Philosophy, to which, beyond all other sciences, he was passionately addicted. We have an instance of his care and industry in this respect, preserved by one of the greatest and most intelligent Philosophers of this or any other country (*i*) [*D*]. In 1647, Mr. Evelyn came to Paris, where, being recommended to Sir Richard Browne, Bart. the King's Minister there, he made his addresses to his only daughter Mary, whom he not long after married, and in her right became possessed of Sayes-Court, near Deptford, in Kent, where he resided after his return to England, which was about the year 1651 (*k*). He had before that time recommended himself to the notice of the learned world, by publishing several treatises which were extremely well received, and the leisure he had in his retreat at Sayes-Court, after his return, put it in his power to add quickly to their number. These were for the most part translations, either from the learned or modern languages, for he was perfectly versed in both, without any unreasonable prepossessions in favour of Antiquity, or prejudice against it. Such kind of labours, whatever they may be thought of now when translations are become common, were then very justly esteemed, and were, without question, highly serviceable, as well in propagating useful knowledge as in the improvement of our style, of which Mr. Evelyn was a great mas-

(*i*) Works of the Hon. Robert Boyle, Vol. II. p. 306.

(*i*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 941.

know, that, amongst other things charged upon Archbishop Laud, one was, that he had endeavoured to reconcile the Church of England to the Church of Rome, and had kept a secret correspondence with the Pope; and, to maintain this, witnesses were called to shew in what credit he stood at Rome. Sir Henry Mildmay had told the Archbishop in private discourse, that he was the most hateful man there, that had ever sat in the See of Canterbury since the Reformation; but, when he was examined as a witness, he affirmed that there were two factions at Rome, one of which did indeed speak very ill of the Archbishop, but the other spoke very well of him. The Archbishop intimated, that he did not believe Sir Henry Mildmay had ever been at Rome. Mr. Chaloner deposed, that at Rome some had a good opinion of the Archbishop, and thought him well inclined to them, for which reason they prayed for him. Mr. Anthony Mildmay seconded his brother's account, and said, that the Jesuits hated him, but that the secular Priests loved the Archbishop very well, but this was hearsay only (8). After the Archbishop's death, this matter was much talked of, and therefore, as Mr. Evelyn happened to be at Rome when the Archbishop was put to death, he was desired to give some account of the general sentiments of people there, which he accordingly did in the following certificate (9).

(8) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 897.

(9) Archbishop Laud's Troubles and Trial, Vol. I. p. 616.

"I was at Rome in the company of divers of the English Fathers, when the news of the Archbishop's sufferings, and a copy of his sermon, made upon the scaffold, came thither. They read the sermon, and commented upon it, with no small satisfaction and contempt, and looked upon him as one that was a great enemy to them, and stood in their way, whilst one of the blackest crimes imputed to him was his being popishly affected.

"JOHN EVELYN."

[*D*] *Of this or any other country.*] The person mentioned in the text is the honourable Mr. Boyle; who, speaking of the effects of cold, and of the reasons there are to believe that they may subsist even after the cold which produced them ceases, provided they are not exposed to a degree of heat that must destroy them, mentions the preserving of snow the whole year round in repositories far from being cold enough to produce such an effect; which therefore ought to be attributed to the bare keeping of the snow from being exposed to warm air. To illustrate this, that learned man tells us, he intended to have cited, from some books, an account of these storehouses, which he remembered to have seen in Italy; but, missing of his expectation in books, he endeavoured to supply it by enquiry.——But let him tell the rest of his story himself.——Meeting therefore the other day, says he (10), with my ingenious friend, Mr. John Evelyn, his inquisitive travels, and his insight into the more polite kinds of knowledge, and particularly architecture, made me desire and expect of him that account of the Italian way of making conservatories of snow, that I had missed of in several authors; and, having readily obtained my desire of him, I shall not injure so justly-esteemed a style as his, to deliver his descriptions in any other words than those ensuing ones wherein I received it from him. 'The 'snow-pits in Italy, &c. are sunk in the most solitary 'and cooled places, commonly at the foot of some 'mountain, or elevated ground, which may best pro-'tect them from the meridional and occidental sun: 'twenty-five foot wide at the orifice, and about fifty 'in depth, is esteemed a competent proportion. And 'though this be excavated in a conical form, yet it 'is made flat at the bottom or point. The sides of 'the pit are so joisted, that boards may be nailed 'upon them very closely jointed. His Majesty's at 'Greenwich, newly made on the side of the castle 'hill, is, as I remember, steened with brick, and 'hardly so wide at the mouth. About a yard from 'the bottom, is fixed a strong frame, or tressel, upon 'which lies a kind of wooden grate; the top or cover 'is double-thatched with reed or straw, upon a copped 'frame or roof, in one of the sides whereof is a nar-'row door-case, hipped on like the top of a dormer, 'and thatched, and so it is complete.' *To conserve snow.* 'They lay clean straw upon the grate, or wat-'tle, so as to keep the snow from running through, 'whilst they beat it to a hard cake of any icy con-'sistence, which is near one foot thick; upon this 'they make a layer of straw, and on that snow beaten 'as before; and so continue a bed of snow and a 'bed of straw S. S. S. till the pit be full to the brim. 'Finally, they lay straw or reed, for I remember to 'have seen both, a competent thickness over all, and 'keep the door locked. This grate is contrived, that 'the snow melting by any accident in laying, or ex-'traordinary season of weather, may drain away from 'the mass, and sink without stagnating upon it, which 'would accelerate the dissolution, and therefore the 'very bottom is but slightly steened. Those who are 'most circumspect and curious preserve a tall circle 'of shady trees about the pit, which may rather shade 'than drip upon it.' This is certainly an admirable specimen of that care with which our Author registered his discoveries, as well as the curiosity which prompted him to enquire into every thing worthy of notice, either natural or artificial, in the countries through which he passed. It is much to be regretted, that a work so entertaining and instructive, as the history of his travels would have been, appeared, even to so indefatigable a person as he was, a task for him too laborious to undertake; for, we should have then seen clearly, and in a true light, many things in reference to Italy, which are now very indistinctly and partially represented; and we should also have met with much new matter never touched before, and of which we shall now probably never hear at all.

(10) Boyle's Works, Vol. II. p. 306.



ter,

ter, as theſe treatiſes, if he had left none beſides, might ſufficiently demonſtrate [*E*]. The ſituation of public affairs induced him to conſider that privacy with which he lived at Sayes-Court as a very great bleſſing; and ſo fond was he of this rural retreat, that he was very deſirous of making it his ſettled courſe of life, though but a young man, with a conſiderable fortune, and extremely admired and courted by all his acquaintance. This ſtudious diſpoſition, together with his diſguſt of the world, occaſioned by that ſtrange ſcene of violence ond confuſion that was then acted upon the public ſtage, was ſo ſtrong, that he actually propoſed to the Honourable Mr. Robert Boyle, the raiſing of a kind of college for the reception of perſons of the ſame turn of mind, where they might enjoy the pleaſure of agreeable ſociety, and at the ſame time paſs their days without care or interruption. His ſcheme for ſuch an eſtabliſhment is equally entertaining and curious [*F*]. But, when a proſpect appeared of better times, it occaſioned ſome

[*E*] *Might ſufficiently demonſtrate.*] As ſeveral of theſe treatiſes were printed before the Author's return to England, and others without his name; ſo we muſt depend upon the general opinion of the world, and the authority of Mr. Wood, for their being his: yet there is no great reaſon to ſuſpect any miſtake, ſince the account of them was publiſhed in his life-time, and therefore Mr. Evelyn had an opportunity of ſetting the world right, if any error had been committed of conſequence enough to have merited his notice.

I. "Of Liberty and Servitude, 16-9, 12mo." This was a tranſlation, and in all probability the firſt Eſſay of our Author's pen.

II. "A Character of England, as it was lately pre-"ſented in a Letter to a Nobleman of France with "Reflections upon Gallus Caſtratus," 1651. 16to. The third edition of this book appeared in 1659: at preſent it is very ſcarce.

III. "The State of France," London, 1652. 8vo.

IV. "An Eſſay on the firſt Book of Titus Lucretius "Carus, de rerum natura, interpreted, and made "into Engliſh verſe, by J. Evelyn, Eſq;" London, 1656. 8vo. The frontiſpiece to this book was deſigned by his Lady, Mary Evelyn. There is a copy of verſes by Edmund Waller, Eſq. of Beaconsfield, prefixed and directed to his worthy friend Mr. Evelyn; and part of the character he gives him is worthy the reader's attention. After deſcribing the ſubject of the book, he proceeds thus:

So vaſt this argument did ſeem,
That the wiſe author did eſteem
The Roman language (which was ſpread
O'er the whole world in triumph led)
A tongue too narrow to unfold
The wonders which he would have told.
This ſpeaks thy glory, noble friend,
And Britiſh language does commend.
For, here Lucretius whole we find,
His words, his muſick, and his mind.
Thy art has to our country brought
All that he writ and all he thought.
Ovid tranſlated, Virgil too,
Shew'd long ſince what our tongue could do.
Nor Lucan we, nor Horace ſpar'd,
Only Lucretius was too hard.
Lucretius, like a fort, did ſtand
Untouch'd, till your victorious hand
Did from his head this garland bear,
Which now upon your own you wear.
A garland! made of ſuch new bays,
And fought in ſuch untrodden ways,
As no man's temples e'er did crown,
Save this great author's and your own.

V. "The French Gardener, inſtructing how to "cultivate all ſorts of Fruit-trees and Herbs for the "Garden, together with Directions to dry and con-"ſerve them in their natural," &c. Lond. 1658. in 12mo. and ſeveral times after. In moſt of the editions is added, "The Engliſh Vineyard vindicated, by "John Roſe, Gardener to his Majeſty King Charles II. "with a Tract of the Making and Ordering of Wines "in France." The third edition of this French Gardener, which came out in 1676, was illuſtrated with ſculptures.

VI. "The Golden Book of St. Chryſoſtom, con-"cerning the Education of Children." Lond. 1659. 12mo.

[*F*] *Is equally entertaining and curious.*] The letter, in which this plan of a college is contained, is directed to the Hon. Mr. Robert Boyle, and dated from Sayes-Court, September 3, 16-9. Our author expreſſes himſelf very much at large, and very pathetically repreſents, though with great caution and modeſty, the miſeries of the times, and the reaſons which might induce men of true virtue and ſtrict ſcience to think of ſheltring themſelves in ſome quiet retreat, from the diſagreeable accidents to which they might be liable, in ſuch times, and amongſt ſuch men, as the world then abounded with. He declares, that, if he had been a ſingle perſon, and without family, he would, without heſitation, have dedicated his fortune to the raiſing ſuch a college as he propoſed, to the thoughts of which he ſeems to have been led by a diſcourſe of the great Lord Chancellor Bacon's. He likewiſe obſerves, that, notwithſtanding his ſituation in the world prevented him from undertaking ſuch a thing alone, yet nothing could give him greater pleaſure than the hopes of aſſociating Mr. Boyle therein. He ſays farther, that, though this project had been long ſwimming in his mind, yet he had never communicated it to any perſon whatſoever, ſo that Mr. Boyle need not be under any apprehenſions of opening himſelf freely upon a thing of ſo private a nature. He adds to all this, that he had no particular cauſe of diſcontent, being, with reſpect to his circumſtances, perfectly eaſy, happy, and ſatisfied in his family; well reſpected in the world; and, in all things, as free from the neceſſity of looking for ſuch a retreat, excluſively of his own inclination, as any Gentleman whatever. Without taking notice of theſe parts of his letter, the plan itſelf would be ſcarcely intelligible. To have tranſcribed them at large would have ſwelled this note beyond its proper bounds; and therefore I judged it proper to contract them: but, with reſpect to the author's ſcheme, which is very curious and entertaining, at the ſame time that it has a cloſe relation to his perſonal hiſtory, it is certainly requiſite that it ſhould appear in his own words. No doubt Mr. Boyle wrote an anſwer to it, which would have been well worth the peruſal; but whether that be ſtill preſerved or not is very uncertain. As for Mr. Evelyn's propoſal, it runs thus (11):

'I propoſe the purchaſing of thirty or forty acres of 'land, in ſome healthy place, not above twenty five 'miles from London, of which a good part ſhould be 'tall wood, and the reſt upland paſtures, or downs 'ſweetly irrigated. If there were not already an houſe 'which might be converted, &c. we would erect, 'upon the moſt convenient ſite of this near the wood, 'our building, viz. one handſome pavillion, con-'taining a refectory, library, withdrawing-room, and 'a cloſet; this the firſt ſtory: for, we ſuppoſe the 'kitchen, larders, cellars, and offices, to be contrived 'in the half-ſtory under ground. In the ſecond ſhould 'be a fair lodging-chamber, a pallet-room, gallery, 'and a cloſet, all which ſhould be well and very nobly 'furniſhed, for any worthy perſon that might deſire to 'ſtay any time, and for the reputation of the college. 'The half-ſtory above, for ſervants wardrobes and like 'conveniences. To the entry fore-front of this court, 'and

(11) Boyle's Works, Vol. II. p. 398, 399.

ſome change in his ſentiments; and, upon an attempt being made to damp the deſires of the people for the King's return, he drew his pen in that critical ſeaſon in defence of his Majeſty's Character (*m*), which, at ſuch a juncture, was both an acceptable, and a very important ſervice [G]. Immediately after the King's return, Mr. Evelyn was introduced

(*m*) Kennet's Regiſter, p. 117.

' and at the other back-front, a plot walled in, of a ' competent ſquare for the common ſeraglio, diſpoſed ' into a garden, or it might be only carpet, kept cu- ' rioufly, and to ſerve for bowls, walking, or other ' recreations, &c. if the company pleaſe. Oppoſite ' to the houſe, towards the wood, ſhould be erected a ' pretty chapel, and, at equal diſtances, even within ' the flanking walls of the ſquare, ſix apartments or ' cells for the members of the ſociety, and not conti- ' guous to the pavillion, each whereof ſhould contain ' a ſmall bed-chamber, an outward room, a cloſet, and ' a private garden, ſomewhat after the manner of the ' Carthuſians. There ſhould likewiſe be an elabo- ' ratory, with a repoſitory for rarities and things of na- ' ture; aviary, dove-houſe, phyſick-garden, kitchen- ' garden, and a plantation of orchard-fruit, &c. all ' uniform buildings, but of ſingle ſtories, or a little ' elevated. At a convenient diſtance, towards the oli- ' tory garden, ſhould be a ſtable for two or three ' horſes, and a lodging for a ſervant or two. Laſtly, ' a garden-houſe and conſervatory for tender plants. ' The eſtimate amounts thus: the pavillion 400 *l.* ' the chapel, one hundred and fifty pounds; apart- ' ments, walls, and out-houſing, ſix hundred pounds; ' the purchaſe of a fee for thirty acres, at fifteen ' pounds; ſixteen hundred pounds will be the utmoſt. ' Three of the cells, or apartments, that is, one ' moiety with the appurtenances, ſhall be at the diſ- ' poſal of one of the founders, and the other half at ' the others. If I and my wife take up two apart- ' ments (for we are to be decently aſunder, however, I ' ſtipulate, and her inclination will greatly ſuit with it, ' that ſhall be no impediment to the ſociety, but a ' conſiderable advantage to the œconomic part), a third ' ſhall be for ſome worthy perſon; and, to facilitate ' the reſt, I offer to furniſh the whole pavillion com- ' pletely to the value of five hundred pounds, in goods ' and movables, if need be for ſeven years, till there ' ſhall be a public ſtock, &c. There ſhall be main- ' tained, at the public charge, only a Chaplain well ' qualified, an antient woman to dreſs the meat, waſh, ' and do all ſuch offices; a man to buy proviſion, ' keep the garden, horſes, &c. a boy to aſſiſt him and ' ſerve within. At one meal a day, of two diſhes ' only, unleſs ſome little extraordinary upon particular ' days or occaſions (then never exceeding three) of plain ' and wholeſome meat; a ſmall refection at night: ' wine, beer, ſugar, ſpice, bread, fiſh, fowl, candle, ' ſoap, oats, hay, fuel, &c. at four pounds per week, ' two hundred pounds per annum; wages, fifteen ' pounds; keeping the gardens, twenty pounds; the ' Chaplain, twenty pounds per annum. Laid up in ' the treaſury one hundred forty-five pounds, to be em- ' ployed for books, inſtruments, drugs, trials, &c. The ' total, four hundred pounds a year, comprehending the ' keeping of two horſes for the chariot, or the ſaddle, ' and two kine; ſo that two hundred pounds per an- ' num will be the utmoſt that the founders ſhall be at ' to maintain the whole ſociety, conſiſting of nine per- ' ſons (the ſervants included), though there ſhould no ' others join capable to alleviate the expence. But, if ' any of thoſe who deſire to be of the ſociety be ſo ' well qualified as to ſupport their own particulars, and ' allow for their proportion, it will yet much diminiſh ' the charge; and of ſuch there cannot want ſome at all ' times, as the apartments are empty. If either of the ' founders thinks expedient to alter his condition, or ' that any thing do *humanitus contingere*, he may re- ' ſign to another, or ſell to his colleague, and diſpoſe ' of it as he pleaſes, yet ſo as it ſtill continue the in- ' ſtitution. *Orders.* At ſix, in ſummer, prayers in the ' chapel. To ſtudy till half an hour after eleven. ' Dinner in the refectory till one. Retire till four. ' Then called to converſation (if the weather invite) ' abroad, elſe in the refectory. This never omitted ' but in caſe of ſickneſs. Prayers at ſeven. To bed ' at nine. In the winter the ſame, with ſome abate- ' ments for the hours, becauſe the nights are tedious, ' and the evening's converſation more agreeable. This ' in the refectory. All play interdicted, ſans bowls, ' cheſs, &c. Every one to cultivate his own garden. ' One month in ſpring a courſe in the elaboratory on ' vegetables, &c. In the winter a month on other ' experiments. Every man to have a key of the ela- ' boratory, pavilion, library, repoſitory, &c. Weekly ' faſt. Communion once every fortnight, or month ' at leaſt. No ſtranger eaſily admitted to viſit any of ' the ſociety, but upon certain days weekly, and that ' only after dinner. Any of the ſociety may have ' his commons to his apartment, if he will not meet ' in the refectory, ſo it be not above twice a week. ' Every Thurſday ſhall be a muſick-meeting at con- ' verſation hours. Every perſon of the ſociety ſhall ' render ſome public account of his ſtudies weekly, ' if thought fit, and eſpecially ſhall be recommended ' the promotion of experimental knowledge, as the ' principal end of the inſtitution. There ſhall be a ' a decent habit and uniform uſed in the college. One ' month in the year may be ſpent in London, or any ' of the Univerſities, or in a perambulation for the ' public benefit, &c. with what other orders ſhall be ' thought convenient.'

[G] *And a very important ſervice.*] The conduct of Mr. Evelyn in this critical year, 1659, which was in truth the moſt active in his whole life, is hardly taken notice of by any of thoſe who have undertaken to preſerve his memoirs, and therefore we will endeavour to give the reader as much light into it as poſſible. After the death of Oliver and the depoſition of Richard Cromwell, there were many of the Commanders in the army that ſhewed an inclination to reconcile themſelves to the King, which diſpoſition of theirs was very much encouraged by ſuch as had his Majeſty's intereſt truly at heart. Amongſt theſe, Mr. Evelyn had a particular eye upon Colonel Herbert Morley (12), an old experienced officer in the Parliament Army, who had two ſtout regiments entirely at his devotion, was very much eſteemed by his party, and had the general reputation of being a perſon of probity and honour. It was a very dangerous ſtep, as things then ſtood, to make any advances to one in his ſituation; yet Mr. Evelyn, conſidering how much it might be in that gentleman's power to facilitate the King's return, fairly ventured his life, by adviſing the Colonel freely to make his peace with, and enter into the ſervice of, the King. The Colonel, as might well be expected, acted coldly and cautiouſly at firſt, but at laſt accepted Mr. Evelyn's offer, and deſired him to make uſe of his intereſt to procure a pardon for himſelf, and ſome of his relations and friends whom he named, promiſing in return to give all the aſſiſtance in his power to the royal cauſe. At the ſame time that Mr. Evelyn carried on this dangerous intercourſe with Colonel Morley, he formed a reſolution of publiſhing ſomething that might take off the edge of that inveteracy, expreſſed by thoſe who had been deepeſt in the Parliament's intereſt, againſt ſuch as had always adhered to the King, and with this view he wrote a ſmall treatiſe which had the deſired effect, and was ſo generally well received, that it ran through three impreſſions that year. The title of this piece was (13),

(12) Baker's Chron. with additions, Lond. 1696, fol. p. 661.

(13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 942.

VII. "An Apology for the Royal Party, written "in a Letter to a Perſon of the late Council of "State; with a Touch at the pretended Plea of the "Army." Lond. 1659, in two ſheets in 4to.

But, while Mr. Evelyn and other gentlemen of his ſentiments were thus employed, thoſe of the contrary party were not idle; and, amongſt theſe, one Marchamont Needham, who firſt wrote with great bitterneſs for the King againſt the Parliament, and afterwards with equal acrimony for the Parliament againſt the King, was induced to pen that piece mentioned in the text, which was deſervedly reckoned one of the moſt



artful

introduced to, and graciously received by, him, nor was it long before he received a very singular mark of the King's esteem for, and confidence in, him. It happened thus: there had many troubles and disputes fallen out between the Ambassadors of the crowns of France and Spain, for precedence in the Courts of foreign Princes, and amongst these there was none more remarkable than that upon Tower-hill, on the landing of an Ambassador from Sweden, September 30, 1660, which was so premeditated a business on both sides, that the King, foreseeing it would come to a quarrel (*n*), and being willing to carry himself with indifference towards both, which could not be otherwise done, than leaving them at liberty to take what methods they thought proper for supporting their respective pretences, but to shew at the same time his concern for the public tranquillity, orders were given for a strict guard to be kept upon the place, and all his Majesty's subjects were enjoined not to intermeddle, or take part with either side; and the King was farther pleased to command, that Mr. Evelyn should, after diligent enquiry made, draw up and present him a distinct narrative of the whole affair, which he accordingly did, and it is a very curious and remarkable piece, though not taken notice of in any of the accounts of our author's writings, which is the reason of our speaking of it with all its circumstances [*H*]. Our author began now to enter into

(*n*) Continuation of Heath's Chron. p. 751.

artful and dangerous contrivances, for impeding that healing spirit that began now to spread itself through the nation, and with that view was handed to the press by Praise-God Barebone, one of the fiercest zealots in those times, the title of which, at large, runs thus (14): "News from Brussels, in a Letter from a "near Attendant on his Majesty's Person, to a Person "of honour here, dated March the 10th, 1659." The design of this pretended letter was to represent the character of King Charles the Second in as bad a light as possible, in order to destroy the favourable impressions that many had received of his natural inclination to mildness and clemency. All the King's friends were extremely alarmed at this attempt, and saw plainly that it would be attended with most pernicious consequences; but Mr. Evelyn, who had as quick a foresight as any of them, resolved to lose no time in furnishing an antidote against this poison, and with great diligence and dexterity, sent abroad in a week's time a complete answer, which bore the following title:

(14) Kennet's Historical Register, p. 117.

VIII. "The late News or Message from Brussels "unmasked." Lond. 1659. 4to.

This was certainly a very seasonable and very important service, which, for his own safety our Author managed with such secrecy, that hardly any body knew from whom this pamphlet came. But how much soever he had reason to be pleased with the success of his pen upon this occasion, he could not help being extremely mortified at the change he perceived in his friend Colonel Morley's behaviour, who on a sudden grew very silent and reserved, and at length plainly avoided any private conversation with Mr. Evelyn. In this situation our Author had the courage to write him an expostulatory letter, which was in effect putting his life into his hands, and yet even this failed of procuring him the satisfaction he expected. However, he felt no inconvenience from it; for, this alteration in Colonel Morley's countenance towards him, was not at all the effects of any change in his disposition, but arose from his having entered into new engagements for the King's service with Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper and General Monk (15), who had tied him down to such absolute secrecy, that he was not able at that juncture to give Mr. Evelyn any hint that might make him easy; but by degrees these clouds were dispelled, and he saw plainly enough from the Colonel's public behaviour, that he had no reason to apprehend any mischief from the confidence he had reposed in him.

(15) Baker's Chron. continued by E. Phillips. Lond. 1674, fol. p. 722.

[*H*] *With all its circumstances.*] This piece of Mr. Evelyn's is very curious; and, not being to be met with in any of his works, the reader cannot be displeased with having this opportunity of perusing it, more especially when he sees, by the conclusion, what the consequences were of this political riot. The title of it ran thus: "The Manner of the Encounter, be-"tween the French and Spanish Ambassadors, at the "Landing of the Swedish Ambassador."

'Upon Monday last, being the 30th of September, 'about ten in the morning the Spanish Ambassador's 'coach, in which were his Chaplain with some of 'his gentlemen, attended by about forty more of his 'servants in livery, was sent down to the Tower 'wharf, and there placed itself near about the point, 'where the ranks of ordnance determine towards the 'gate leading into the bulwark. Next after him came 'the Dutch and (twelve a-clock past) the Swedish 'coach of honour, disposing of themselves according 'to their places. About two hours after this (in 'company with his Majesty's Coach Royal) appeared 'that of the French Ambassador's, wherein were Le 'Marquis d'Estrade, son to the French Ambassador, 'with several more of his gentlemen, and, as might 'be computed, near an hundred and fifty in train, 'whereof above forty were horsemen well appointed, 'with pistols, and some of them with carabines, mus-'quetoons, or fuzees: in this posture and equipage 'stood they expecting upon the wharf, and as near 'as might be, approaching to his Majesty's coach, 'which was opposite to the stairs, about three in the 'afternoon, the Swedish Ambassador being landed, 'and received into his Majesty's coach, which moved 'leisurely before the rest, and was followed by that 'of the Swede's. The French Ambassador's coach en-'deavoured to go the next, driving as close as possibly 'they could, and advancing their party with their 'swords drawn, to force the Spaniards from the guard 'of their own coach, which were also putting in for 'precedency next the King's. His Majesty's coach 'now past the Spaniard's, who held as yet their rapiers 'undrawn in their hands, stepping nimbly on either 'side of the hindmost wheels of their master's coach, 'drew their weapons and shouted, which caused the 'French coach-horses to make a pause: but, when 'they observed the advantage, which by this the 'Spanish Ambassador's coach had gained, being now 'in file after the Swedes, they came up very near to 'the Spaniard's, and, at once pouring in their shot 'upon them, together with their foot, then got before 'their coach, fell to it with their swords, both which 'the Spaniards received without removing one jot 'from their station.

'During this *demesle* (in which the French re-'ceived some repulse and were put to a second stand), 'a bold and dextrous fellow, and as most affirm with 'a particular instrument as well as address, stooping 'under the bellies of the French Ambassador's coach-'horses, cut the hamstrings of two of them, and 'wounded a third, which immediately falling, the 'coach for the present was disabled from advancing 'farther, the coachman forced out of his box, and 'the postilion mortally wounded, who falling into 'the arms of an English gentleman that stepped in to 'his succour, was by a Spaniard pierced through his 'thigh. This disorder (wherein several were wounded 'and some slain) caused those in the French to alight, 'and so enraged their party, that it occasioned a se-'cond brisk assault both of horse and foot, which 'being received with extraordinary gallantry, many 'of their horse retreated and wheeled off to St. 'Katharine's.

into the active ſcenes of life, but yet without bidding adieu entirely to his ſtudies. On the contrary, he publiſhed, in the ſpace of a few months, ſeveral learned treatiſes upon different ſubjects (*o*), which met with great applauſe; the rather, becauſe the author expreſſed in ſome of them his intention to proſecute more largely ſeveral philoſophical ſubjects, in a manner that might render them conducive to the benefit of ſociety; and of his capacity for performing theſe promiſes, ſome of theſe pieces were inſtances ſufficient to ſatisfy every intelligent reader, as well as to juſtify the character he had already acquired, of being at once an able and agreeable writer [*I*]. About the cloſe of the year, 1662, when his Majeſty was pleaſed, by his Letters Patent, to erect and eſtabliſh the Royal Society for the improvement of natural knowledge, John Evelyn, Eſq. was appointed one of the firſt Fellows and Council (*p*). He had given a proof the ſame year how well he deſerved that diſtinction, by a ſmall, but excellent work of his, intituled, "Sculptura (*q*)," of which, as it is now become very ſcarce, an account ſhall be given in the notes [*K*]. Upon the firſt appearance of the nation's being obliged to

(*o*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 491.

(*p*) Sprat. Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 137.

(*q*) See an account of that work in the notes.

'It was in this ſkirmiſh, that ſome brickbats were 'thrown from the edge of the wharf, which by a 'miſtake are ſaid to have been provided by the Spa'niſh Ambaſſador's order the day before: but that 'they were not caſt by any of the Engliſh is atteſted 'by the general conſent of all the ſpectators.

'In this interim then (which was near half an 'hour) the Spaniſh coach went forward after his Ma'jeſty's, with about twenty of his retinue following, 'who ſtill kept their countenance towards the French 'as long as they abode on the wharf, and that nar'row paſſage of the bulwark (where the conteſt was 'very fierce) without diſorder: ſo as the firſt which 'appeared on Tower-Hill, where now they were 'entering, was his Majeſty's coach followed by the 'Swedes Ambaſſador's, and next by that of Spain 'with about twenty-four or thirty of his Liveries ſtill 'diſputing it, with a leſs number of French who came 'after them in the rear.

'And here, beſides what were ſlain with bullets on 'the wharf, and near the bulwark, whereof one was 'a Valet de Chambre of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador's, 'and ſix more, amongſt which a poor Engliſh plaſte'rer, and near forty wounded, fell one of the French, 'who was killed juſt before his Highneſs's life-guard, 'no one perſon of the numerous ſpectators intermed'dling, or ſo much as making the leaſt noiſe or tu'mult, people or ſoldiers, whereof there were three 'companies of foot, which ſtood oppoſite on the hill 'to the Guards of Horſe, 'twixt whom the antago'niſts lightly ſkirmiſhed, ſome freſh parties of French 'coming out of ſeveral places and protected by the 'Engliſh, amongſt whom they found ſhelter till the 'Spaniſh Ambaſſador's coach having gained and 'paſſed the chain which leads into Crochet Friers, 'they deſiſted and gave them over.

'Whatever diſadvantage the French came off with 'in this rencounter, wherein except one man that 'fought among the Spaniards with a half pike, not 'any of the Engliſh were ſeen to act any thing that 'might contribute to the ſucceſs of one ſide more 'than another, till a few of the multitude which 'ſtood on that ſide of the wharf being enraged by 'the wounds, which they received from the ſhot that 'came in amongſt them, and whereof 'tis ſaid ſome 'of them afterwards died, were forced to defend 'themſelves with what they found at hand. For ſo 'careful was Sir Charles Berkeley, Captain of his 'Royal Highneſs's Life-Guard, to put in execution 'what he had in ſtrict charge from his Majeſty, that 'not a man of the ſpectators was ſuffered with impu'nity ſo much as with a ſwitch in his hand. The 'French King from this occaſion gained an advan'tage to the prerogative he ſtood upon, greater than 'if this conteſt had not happened. For, whereas this 'buſineſs of precedence had been hitherto in contro'verſy between him and Spain, inſomuch that, to 'prevent all inconveniences, an accord had been 'lately made here between the Spaniſh Ambaſſador 'and the Count of Soiſſons, that they ſhould aſſiſt at 'no public ceremonies, but upon all ſuch caſual en'counters paſs on their way as they fortuned to meet; 'the King of France countermanding this agree'ment, and ſending poſitive charge to D'Eſtrade not 'to abate any thing of thoſe pretenſions formerly 'ſtood upon, and hearing what enſued upon his Am'baſſador's executing of his injunctions, was ſo in'cenſed thereat, that the quarrel had proceeded to 'an abſolute breach of the late concluded peace be'tween the two Kingdoms, had not the King of 'Spain condeſcended to agree that thenceforward 'precedence ſhould be yielded to the French upon all 'ſuch like occaſions without any diſpute.'

[*I*] *An able and agreeable writer.*] It is certain that very few authors who have written in our language, deſerve this character ſo well as Mr. Evelyn, who, though he was acquainted with moſt ſciences, and wrote upon many different ſubjects, yet was very far, indeed the fartheſt of moſt men of his time, from being a ſuperficial writer. He had genius, he had taſte, he had learning, and he knew how to give all theſe a proper place in his works, ſo as never to paſs for a pedant, even with ſuch as were leaſt in love with literature, and to be juſtly eſteemed a polite author by thoſe who knew it beſt. His performances during this year, except one, were but light and trivial in compariſon of thoſe that he afterwards ſent abroad: but, it is neceſſary, however, that the reader, who will expect a large account of thoſe, ſhould take notice of theſe likewiſe.

IX. "A Panegyrick at his Majeſty King Charles II. "his Coronation." Lond. 1661. fol.

X. "Inſtructions concerning the erecting of a Library. "Written by Gabriel Naudé, publiſhed in Engliſh "with ſome Improvements, by John Evelyn, Eſq." Lond. 1661. 8vo.

XI. "Fumifugium; or the Inconveniences of the "Air, and the Smoke of London diſſipated. Together "with ſome remedies humbly propoſed, by John "Evelyn," London, 1661. 4to. in five ſheets addreſſed to the King and Parliament, and publiſhed by his Majeſty's expreſs command.

XII. "Tyrannus, or the Mode; in a Diſcourſe of "Sumptuary Laws," Lond. 1661. 8vo.

[*K*] *In the notes.*] Of this work which has been always looked upon as a very great curioſity, from the time of its publication to this day, the title at large runs thus. XIII. "Sculptura; or the Hiſtory and "Art of Calcography, and Engraving in Copper, with "an ample Enumeration of the moſt renowned Maſ"ters and their Works. To which is annexed, a new "Manner of Engraving, or Mezzo Tinto, commu"cated by his Highneſs Prince Rupert to the Author "of this Treatiſe." Lond. 1662. 8vo. In the dedication to Mr. Robert Boyle, dated at Sayes-Court, April 5th, 1662, he obſerves, that he wrote this Treatiſe at the reiterated inſtance of that gentleman. The firſt chapter treats of Sculpture, how derived and diſtinguiſhed, with the ſtyles and inſtruments belonging to it. The ſecond, of the original of Sculpture in general. In this chapter our Author obſerves, that letters, and conſequently ſculpture, were long before the Flood, Suidas aſcribing both letters and all the reſt of the Sciences to Adam. After the Flood, as he ſuppoſes, there were but few who make any conſiderable queſtion, that it might not be propagated by Noah to his poſterity, though ſome admit of none before Moſes. 'But what then ſhall we think of that 'book

to engage in a war with the Dutch, the King thought proper to appoint Commiſſioners to

'book of the wars of the Lord, which this ſacred 'Author mentions Num. xxi. not to inſiſt upon the 'eighty-eighth and one hundred and nineteenth 'Pſalms, by many aſcribed to ſome of the patriarchs, 'his predeceſſors? Mercurius Triſmegiſtus, three 'hundred years after the Flood, and long before 'Moſes, engraved his ſecret and myſterious things in 'ſtone, as himſelf reports, reforming what had been 'depraved by the wicked Cham, ſome in letters, ſome 'in figures, and enigmatical characters, ſuch haply as 'were thoſe contained in the magnificent and ſtupen-'dous obeliſks, erected by Miſra, the firſt Egyptian 'Pharaoh, which being at leaſt four hundred years 'before Moſes, as the moſt indefatigable Kircher has 'computed, does greatly preſage their antiquity to 'have been before that holy prophet. But not to put 'too much ſtreſs upon ſupernatural tradition, this 'we are ſure of is of faith and without controverſy, 'that in Moſes we have the tables of ſtone engraven 'by the finger of God himſelf, where the command 'is expreſs even againſt the abuſe of this very art, as 'well as an inſtance of the idolatry atteſting that of 'Sculpture, "Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf any 'graven image." But this, which is indeed the firſt 'writing that we have in Scripture to vouch for, does yet 'pre-ſuppoſe engraving to have been of much greater 'antiquity. What elſe were the Teraphim, what the 'Pentos ſtolen by Rachael? The Idols of Terah? Or 'the Egyptians? &c. But we forbear to expatiate: 'only that which Ben Syrac, ſomewhere in Eccle-'ſiaſticus delivered, that the original of idolatry was 'from images to preſerve the memory of the dead, 'as in proceſs of time by the flatterers of great men, 'it was turned to be an object of adoration, plainly 'infers graving to have been older than Idolatry.' But now, continues our Author, to recover its eſteem again beyond all prejudice (however by others abuſed as indeed many of the beſt things have been,) it was, we know, imputed for a ſpiritual talent in Bezaleel, and Aholiab, who made Intaglias to adorn the High Prieſt's Pectoral. And we have ſaid how the Egyptians reverenced it, as ſeeming to have uſed it before letters, or rather their Hieroglyphics, importing ſacred ſculpture, were thoſe elements by which they tranſmitted to poſterity what they eſteemed moſt worthy of record, and not, as ſome have imagined, wrapped up in thoſe enigmatical figures, the ſecrets of their arts both divine and ſecular: ſuch as were alſo the *Horapollinis notæ*, and all thoſe other venerable antiquities of this nature, tranſported to Rome out of Egypt, in no leſs than two and forty prodigious obeliſks, interpreted by the induſtrious Kircher. Suidas attributes the invention to the Father of the Faithful, others to Theut or Hermes, ſome to Cadmus and the Phœnicians. Bibliander will have letters and ſculpture from Adam, Joſephus from Henoch; Philo from Abraham, Euſebius from Moſes, Cyprian from Saturn, where by the way, becauſe it is ſaid he did *Literas imprimere*, Petrus Calaber, who calls himſelf Pomponius Lætus, abſurdly deduces, that even the Typographical Art was known in the age of this Hero. But thence it deſcended to the Egyptians by Miſraim, and ſo was communicated to the Perſians, Medes, and Aſſyrians, thence to the Greeks, and laſtly to the Romans, whence it was derived to us, as Peter Crinitus, in his ſeventh book *de honeſtâ Diſciplinâ*, out of a very antient manuſcript, *Bibliothecæ Septimianæ*, ſeems to deduce. Now, ſhould all this but relate to the ſeveral characters, it ſhall yet ſerve our purpoſe, ſince whoever was the inventor of letters was alſo doubtleſs the father of Sculpture, as is apparent if not by the columns erected by Seth, (one whereof, *Angelus Roccha*, in his *Bibliotheca Vaticana*, preſumes to have been of braſs,) by ſeveral other inſtances, the writing with ink, paper, or parchment, being altogether a novelty in compariſon with the more antient forms and materials, ſuch as were the flit ſtones of ſlates, which ſucceeded the ſtately marbles, and preceded the thinner leaves of bark and tables of wood, which, from the German Bucher, ſignifying the Fagus or Beech-tree, whoſe fruit does ſtill with us retain the name of Beech-maſt, were called Books, to whatever voluble or folding matter applied. For, before the invention of paper, they uſed the leaves of palm, as *Varro, de Sibylla*; then the rinds of trees; afterwards ſheets of lead, linen, wax, and ivory, as Vopiſcus tells us. They wrote in ſilk among the Perſians and Chineſe, and laſtly were invented parchment and paper. But, whether in all theſe, or whatever the ſubject, were ſome few later excepted, it was ſtill by inſculping, ſcarifying, and making a kind of inciſion into it, eſpecially intending to conſign to poſterity their laws divine and human, Roman, Egyptian, or Hebrew: for ſo, of old,

——*Verba minantia fixo*
*Ære ligabantur.*

Thus were the Hieronicæ preſerved in the temple of Olympian Jove, and the Roman Conſuls in the Capitol; and, as by thoſe innumerable inſcriptions of irrefragable and undeniable antiquities does appear, we have already computed how probable it is, that Sculpture was in uſe in Egypt ſomewhat before, or at leaſt as ſoon as the Patriarch Abraham went thither. But the leſs diſcerning Greeks, who received it from the Egyptians, could tell us of no writings of theirs extant before Homer, if we will prefer the authority of Joſephus before that of Tatian, a learned Aſſyrian, and contemporary with Juſtin Martyr, where he mentions no leſs than ſeventeen Greek writers more ancient than Homer. There are alſo enumerated the names of twenty Argive Kings from Inachus to Agamemnon, which ſtrongly infers the means of recording by Sculpture, and Writing, to have been very ancient. For ſo we read, that the Poems of Heſiod were ingraven in lead. Ariſtotle mentions Daphne, a certain Devotreſs of Apollo, Sabinus and Diodorus many others. But when or however it were, thence, as we obſerved, it travelled into Greece, that Theatre of Arts, where it ſoon arrived to the ſupremeſt height of perfection; when, being applied to the forming of figures, it was celebrated by all the witty men of thoſe and the ſucceeding ages. Homer tells us of the engraving in the ſhield of Achilles, Heſiod of that of Hercules, not to mention the ſculptures upon the chariot of the ſun deſcribed by the poet, becauſe it is altogether fictitious, though extremely ingenious, and whence they might have their *Vehicula Cælata*, mentioned by Q. Curtius. The third chapter treats of the reputation and progreſs of ſculpture among the Greeks and Romans down to the middle ages, with a diſcuſſion of ſome pretenſions to the invention of copper cuts, and their impreſſions. The fourth, of the invention and progreſs of Chalcography in particular, together with an ample enumeration of the moſt renowned maſters and their works. The fifth, of drawing and deſign, previous to the Art of Chalcography, and of the uſe of pictures, in order to the education of children. In this chapter our author, in honour of the art upon which he writes, diſcourſes thus: 'It was in the for-'mer chapter that we made rehearſal of the moſt re-'nowned gravers and their works, not that we had 'no more to add to that number, but becauſe we 'would not mingle theſe illuſtrious names and quali-'ties there, which we purpoſely reſerved for the 'crown of this diſcourſe. We did, therefore, for-'bear to mention what his Highneſs Prince Rupert's 'own hands have contributed to the dignity of that 'art, performing things, in graving, of which ſome 'enrich our collection comparable to the greateſt maſ-'ters, ſuch a ſpirit and addreſs there appears in all 'that he touches, and eſpecially in that of the Mez-'zotinto, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter more at 'large, having firſt enumerated thoſe incomparable 'gravings of that his new and inimitable ſtyle, in 'both the great and little decollations of St. John the 'Baptiſt, the ſoldier holding a ſpear and leaning his 'hand

to take care of the ſick and wounded. This was in November, 1664, and Mr. Evelyn was one of the number, having all the ports between Dover and Portſmouth in his diſtrict; and Sir Thomas Clifford, who was afterwards a Peer, and Lord High Treaſurer of England, was another of thoſe Commiſſioners (*r*). We find theſe particulars in a letter from our author to Mr. Boyle, in which he expreſſes how great a ſatisfaction it would have been to have had that worthy and charitable perſon for his colleague. His literary labours within the compaſs of this year were not only as great, but even greater than in any of thoſe preceding, which aroſe from the deſire the author had to ſupport the credit of the Royal Society, and, to convince the world, that Philoſophy

(*r*) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 402.

'hand on a ſhield, the two Mary Magdalens, the old 'man's head, that of Titian, &c.; after the ſame 'Titian, Georgion, and others. We have alſo ſeen a 'plate etched by the preſent French King, and other 'great perſons; the Right Honourable the Earl of 'Sandwich, ſometimes, as we are told, diverting 'himſelf with the burine, and herein imitating thoſe 'ancient and renowned heroes, whoſe names are 'loud in the trumpet of fame, for their ſkill and par'ticular affection to theſe arts. For, ſuch, of old, 'were Lucius Manilius, and Fabius, noble Romans, 'Pacuvius the tragic poet, nephew to Ennius. So'crates, the wiſeſt of men, and Plato himſelf, Me'trodorus, and Pyrrhus the philoſopher, did both de'ſign and paint; and ſo did Valentinian, Adrian, and 'Severus, Emperors, ſo as the great Paulus Æmilius 'eſteemed it of ſuch high importance, that he would 'needs have his ſon to be inſtructed in it, as in one 'of the moſt worthy and excellent accompliſhments 'belonging to a Prince. For the art of graving, 'Quintilian likewiſe celebrates Euphranor, a polite 'and rarely endowed perſon, and Pliny, in that chap'ter, where he treats of the ſame art, obſerves, that 'there was never any one famous in it but who was 'by birth or education a gentleman. Therefore he and 'Galen, in their recenſion of the liberal arts, men'tion that of graving, in particular, amongſt the moſt 'permanent; and, in the ſame catalogue, number it 'with Rhetorick, Geometry, Logic, Aſtronomy, yea, 'Grammar itſelf, becauſe there is in theſe arts, ſay 'they, more of fancy and invention than ſtrength of 'hand, more of the ſpirit than of the body. Hence 'Ariſtotle informs us, that the Grecians did univer'ſally inſtitute their children in the art of painting 'and drawing, for an œconomique reaſon there ſigni'fied, as well as to produce proportions in the mind. 'Varro makes it part of the ladies education, that 'they might have the better ſkill in the works of Em'broidery, &c. and for this cauſe is his daughter 'Martia celebrated amongſt thoſe of her fair ſex. We 'have already mentioned the learned Anna Schur'man; but the Princeſs Louiſa has done wonders of 'this kind, and is famous throughout Europe for the 'many pieces which inrich our cabinets, examples, 'ſufficient to vindicate its dignity, and the value that 'has been ſet upon it, ſince both Emperors, Kings, 'and Philoſophers, the great and the wiſe, have not 'diſdained to cultivate and cheriſh this honourable 'quality of old, ſo nobly reputed, that amongſt the 'Greeks a ſlave might not be taught it. How paſ'ſionately does Pereſkius, that admirable and univer'ſal genius, deplore his want of dexterity in this art! 'Baptiſta Alberti, Aldus Pomponius, Guaricus Durer, 'and Rubens, were politely learned and knowing 'men, and it is hardly to be imagined, of how great 'uſe and conducible a competent addreſs in this art 'of drawing and deſigning is to the ſeveral advan'tages which occur, and eſpecially to the more noble 'mathematical ſciences, as we have already inſtanced 'in the lunary works of Hevelius, and are no leſs 'obliged to celebrate ſome of our own countrymen 'famous for their dexterity in this incomparable art. 'Such was that Blagrave, who himſelf cut thoſe dia'grams in his Mathematical Jewel, and ſuch at pre'ſent is that rare and early prodigy of univerſal ſci'ence, Dr. Chr. Wren, our worthy and accompliſhed 'friend. For, if the ſtudy of Eloquence and Rheto'rick were cultivated by the greateſt geniuſes and 'heroic perſons which the world has produced, and 'that by the ſuffrage of the moſt knowing to be a 'perfect orator, a man ought to be univerſally in'ſtructed, a quality ſo becoming and uſeful ſhould 'never be neglected.' In the ſixth chapter, he diſcourſes of the new way of engraving or mezzotinto, invented and communicated by his Highneſs Prince RUPERT, and he therein obſerves, 'that his High'neſs did indulge him the liberty of publiſhing the 'whole manner and addreſs of this new way of en'graving; but when I had well conſidered it, ſays he, '(ſo much having been already expreſſed, which may 'ſuffice to give the hint to all ingenious perſons how 'it is to be performed,) I did not think it neceſſary, 'that an art ſo curious, and as yet ſo little vulgar, 'and which indeed does not ſucceed where the work'man is not an accompliſhed deſigner, and has a 'competent talent in painting likewiſe, was to be 'proſtituted at ſo cheap a rate as the more naked 'deſcribing of it here would too ſoon have expoſed 'it to. Upon theſe conſiderations, then, it is, that 'we leave it thus enigmatical; and yet that this may 'appear no diſingenuous rhodomontade in me, or in'vidious excuſe, I profeſs myſelf to be always moſt 'ready *ſub ſigillo*, and by his Highneſs's permiſſion, 'to gratify any curious and worthy perſon with as 'full and perfect a demonſtration of the entire art 'as my talent and addreſs will reach to, if what I am 'now preparing to be reſerved in the Archives of 'the Royal Society concerning it be not ſufficiently 'inſtructive.' There came, however, into the hands of the communicative and learned Richard Middleton Maſſey, M. D. and F. R. S. the original manuſcript written by Mr. Evelyn, and deſigned for the Royal Society, intituled, "Prince Rupert's new way of En"graving, communicated by his Highneſs to Mr. "Evelyn;" in the margin of which is this note, "This I prepared to be regiſtered in the Royal Soci"ety, but I have not yet given it in, ſo as it ſtill con"tinues a ſecret." In this manuſcript, he firſt deſcribes the two inſtruments employed in this new manner of engraving, viz. the Hatcher and the Style, and then proceeds to explain the method of uſing them. He concludes with the following words: 'This invention, or new manner of Chalcography, 'was the reſult of chance, and improved by a Ger'man ſoldier, who eſpying ſome ſcrape on the barrel 'of his muſquet, and being of an ingenious ſpirit, re'fined upon it, till it produced the effects you have 'ſeen, and which indeed is, for the delicacy thereof, 'much ſuperior to any invention extant of this Art, 'for the imitation of thoſe maſterly drawings, and as 'the Italians call it, that *morbidezza* expreſſed in the 'beſt of their deſigns. I have had the honour to be 'the firſt of the Engliſh to whom it has been yet com'municated, and by a ſpecial indulgence of his High'neſs, who with his own hands was pleaſed to direct 'me with permiſſion to publiſh it to the world: but I 'have eſteemed it a thing ſo curious, that I thought 'it would be to profane it, before I had firſt offered 'it to this illuſtrious Society. There is another way 'of engraving by rowelling a plate with an inſtrument, 'made like that which our Scriveners and Clerks uſe 'to direct their rulers by, on parchment, only the 'points are thicker ſet into the rowell. And when 'the plate is ſufficiently freckled with the frequent 'reciprocation of it, upon the poliſhed ſurface, ſo as 'to render the ground dark enough, it is to be abated 'with the ſtyle, and treated as we have already 'deſcribed. Of this ſort I have ſeen a head of the 'Queen Chriſtina, graved, if I miſtake not, as big as 'the life, but not comparable to the Mezzo Tinto of 'Prince Rupert, ſo deſervedly celebrated by

J. EVELYN.'

was not barely an amuſement fit to take up the time of melancholy and contemplative perſons, but a high and uſeful ſcience, worthy the attention of men of the greateſt parts, and capable of contributing in a ſupreme degree to the welfare of the nation (*s*). In this noble deſign, as never any man engaged with a better will, or proſecuted his intentions with greater diligence, ſo it may be truly ſaid, that never any advocate for Philoſophy employed his talents with greater ſucceſs. He exerted them alſo in the defence, and for the improvement, of the public taſte in Architecture and Painting, with equal vigour, and with equal applauſe. The ſame praiſes that were beſtowed upon him then have been continued in reſpect to his works from the gratitude of poſterity; nor are his learned efforts, in behalf of ſcience and the polite arts, leſs reliſhed now than at the time of their firſt appearance; a reward, which, though it may have been deſerved by many, has, however, been received by few, at leaſt with the ſame degree with our author, and is therefore an inconteſtible proof of his merit [*L*]. As there

(*s*) See his large Preface prefixed before his Sylva.

[*L*] *An inconteſtible proof of his merit.*] The digeſting the numerous works of this elegant and excellent writer in their natural order is a work of no ſmall pains, as thoſe who have given the world his memoirs heretofore were very ſenſible, and for that reaſon never attempted it: yet that is not the cauſe of our mentioning it here, but a conſideration of quite a different nature, which is, that we may not be blamed for any deficiency or miſtake into which we may happen to fall through want of proper guides, in ſpite of all the care that we could poſſibly take; and, having premiſed this, we will proceed in our catalogue:

XV. "SYLVA; or, a Diſcourſe of Foreſt-trees, "and the Propagation of Timber in his Majeſty's "Dominions. As it was delivered in the Royal So- "ciety the 15th of October, 1662, upon Occaſion of "certain Queries propounded to that illuſtrious Aſ- "ſembly by the honourable the principal Officers and "Commiſſioners of the Navy. To which is annexed, "POMONA; or, an Appendix concerning Fruit-trees, "in relation to Cider, the making, and ſeveral "Ways of ordering it: publiſhed by expreſs Order "of the Royal Society. By John Evelyn, Eſq. "Fellow of the Royal Society." Lond. 1664, fol.

The bare Hiſtory of the editions of this moſt valuable work, the contents of which are too well known to ſtand in need of any account to be given of them here would be ſufficient to employ all the room that we have to ſpare. It was written by the command, it was publiſhed in virtue of an order, of the Royal Society, ſigned by the Lord Viſcount Brouncker, their Preſident, and dedicated to the King. The ſecond edition of it was publiſhed in 1669, with a new dedication to King Charles II, dated from Sayes-Court, Aug. 24. The firſt paragraph of which is ſo remarkable as to deſerve, in a great degree, the reader's notice. 'Sir, This 'ſecond edition of Sylva, after more than a thouſand 'copies had been bought up and diſperſed of the firſt 'impreſſion, in much leſs than two years ſpace (which 'Bookſellers aſſure us is a very extraordinary thing in 'volumes of this bulk), comes now again to pay its ho- 'mage to your Serene Majeſty, to whoſe auſpices alone 'it owes the favourable acceptance which it has re- 'ceived in the world. But it is not that alone which 'it preſumes to tell your Majeſty, but to acquaint you 'that it has been the ſole occaſion for furniſhing your 'almoſt exhauſted dominions with more, I dare ſay, 'than two millions of timber-trees, beſides infinite 'others, which have been propagated within the three 'nations at the inſtigation, and by the direction, of 'this work; and that the author of it is able, if need 'require, to make it out by a competent volume of 'letters and acknowledgments, which are come to his 'hands, from ſeveral perſons of the moſt eminent qua- 'lity, many of them illuſtrious, and divers of them 'unknown to him, in juſtification of what he aſſerts, 'which he the rather preſerves with the more care, 'becauſe they are teſtimonials from ſo many honour- 'able perſons of the benefit they have received from 'the endeavours of the Royal Society, which now-a- 'days paſſes through ſo many cenſures; but ſhe has 'yet your Majeſty for her Founder and Patron, and is 'therefore the leſs concerned, ſince no man of worth 'can lightly ſpeak ill of an Aſſembly, which your 'Majeſty has thought fit to dignify by ſo ſignal a re- 'lation to it.' There follows next a ſhort diſcourſe *To the Reader*, in which the occaſion, contents, and deſign, of the work, are declared; then a copy of Latin verſes by the learned Dr. Beale; to theſe ſucceed another copy of Latin verſes, written by R. Bohun, Eſq. and then a third in Greek, by John Evelyn, junior, Eſq. POMONA, which is but an Appendix, is, however, dedicated to that beſt of Miniſters, Thomas, Earl of Southampton, and Lord High Treaſurer of England. The third edition, with great additions and improvements, was publiſhed in 1679. The fourth edition in 1705, in which the Diſcourſe to the reader is very much enlarged, and every chapter of the work very conſiderably augmented. There was a fifth edition, with all the leſſer pieces of our author relating to agriculture and gardening, annexed, in 1729, all in folio; nor is there any reaſon to doubt its farther ſucceſs.

XVI. "A Parallel of the Antient Architecture with "the Modern, in a Collection of Ten principal "Authors, who have written upon the Five Orders, "viz. Palladio and Scammozzi, Serlio and Vignola; "D. Barbaro and Cataneo; L.B. Alberti and Viola, "Bullant and De Lorme; compared with one ano- "ther. The three Greek Orders, Doric, Ionic, and "Corinthian, compriſe the Firſt Part of this Treatiſe, "and the Two Latin, Tuſcan, and Compoſita, the "latter; written in French by Roland Freart, Sieur "de Chambray; made Engliſh for the Benefit of "Builders. To which is added, An Account of "Architects and Architecture, in an Hiſtorical and "Etymological Explanation of certain Terms, par- "ticularly affected by Architects; with Leon Baptiſta "Alberti's Treatiſe of Statues. By John Evelyn, "Eſq. Fellow of the Royal Society." London, 1664. folio.

This work, as well as the former, is dedicated to King Charles the Second; and the Dedication, dated from Sayes-Court, Auguſt 20th. I will take the liberty of quoting ſome lines from it, not for the ſake of panegyrick, though in that no writer excelled our Author; but, upon the ſcore of the facts that are mentioned therein, which, there is a probability, might not otherwiſe fall in our reader's way. After an apology for prefixing his royal name to a tranſlation, our Author proceeds thus: 'I know none, indeed, to whom I could 'more aptly inſcribe a diſcourſe of Building than to ſo 'Royal a Builder, whoſe auguſt attempts have already 'given ſo great a ſplendour to our imperial city, and 'ſo illuſtrious an example to the nation! It is from 'this contemplation, Sir, that after I had, by the com- 'mands of the Royal Society, endeavoured the im- 'provement of timber and the planting of trees, I 'have advanced to that of Building, as its proper and 'mutual conſequent, not with a preſumption to incite 'or inſtruct your Majeſty, which were a vanity un- 'pardonable, but, by it, to take occaſion of celebra- 'ting your Majeſty's great example, who uſe your 'Empire and authority ſo worthily, as fortune 'ſeems to have conſulted her reaſon, when ſhe 'poured her favours upon you; ſo as I never caſt 'my

there 's nothing more natural than for men of true learning to preſerve a laſting regard and

' my eyes on that generous deſignation in the Epi-
' gram,

' ——Ut donem Paſtor & ædificem,

' without immediate reflection on your Majeſty, who
' ſeem only to value thoſe royal advantages you have
' above others, that you may oblige, and that
' you may build. And certainly, Sir, your Majeſty
' had conſulted the nobleſt way of eſtabliſhing your
' greatneſs, and of perpetuating your memory, ſince,
' whilſt ſtones can preſerve inſcriptions, your name
' will be famous to poſterity; and, when thoſe mate-
' rials fail, the benefits that are engraven in our hearts
' will outlaſt thoſe of marble. It will be no para-
' dox, but a truth, to affirm that your Majeſty has
' already built, and repaired, more in three or four
' years, notwithſtanding the difficulties and the neceſ-
' ſity of an extraordinary œconomy for the public
' concernment, than all your enemies have deſtroyed
' in twenty; nay, than all your Majeſty's predeceſ-
' ſors have advanced in an hundred, as I could eaſily
' make out, not only by what your Majeſty has ſo
' magnificently deſigned and carried on at that your
' antient honour of Greenwich, under the conduct of
' your moſt induſtrious and worthy ſurveyor, but in
' thoſe ſplendid apartments, and other uſeful reforma-
' tions for ſecurity and delight about your Majeſty's
' Palace, at Whitehall, the chargeable covering firſt
' then paving and reformation of Weſtminſter-Hall, care
' and preparation for rebuilding St. Paul's, by the impiety
' and iniquity of the late confuſions almoſt dilapidated,
' what her Majeſty the Queen-mother has added
' to her Palace at Somerſet-Houſe, in a ſtructure be-
' coming her royal grandeur, and the due veneration
' of all your Majeſty's ſubjects, for the honour ſhe
' has done both this your native city, and the whole
' nation. Nor may I here omit what I ſo much de-
' ſire to tranſmit to poſterity, thoſe noble and pro-
' fitable amænities of your Majeſty's plantations, where-
' in you moſt reſemble the divine Architect, becauſe
' your Majeſty has propoſed in it ſuch a pattern to
' your ſubjects, as merit their imitation and profoundeſt
' acknowledgments, in one of the moſt worthy and
' kingly improvements that nature is capable of. I
' know not what they talk of former ages, and of the
' now contemporary Princes with your Majeſty, theſe
' things are viſible: and ſhould I here deſcend to
' more particulars, which yet were not foreign to the
' ſubject of this diſcourſe, I would provoke the whole
' world to produce me an example parallel with your
' Majeſty, for your exact judgment and marvellous
' ability in all that belongs to the naval Architecture,
' both as to its proper terms and more ſolid uſe, in
' which your Majeſty is maſter of one of the moſt
' noble and profitable arts that can be wiſhed, in a
' Prince to whom God has deſigned the dominion of
' the ocean, which renders your Majeſty's empire
' univerſal; where, by exerciſing your royal talent
' and knowledge that way, you can bring even the
' Antipodes to meet, and the poles to kiſs each other;
' for ſo likewiſe, not in a metaphorical but natural
' ſenſe, your equal and prudent government of this
' nation has made it good, whilſt your Majeſty has
' ſo proſperouſly guided this giddy bark, through ſuch
' a ſtorm, as no hand, ſave your Majeſty's, could
' touch the helm, but at the price of their temerity.'
There is alſo another Dedication to Sir John Denham, Knight of the Bath, Superintendant and Surveyor of all his Majeſty's buildings and works, in which there are ſeveral matters of fact worth knowing, as indeed there are in all Mr. Evelyn's Dedications; for, though no man was naturally more civil, or more capable of making a compliment handſomely, yet his merit was always conſpicuous in his good manners; and he never thought that the ſwelling ſound of a well-turned period could atone for want of ſenſe. It appears from the Dedication of the ſecond edition of the Sylva to King Charles the Second, that there was a ſecond edition of this work alſo in the ſame year, viz. 1669, as there was a third in 1697, which was the laſt in the author's life-time, and therefore the laſt that I am obliged to mention. In this third edition, which is very much improved, "the account of Architects and "Architecture," which is an original work of Mr. Evelyn's, and a moſt excellent one of its kind, is dedicated to Sir Chriſtopher Wren, Surveyor to his Majeſty's buildings and works, and therein occurs a paſſage that concerns the perſonal hiſtory of our author ſo much, that it would be unpardonable in me to omit it. Having ſaid, in the firſt paragraph, that, if the whole art of building were loſt, it might be found again in the noble works of that great architect, which, though a very high, is no unjuſt compliment, more eſpecially, continues our author, St. Paul's Church and the Monument; he then adds, 'I have named
' St. Paul's, and truly not without admiration, as oft
' as I re-call to mind, as frequently I do, the ſad and
' deplorable condition it was in, when, after it had
' been made a ſtable of horſes and a den of thieves,
' you, with other gentlemen and myſelf, were, by the
' late King Charles, named Commiſſioners to ſurvey
' the dilapidations, and to make report to his Ma-
' jeſty, in order to a ſpeedy ſeparation. You will not,
' I am ſure, forget the ſtruggle we had with ſome
' who were for patching it up any how, ſo the
' ſteeple might ſtand, inſtead of new-building, which
' it altogether needed: when, to put an end to the
' conteſt, five days after (16), that dreadful confla-
' gration happened, out of whoſe aſhes this phœnix
' is riſen, and was by providence deſigned for you.
' The circumſtance is too remarkable, that I could
' not paſs it over without notice. I will now add no
' more, but beg your pardon for this confidence of
' mine, after I have acquainted you that the parallel,
' to which this was annexed, being out of print, I was
' importuned by the bookſeller to add ſomething to
' a new impreſſion, but to which I was no way in-
' clined; till, not long ſince, going to St. Paul's to
' contemplate that auguſt pile, and the progreſs you
' have made, ſome of your chief workmen gratefully
' acknowledging the aſſiſtance it had afforded them, I
' took this opportunity of doing myſelf this honour.'
The fourth edition of this work, printed long after our author's death, viz. in 1733, was in folio, as well as the reſt; to which is added "the Elements of Ar-
"chitecture, by Sir Henry Wotton, and ſome other things, of which, however, hints were met with in our author's pieces.

(16) Auguſt 27, Sept. 1660.

XVII. "Μυστηριον της Ανομιας; that is, another Part
"of the Myſtery of Jeſuitiſm, or the new Hereſy of
"the Jeſuits, publicly maintained at Paris, in the Col-
"lege of Clermont, the Twelfth of December, 1661,
"declared to all the Biſhops of France, according to
"the Copy printed at Paris. Together with the
"imaginary Hereſy, in Three Letters; with divers
"other Particulars relating to this abominable
"Myſtery, never before publiſhed in Engliſh," Lond. 1664. 8vo. This, indeed, has not our Author's name to it; but, that it is really his, and that he had reaſons for not owning it more publicly, will appear from the following extract of a letter from him to Mr. Boyle (17). 'If my book of Architecture do not fall
' into your hands at Oxon, it will come with my
' apology when I ſee you at London, as well as
' another part of the Myſtery of Jeſuitiſm, which,
' with ſome other papers concerning that iniquity, I
' have tranſlated, and am now printing at Royſton's,
' but without my name.—So little credit there is, in
' theſe days, in doing any thing for the intereſt of
' religion!'

(17) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 402.

XVIII. "Kalendarium Hortenſe, or the Gardeners
"Almanack, directing what he is to do monthly
"throughout the Year, and what Fruits and Flowers
"are in prime. By John Evelyn, Eſq." Lond. 1664. 8vo. The ſecond edition of this book, which I take to have been in folio, and bound with the Sylva and Pomona, as I am ſure it was in the third edition, was dedicated to Abraham Cowley, Eſq. with great compliments from our Author, to that excellent and worthy perſon, to whom it had been communicated

before,

and affection for the academies where they firſt purſued their ſtudies; ſo Mr. Evelyn gave a noble teſtimony of his high reſpect for that of Oxford, by uſing his utmoſt intereſt with the Lord Henry Howard, in order to prevail upon him to beſtow the Arundelian marbles, then remaining in the garden of Arundel-houſe in the Strand (*t*), upon the univerſity, in which he happily ſucceeded, and obtained, in conſequence of it, all the reward he deſired, which was the thanks of that learned body, delivered by delegates ſpecially appointed for that purpoſe (*u*); which venerable monuments of Antiquity ſtill remain at Oxford, and are now diſpoſed in ſuch a manner as contributes equally to ornament and uſe, where, while they continue to command the admiration of every intelligent ſpectator, they muſt, at the ſame time, perpetuate the remembrance of that zeal with which Mr. Evelyn exerted himſelf, in order to procure ſo proper as well as ſo magnificent an act of bounty, equally worthy of the Moſt Noble Perſon by whom it was beſtowed, and of that moſt learned body upon whom it was beſtowed (*w*) [*M*]. This was far from being the laſt favour conferred by that noble perſon, at the requeſt of Mr. Evelyn, whom he honoured with his friendſhip, in the moſt entire degree, after he arrived at the title of Norfolk; as, on the other hand, Mr. Evelyn made no other advantage of his kindneſs towards him than giving a right direction to the natural generoſity of that excellent perſon, whence flowed ſome particular marks of kindneſs to the Royal Society, which were very gratefully accepted; and ſomething farther would have been procured, if the ſudden and unexpected death of that great and good man (*x*) had not fruſtrated the ſchemes formed by our author for the ſervice of that learned ſociety, to which, from its very foundation, he was attached with a zeal, which, however warm, never felt any decay [*N*]. Mr. Evelyn ſpent his time, at this juncture, in a manner as pleaſing as he could wiſh. He had great credit at Court, and great reputation in the world; was one of the Commiſſioners for rebuilding St. Paul's (*y*), attended the meetings of the Royal Society with great regularity, undertook readily whatever taſks were aſſigned him to ſupport that reputation, which, from their firſt inſtitution, they had acquired, and which, by degrees, triumphed over that envy which it raiſed. He was punctual in the diſcharge of his office as

(*t*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 942.

(*u*) See a farther account of this matter in the notes.

(*w*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 28.

(*x*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 90.

(*y*) See Mr. Evelyn's Dedication of his treatiſe of Architecture to Sir Chr. Wren.

before, which occaſioned Mr. Cowley's addreſſing to John Evelyn, Eſq. his mixt eſſay in verſe and proſe, entitled, "The Garden," which has been always admired as one of the fineſt pieces that fell from the pen of that illuſtrious poet. We ſhould next inform our reader of the ſeveral editions this curious and uſeful work has gone through; but, the truth is, we have it not in our power, the editions of it being long ago out of number: the laſt (at leaſt that we know of) of which any account was kept, was the ninth; ſince that, it is ſaid in the title page, a new edition. The Author made many additions as long as he lived, ſo that the beſt was that printed by way of Appendix to the fourth and laſt edition of the Sylva in his life-time, which is alſo, in the fifth edition of that work, printed after his deceaſe. We have had many Kalendars ſince, ſome better and ſome worſe; but it was eaſy to write after ſo fair an original, which, in method and form, as well as matter, is very elegant and conciſe, and withal very plain, ſuited exactly to the capacities of thoſe for whoſe uſe it was deſigned.

[*M*] *Upon whom it was beſtowed.*] Theſe hiſtorical marbles, brought chiefly from the iſland of Pharos, and containing the moſt antient and authentic inſcriptions, relative to the State of Athens, were, at an immenſe expence, purchaſed and brought into England by Thomas Earl of Arundel, to whom our Author, Mr. Evelyn, was well known in Italy, and were placed in the garden of his Palace without Temple-Bar; they were afterwards, as the reader has ſeen in the text, removed to Oxford, and are at preſent fixed on the outward wall of the Theatre, marked with the letter (H), to diſtinguiſh them from other antiquities of the ſame kind, and which are placed there likewiſe, that were beſtowed upon the Univerſity by the learned Selden (18). As a farther mark of the gratitude of that learned body, the following inſcription is placed under the arms of the noble family of Howard. 'Æternæ Memoriæ excellentiſſimi Dni. Domini 'Henrici Howard de Caſtle Reiſing, Fratris & Hæredis Thomæ Howard Ducis Norfolciæ, a proſapiâ regiâ primi Comitis Angliæ, Comitis Surreiæ, Domini & Baronis de Howard, Domini & Baronis Mowbray, Seagrave, Brewes de Gower, Fitzallen, Clun, Oſwaldſtree, Maltrevers, & Greyſtoke, ad Muley Urſhed Marocienſem Imperatorem Legati. Ob Marmora 'hæc Arundelianorum nomine per totum orbem celeberrima, avi ſui Thomæ Arundeliæ Comitis, ſupremi Angliæ Mareſcalli, ſumnique artium liberalium patroni, ſumptibus & ſollicitudine ingentibus, ab Ottomanicâ Barbarie vindicata, & in Pallatium gentilitium Londini pridem traducta, ab ipſo dein donata, gratabunda, poſuit Univerſitas Oxonienſis:' that is, 'To the perpetual memory of that moſt excellent Nobleman, Henry Lord Howard, of Caſtle Reiſing, Brother and Heir of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, allied to the Royal Line, the firſt Duke of England, Earl of Arundel, and Primier Earl of England; Earl of Surrey, Baron of Howard; and alſo Baron Mowbray, Seagrave, Brewes de Gower, Fitzallen, Clun, Oſwaldſtree, Maltrevers, and Greyſtoke, Embaſſador to Muley Urſhed, Emperor of Morocco: on account of theſe ſtiled Arundelian Marbles, celebrated throughout the world, by his uncle Thomas Earl of Arundel, Earl Marſhal of England, and the great Patron of the liberal Arts, with immenſe care and expence, reſcued from the barbarous Turks, and firſt brought to his Palace in London, and at length generouſly beſtowed upon her, the Univerſity of *Oxford* gratefully inſcribed this ſtone.'

(18) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 28.

[*N*] *Which, however warm, never felt any decay.*] This noble perſon was the ſon of Henry Earl of Arundel, and younger brother to Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey, who was, immediately after the Reſtoration, reſtored to the title of Duke of Norfolk. About the ſame time this noble perſon was created Baron Howard, of Caſtle Riſing, in the County of Norfolk; in 1672, he was created Earl of Norwich, and Earl Marſhal of England; in 1678, he ſucceeded his brother in the title of Duke of Norfolk; and in 1683, he died at his houſe in Arundel-Street (19). His friendſhip for Mr. Evelyn began early, and laſted, without interruption, ſo long as they lived; as appears from a ſolemn memorial of his gratitude, on the part of Mr. Evelyn (20), beſides ſeveral occaſional teſtimonies of deep reſpect in his works. It was at the requeſt of Mr. Evelyn, that his Grace gave ſeveral teſtimonies of regard to the Royal Society, and beſtowed upon them the Arundel Library, which was a curious and valuable collection (21). He likewiſe intended to have given a moſt noble ſtatue of Minerva to the Univerſity of Oxford, but his unexpected death prevented Mr. Evelyn from getting it timely removed (22).

(19) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 90.

(20) See his Dedication of the Idea of the Perfection of Painting to his Grace.

(21) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. IV, p. 120, 121.

(22) *Numiſmata:* or, a Diſcourſe on Medals, p. 42, 65.

a Commiſſioner of the ſick and wounded; and when he had leiſure retired to his ſeat at Sayes-Court, where he carried into practice the rules he ſo judiciouſly laid down, and made his garden the entertainment and the wonder of the greateſt and moſt judicious men of thoſe times, moſt of whom were his particular friends (z). Yet in the midſt of his employments, both public and private, and notwithſtanding the continual pains that he beſtowed in augmenting and improving the books he had already publiſhed, he found leiſure ſufficient to undertake freſh labours of the ſame kind, and that too without any diminution of the high character he had obtained by his former writings [O]. He made a journey to Oxford in the ſummer of 1669, where, on the 15th of

(z) Life of Lord Keeper Guildford, p. 286.

[O] *By his former writings.*] It is a point of juſtice, due to the merit and memory of our Author, to remark, that, though he wrote ſo much, and publiſhed ſo many books upon ſuch a diverſity of ſubjects, yet is there none of them that carries any mark of haſte or negligence. On the contrary, they appear all of them to have coſt much ſtudy and attention, and to perform more than is promiſed by their titles; ſome inſtances of which will appear in this note.

XIX. "The Hiſtory of the Three late famous "Impoſtors, viz. Padre Ottomano, pretended Son "and Heir to the late Grand Signior; Mahomet Bei, "a pretended Prince of the Ottoman Family, but, in "truth, a Wallachian Counterfeit; and Sabbatai "Sevi, the ſuppoſed Meſſiah of the Jews, in the "Year 1666; with a brief Account of the Ground "and Occaſion of the preſent War between the Turk "and the Venetian: Together with the Cauſe of the "final Extirpation, Deſtruction, and Exile, of the "Jews out of the Empire of Perſia." Lond. 1668, 8vo.

This piece is dedicated to Henry Earl of Arlington, and, as I before obſerved, that Mr. Evelyn's Dedications are filled with curious facts, rather than a crowd of compliments; ſo, by giving him this, I ſhall at once juſtify that obſervation, and gratify his curioſity as to the contents of a book that is now become very ſcarce; it runs thus:

'My Lord,

'THESE enſuing diſcourſes entitle their original 'to the noble induſtry and affection to truth of an 'illuſtrious perſon, and to the great and worthy in-'genuity of a Perſian ſtranger, lately amongſt us, 'from whoſe mouth I have received the two fol-'lowing firſt narrations, and from whom I have been 'abundantly ſatisfied, that the particulars are of un-'doubted verity. For the third and laſt, which con-'cerns the ſtory of that impudent Jew, it will need 'little apology, ſince it proceeds not only from an 'eye-witneſs, but from the hand of a perſon who has 'already gratified the public with the fruit of many 'rare and excellent obſervations, and which becomes 'due to your Lordſhip upon a juſt claim; ſo as your 'Lordſhip, having been ſo pleaſed with the firſt rela-'tion, cannot be leſs with the following; though I 'ſhould never have preſumed to be their deferent in 'this unpoliſhed dreſs, had I not received ſome aſſu-'rances of your pardon.

'It will doubtleſs appear very ſtrange, that impoſ-'tures of this magnitude ſhould ſo long abuſe the 'world, were there no other intereſt in it than the 'vanity of the perſons who aſſume to themſelves the 'titles. Whatever the reaſon of it be, here we have 'matter of fact; and it was more than time the world 'ſhould be at laſt diſabuſed, which has been ſo long 'impoſed on, and even laboured under the common 'miſtake, That the cauſe of this obſtinate war and 'quarrel, 'twixt the Turk and the Venetian, was 'grounded only upon the taking Sultan Oſman and his 'mother, pretended ſon and wife of Sultan Ibrahim, 'by the galleys of Malta. This was, my Lord, the 'believed report at my being at Venice the very year 'this action fortuned, and it has ſince gained credit, 'and filled our ears, and all the Hiſtories of this age, 'as a thing unqueſtionable: but, with what pretence 'of truth, theſe papers will both inform your Lord-'ſhip, and give day to ſome other paſſages worthy the 'notice of inquiſitive men, and of a conjuncture ſo 'ſeaſonable for it, while the eyes and thoughts of all 'Europe are intent upon the ſucceſs of Candia. What 'concerns the Wallachian vagrant will be a ſervice 'both to his Majeſty and other Chriſtian Princes, 'whom this bold impoſtor has had the front to abuſe, 'but, *eripitur perſona*, the maſk is now off, and I 'have no more to add than that of being, &c.

This Dedication is ſubſcribed J. E. and certainly, if Mr. Wood had ſeen it, he would not have ſaid as he does, "I know nothing yet to the contrary but this "may be a tranſlation (23)." The nature and value of this little piece was much better known abroad, one of the beſt received Literary Journals extant having given, though at ſome diſtance of time, a very juſt character of it (24), with this very remarkable circumſtance, that the pretended Mahomet Bei was at that very juncture in the city of Leipſick. There is added, at the end of this piece, an account of the extirpation of the Jews in Perſia, during the reign of Shah Abbas the Second, which is not ſo large or perfect as the reſt; but then the author gives a hint of this, and does not preſs any thing farther than he is ſupported by authorities. He mentions a perſon, who, the very year that the book was publiſhed, took upon him the title of brother to the famous Count Serini, and that he had the misfortune to be ſhipwrecked in the Weſt of England (25), by which he impoſed upon perſons of quality, till, by unluckily calling for drink upon the road in very audible Engliſh, he diſcovered the cheat, and was obliged to renounce his new dignity to avoid Bridewell. He farther remarks, with reſpect to Sabatai Sevi, that he was the twenty-fifth falſe Meſſiah that had attempted to impoſe upon the Jews, even according to their own account.

(23) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 942.

(24) Act. Eruditorum Lipſienſium, A. D. 1690, p. 605.

(25) Theſe paſſages are in the Preface.

XX. "Public Employment, and an active Life "preferred to Solitude, in a Reply to a late ingeni-"ous Eſſay of a contrary title." Lond. 1667, in 8vo. This was written, in anſwer to a diſcourſe of Sir George Mackenzie's, preferring ſolitude to public employment, which was at the time of its publication much admired; and, as our author apprehended this might prove an encouragement to indolence and timidity, he therefore wrote againſt it. We have in the Tranſactions of the Royal Society a character of this, and the piece before mentioned, which follows the account given of the ſecond edition of the "Sylva," and is worthy the reader's peruſal (26). 'Beſides 'other treatiſes which are anonymous, ſays this ac-'count, as being of a reſerved nature, but are, ne-'verthleſs, entirely for the honour of the King and 'this kingdom, and generally for the good of all 'men, he hath lately made two conſiderable excur-'ſions, in one of which tracts, for a caution of all 'future ages, and to denote the general aptneſs of 'mankind to be deluded and deceived, he hath pub-'liſhed a well-grounded hiſtory of the three late fa-'mous impoſtors, the firſt merely caſual and inno-'cent, in Padre Ottomanno; the ſecond, bold and 'impudent, in Mahomet Bei; the third, a confident 'cheat, in Sabbatai Sevi, the Jews counterfeit Meſ-'ſias: in the other tract, "public employment and 'an active life are preferred to ſolitude." Thus he, 'and other generous perſons, can, in the crowd of 'public buſineſs, find or make leiſure to oblige all 'men; whilſt moroſe ſchoolmen and narrow critics 'make it their main buſineſs to outgo Satan in their 'falſe accuſations, diſingenuous ſurmiſes, and immo-'deſt diſturbances of the nobleſt endeavours and at-'chievements.'

(26) Philoſoph. Tranſ. No. 53.

XXI. "An Idea of the Perfection of Painting, de-"monſtrated from the Principles of Art, and by Ex-

of July, he was honoured with the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law, as a mark of the gratitude of that learned body (*a*), and of the juſt ſenſe they had of the credit derived to them from his being educated at Baliol-College. It was, indeed, a ſingular point of Mr. Evelyn's felicity, that all the honours he obtained, and all the poſts to which he was raiſed, were the mere rewards of his merit, and beſtowed upon him without the leaſt ſolicitation. Thus, after King Charles II. had tried, with very little effect, to promote trade, according to the advice of perſons engaged therein (*b*), when he thought proper to conſtitute a particular Board for that purpoſe, and named ſeveral perſons of great rank to be members of that Council, he likewiſe appointed Mr. Evelyn amongſt thoſe that were recommended purely to that honour by their abilities (*c*). This preferment was ſo welcome to a perſon of his diſintereſted temper and true public ſpirit,

(*a*) Wood's Faſti Oxon, Vol. II. col. 180.

(*b*) North's examen of the Complete Hiſt. of England.

(*c*) This was the original of the Board of Trade which ſtill ſubſiſts.

'amples conformable to the Obſervations, which 'Pliny and Quintilian have made upon the moſt 'celebrated Pieces of the antient Painters, paralleled 'with ſome Works of the moſt famous modern Painters; Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Julio Romano, 'and N. Pouſſin. Written in French by Roland 'Freart, Sieur de Cambray, and rendered Engliſh by 'J. E. Eſquire, Fellow of the Royal Society." Lond. 1668, 8vo. This tranſlation is dedicated to Henry Howard, of Norfolk, heir apparent to that Dukedom; and the dedication is dated from Sayes-Court, June the 24th, 1668, 8vo. In the preface, he obſerves, that the reader will find, in this diſcourſe, divers uſeful remarks, eſpecially, where the author 'treats of 'Coſtume (27), which we, continues he, have interpreted Decorum, as the neareſt expreſſion our language will bear to it. And, I was glad our author 'had reproved it, in ſo many inſtances, becauſe, it not 'only grows daily more licentious, but even ridiculous and intolerable. But, it is hoped, this may 'univerſally be reformed, when our modern workmen 'ſhall conſider, that neither the exactneſs of their deſign, nor ſkilfulneſs in colouring, has been able to 'defend their greateſt predeceſſors from juſt reproaches, 'who have been faulty in this particular. I could exemplify in many others, whom our author has omitted; and there is none but takes notice what injury 'it has done the fame of ſome of our beſt reputed 'painters, and how indecorous it is to introduce circumſtances, wholly improper to the uſages and genius of the places, where our hiſtories are ſuppoſed 'to have been acted.' Mr. Evelyn then remarks, that this was not only the fault of Baſſano, who would be ever bringing in his wife, children, and ſervants, his dog and his cat, and very kitchen-ſtuff, after the Paduan mode; but of the great Titian himſelf, Georgion, Tintoret, and the reſt; as Paulo Veroneſe is obſerved alſo to have done in his ſtory of Pharaoh's daughter drawing Moſes out of the river, attended with a guard of Swiſſes. Malvogius likewiſe, in a picture then in the King's gallery at Whitehall, not only repreſents our firſt parents with navels upon their bellies, but has placed an artificial ſtone fountain, carved with imagery, in the midſt of his Paradiſe. Nor does that excellent and learned painter, Rubens, eſcape without cenſure, not only for making moſt of his figures of the ſhapes of brawny Flemings, but for other ſphalmata, and circumſtances of the like nature, though, in ſome, he has acquitted himſelf to admiration, in the due obſervation of Coſtume, particularly in his crucifixes, &c. Raphael Urbino was, doubtleſs, one of the firſt who reformed theſe inadvertencies, but it was more conſpicuous in his latter than in his former pieces. 'As for Michael Angelo, continues Mr. 'Evelyn, though I heartily conſent with our critic in 'reproving that almoſt idolatrous veneration of his 'works, who hath certainly prodigiouſly abuſed the 'art, not only in the table this diſcourſe arraigns him 'for, but ſeveral more which I have ſeen, yet I conceive he might have omitted ſome of thoſe imbittered reproaches he has reviled him with, who, 'doubtleſs, was one of the greateſt maſters of his time, 'and, however he might ſucceed as to the decorum, 'was hardly exceeded for what he performed in 'ſculpture, and the ſtatuary art, by many even of the 'ancients themſelves, and haply by none of the moderns, witneſs his Moſes, Chriſtus in Gremio, and 'ſeveral other figures at Rome, to ſay nothing of his 'talent in architecture, and the obligation the world 'has to his memory, for recovering many of its moſt 'uſeful ornaments and members out of the neglected 'fragments, which lay ſo long buried, and for vindicating that antique and magnificent manner of building from the trifling of Goths and Barbarians.' He obſerves next, that the uſual reproach of painting has been the want of judgment in perſpective, and bringing more into hiſtory than is juſtifiable upon one aſpect, without turning the eye to each figure in particular, and multiplying the points of ſight, which is a point even Monſieur Freart, for all the pains he has taken to magnify that celebrated deciſion of Paris, has failed in. For, the knowing in that art eaſily perceive, that even Raphael himſelf has not ſo exactly obſerved it, ſince, inſtead of one, as Monſieur Freart takes it to be, and, as indeed it ought to have been, there are no leſs than four or five, as du Boſſe hath well obſerved in his treatiſe of "The converted Painter," where, by the way alſo, he judiciouſly numbers, amongſt the faults againſt Coſtume, thoſe landſcapes, groteſque figures, &c. which we frequently find abroad eſpecially; for, in our country; we have few or none of thoſe graceful ſupplements of ſteeples painted, horizontally aud vertically on the vaults and cielings of cupolas, ſince we have no examples for it from the ancients, who allowed no more than a frett to the moſt magnificent and coſtly of thoſe which they erected. But, would you know whence this univerſal caution in moſt of their works proceeded, and that the beſt of our modern painters and architects have ſucceeded better than others of that profeſſion, it muſt be conſidered, that they were learned men, good hiſtorians, and generally ſkilled in the beſt antiquities; ſuch were Raphael, and doubtleſs his ſcholar Julio; and, if Polydore arrived not to the glory of letters, he yet attained to a rare habit of the antient guſto, as may be interpreted from moſt of his deſigns and paintings. Leon Baptiſt Alberti was ſkilled in all the politer parts of learning to a prodigy, and has written ſeveral curious things in the Latin tongue. We know that of later times, Rubens was a perſon univerſally learned, as may be ſeen in ſeveral Latin epiſtles of his to the greateſt ſcholars of his age. And Nicolas Pouſſin, the Frenchman, who is ſo much celebrated and ſo deſervedly, did, it ſeems, arrive to this by his indefatigable induſtry, 'as the preſent famous ſtatuary, Bernini, 'now living, ſays Mr. Evelin, has alſo done ſo univerſal a maſtery, that, not many years ſince, he is reported to have built a theatre at Rome, for the 'adornment whereof, he not only cut the figures and 'painted the ſcenes, but wrote the play, and compoſed the muſick; which was all in recitativo. And 'I am perſuaded, that all this is not yet by far ſo 'much as that miracle and ornament of our age and 'country, Dr. Chriſtopher Wren, were able to perform, if he were ſo diſpoſed, and ſo encouraged, 'becauſe he is maſter of ſo many admirable advantages beyond them. I allege theſe examples partly 'to incite, and partly to ſhew the dignity and vaſt 'comprehenſion of this rare art, and that for a man 'to arrive to its utmoſt perfection, he ſhould be almoſt as univerſal as the Orator in Cicero, and the 'Architect in Vitruvius. But, certainly, ſome tincture 'in Hiſtory, the Opticks and Anatomy, are abſolutely 'requiſite, and more, in the opinion of our author, 'than to be a ſteady Deſigner, and ſkilled in the tempering and applying of colours, which, amongſt moſt 'of our modern workmen, go now for the only accompliſhments of a painter.'

(27) This piece is now become exceeding ſcarce, and is very much admired by the lovers of Painting.

that he thought he could not expreſs his gratitude better than by digeſting, in a ſhort and plain diſcourſe, the chief heads of the Hiſtory of Trade and Navigation, which he accordingly did, and dedicated that ſmall piece to the King, which was very graciouſly received, and is allowed to contain as much matter in as ſmall a compaſs as any that was ever written upon a topick ſo copious as well as ſo important (*d*) [*P*]. As this promotion not only opened the means, but alſo required the employing many of his hours in the ſervice of his country, it naturally diverted him in ſome meaſure from his ſtudies; but, notwithſtanding this, when the Royal Society (*e*) found it requiſite to demand the aſſiſtance of ſome of its principal Members, and to exact from them the tribute of certain diſſertations upon weighty and philoſophical ſubjects, he did not plead either his age or his avocations in excuſe, but chearfully and vigorouſly ſet about the taſk that was aſſigned him, and performed it as happily as the Society or himſelf could wiſh, as the reader will learn at the bottom of the page [*Q*]. Theſe were all the preferments

(*d*) See this explained in the note.

(*e*) See his Letter before his Philoſophical Diſcourſe upon Earth.

[*P*] *As well as important.*] We have in the text ſhewn the occaſion and ground of this treatiſe, which from its brevity deſerves not the name of a book ſo much as of a pamphlet. The title at large runs thus:

XXII. "Navigation and Commerce, their Original "and Progreſs, containing a ſuccinct Account of "Traffic in general, its Benefits and Improvements, "of Diſcoveries, Wars, and Conflicts at Sea, from "the Original of Navigation to this Day, with "ſpecial Regard to the Engliſh Nation, their ſeveral "Voyages and Expeditions to the Beginning of our "late Difference with Holland, in which his Majeſty's "Title to the Dominion of the ſea is aſſerted, againſt "the novel and later Pretenders. By J. Evelyn, "Eſq. F. R. S." Lond. 1674. 8vo.

There is a dedication prefixed to the King, in which he takes notice of that relation in which he ſtood by his new office to his Majeſty, which gave him the boldneſs to bring ſo inconſiderable an offering into his preſence. There is alſo a very ſuccinct account of it, in the "Philoſophical Tranſactions" (28); and the truth is, that moſt people, comparing the pompous title-page with the diminutive ſize of the book, have thence formed a concluſion to its diſadvantage; and, conſequently, in ſome degree to the diſcredit of its author. But, whoever examines it narrowly, and weighs every part of it with due conſideration, will, if I miſtake not highly, entertain a different notion of this diſcourſe, and think it at leaſt equal to any thing we have of this gentleman's writing, which, ſo long as uſeful learning is eſteemed and the Engliſh language underſtood, will be thought no mean character. In order to have a right notion of it, we muſt firſt of all reflect on the Author's deſign in writing it; the nature and copiouſneſs of the ſubject, and the perſons for whoſe uſe it was principally intended. As to Mr. Evelyn's deſign, it was plainly this: to digeſt into as narrow a compaſs as poſſible, in the cleareſt method and in the moſt flowing language, the Hiſtory of Commerce and Navigation in general, of thoſe of England in particular, and of the rights of the Britiſh Crown to the dominion of the ſea. Theſe were ſubjects equally important and extenſive, but it was by no means his inclination to treat them in a full, or in a ſcientific manner, though this ſhort treatiſe is an abundant proof, that no man living was more capable of doing it, if that had been his view. But the truth is, he meant only to ſkim the cream, and to repreſent as ſuccinctly and fairly as poſſible, the ſtrongeſt and moſt intereſting motives to make theſe ſubjects the ſtudy of thoſe whom it moſt concerns: the nation ſhould have them in their heads and at their hearts. In ſhort, he meant it as a ſort of brief introduction for the uſe of thoſe noble and great perſonages, whom the King, for the honour of that board, had thought fit to aſſociate with him in this commiſſion (29). It was neceſſary, to fix their attention that the title ſhould promiſe much; it was no leſs requiſite, to ſecure a reading, that the piece ſhould be very ſhort. Take it in this light, it will appear inſtead of a ſuperficial a very wonderful performance; for, it comprehends in little more than a hundred pages, an univerſal hiſtory of theſe matters from the origin of trade down to that time; and, upon a ſtrict review, it will be found that every material point is touched therein, and this at once in ſo ſprightly and judicious a manner as to excite a deſire, in the ingenious and inquiſitive reader, to ſearch the ſeveral topicks to the bottom; and, for their aſſiſtance in this reſpect, the beſt and moſt authentic authors are indicated throughout; and, though the treatiſe is ſo ſmall, yet there is an accurate index or table at the end, the ſlighteſt review of which will plainly demonſtrate the truth of all that I have ſaid. Upon the whole, inſtead of cenſuring Mr. Evelyn for publiſhing ſo trite a pamphlet upon affairs of ſuch national concern, we ought rather to applaud him for having reduced into an hour's reading, with much more labour to himſelf than if he had written a great book, things of ſo much moment, and add to it our wiſhes, that ſome judicious perſon would make his learned diſſertation the text, and within the compaſs of a moderate Quarto, illuſtrate, by proper notes, ſo excellent an abridgment of all that is requiſite to be known upon matters that will never loſe their uſe, and which import this nation more than any other, to which nothing can contribute ſo much as their being fully explained.

(28) Philoſ. Tranſ. No. 114.

(29) It was in thoſe days known to have anſwered the author's aim very effectually.

[*Q*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The title of this learned diſcourſe, which will be ever eſteemed, and has been often re-printed, runs thus:

XXIII. "Terra: A Philoſophical Diſcourſe of "Earth, relating to the Culture and Improvement of "it for Vegetation, and the Propagation of Plants, "&c. as it was preſented to the Royal Society, "April 29th, 1675. By J. Evelyn, Eſq. F. R. S." Lond. 1675. fol. and 8vo.

There is, prefixed to this diſcourſe, a letter from the Lord Viſcount Brouncker, Preſident of the Royal Society, and our Author's anſwer. As theſe are very ſhort, and altogether hiſtorical, we will give them to the reader, and refer him to the Philoſophical Tranſactions, for a ſhort, full, and accurate, account of the work (30).—His Lordſhip's letter runs thus— 'Sir, 'the Council of the Royal Society, conſidering with 'themſelves the great importance of having the pub- 'lic meeting of the ſaid Society conſtantly provided 'with entertainments ſuitable to the deſign of their 'inſtitution, have thought fit to undertake to contri- 'bute each of them one, not doubting, but that many 'of the Fellows of the Society will join with them 'in carrying on ſuch an undertaking; and, being well 'perſuaded of your approbation of this their purpoſe, 'ſo much tending to the reputation and ſupport of 'the ſociety, they deſire that you will be pleaſed to 'undertake for one, and to name any Thurſday after 'the fourteenth of January next, ſuch as ſhall be 'moſt convenient for you, when you will preſent the 'ſociety at one of their public meetings by yourſelf, 'or ſome other of the Fellows for you, with ſuch a 'diſcourſe grounded upon, or leading to, philoſophi- 'cal experiments on a ſubject of your own choice: 'in doing of which you will benefit the ſociety, and 'oblige, Sir, &c.'

(30) Philoſ. Tranſ. No. 119.

*Lond. Dec. 28th*, 1674.

Mr.

ferments he met with in that reign; and, though they were none of them very conſiderable in reſpect of profit, yet they ſeem to have given him perfect content; and he was ſo eaſy in his own circumſtances, ſo good an œconomiſt, and ſo true a Patriot, that while he daily ſaw freſh improvements made in every county throughout the kingdom, and the commerce of the nation continually extended, he thought himſelf perfectly happy, and never failed to expreſs his ſentiments in that reſpect with all the warmth and freedom imaginable. The ſevere winter of 1683 gave ſome interruption to his domeſtic enjoyments, the froſt committing dreadful depredations in his fine gardens at Sayes-Court, of which he ſent a full and very pathetic account to the Royal Society in the beginning of the ſucceeding ſpring (*f*) [*R*]. After the acceſſion of King James, we find him, in December,

(*f*) Philoſ. Tranſ. No. 158.

Mr. Evelyn's anſwer runs thus.

'My Lord,

'I have, in obedience to your Lordſhip, and the 'irreſiſtible ſuffrages of that ſociety over which you 'preſide, reſigned the papers to be diſpoſed of as you 'think fit: I hear your Lordſhip's ſentence is, they 'ſhould be made public. Why ſhould not a thouſand 'things, of infinitely more value, daily enriching 'their collection, and which would better juſtify the 'laudable progreſs of that aſſembly, be oftner pro'duced as ſome of late have been? This, my Lord, 'would obviate all unkind objections, and cover the 'infirmities of the preſent diſcourſe with things in'deed worthy our inſtitution. But, as I am to obey 'your Lordſhip's commands, ſo both your Lordſhip 'and the ſociety are accountable for publiſhing the 'imperfection of, my Lord, &c.'

As theſe letters fully declare the occaſion and nature of this diſcourſe, as well as the means of its being made public, we may reſt ſatisfied, that, notwithſtanding the great modeſty of Mr. Evelyn, this paſt, in the opinion of the ſociety, for a very extraordinary performance, otherwiſe they would never have cauſed it to be publiſhed, much leſs in the manner they did; nor is it leſs certain, that it every way anſwered their intention, it being univerſally well received abroad, as well as at home, and excited a juſt eſteem for that learned body.

[*R*] *Of the ſucceeding ſpring.*] It is a thing univerſally known, and by ſome ſtill remembered, that the winter of 1683 was the coldeſt of any, the ſignal effects of which have been recorded by credible authors. Mr. Evelyn's letter, therefore, is a very great curioſity. It is dated from Sayes-Court, Deptford, April 14, 1684, and, excluſive of an admirable hiſtory, contains, in a very narrow compaſs, a multitude of uſeful remarks, as well as entertaining particulars. 'As to 'timber-trees, ſays he, I have not many here of any 'conſiderable age or ſtature, except a few elms, which 'having been decaying many years, one cannot well 'find to have received any freſh wounds, diſtinguiſh'able from old cracks and hollowneſſes; and, indeed, 'I am told by divers, that elms have not ſuffered as 'the great oaks have done, nor do I find, amongſt in'numerable of that ſpecies (elms) which I have planted, 'and that are now about twenty-five and thirty years 'ſtanding, any of them touched. The ſame I ob'ſerve of limes, walnuts, aſh, beech, hornbeams, 'birch, cheſnut, and other foreſters: but, as I ſaid, 'mine are young comparatively, and yet, one would 'think, that ſhould leſs protect them, becauſe more 'tender, ſo as it ſeems the rifting ſo much complained 'of has happened chiefly among the over-grown trees, 'eſpecially oaks. My Lord Weymouth made his la'mentation to me, and ſo have the Earl of Cheſterfield, 'Lord Ferrors, Sir William Fermor, and others con'cerned in the ſame calamity, which I mention be'cauſe of their diſtant habitations. But, if rightly I 'remember, one of theſe noble perſons lately told me, 'that, ſince the thaw, the trees which were exceed'ingly ſplit, were come together and cloſed again, and 'I eaſily believe it; but, that they are really as ſolid 'as before, I doubt will not appear when they ſhall 'come to be examined by the axe, and converted to 'uſe: nor has this accident happened only to ſtanding 'timber, but to that which has been felled and ſea'ſoned, as Mr. Shiſh, the Maſter-Builder in his Ma'jeſty's ſhip-yard here, informed me. So much for 'our *indigenæ*.

'As for exotics, I fear my cork-trees will hardly 'recover; but the ſpring is yet ſo very backward, 'even in this warm and dry ſpot of mine, that I can'not pronounce any thing poſitively, eſpecially of 'ſuch whoſe bark is very thick and rugged, ſuch as is 'the cork, enzina, and divers of the reſinous trees. 'The Conſtantinopolitan or horſe-cheſnut is turgid 'with buds, and ready to explain its leaf. My cedars 'I think are loſt; the ilex and ſcarlet-oak, not ſo; 'the arbutus, doubtful; and ſo are bays, but ſome 'will eſcape, and moſt of them repullulate and ſpring 'afreſh, if cut down near the earth at the latter end of 'the month. The Scotch fir-ſpruce, and white Spa'niſh, which laſt uſes to ſuffer in their tender buds by 'the ſpring froſts, have received no damage this win'ter. I cannot ſay the ſame of the pine which bears 'the greater cone; but other Norways and pinaſters 'are freſh; laurel is only diſcoloured, and ſome of the 'woody branches mortified, which being cut to the 'quick will ſoon put forth again, it being a ſucculent 'plant. Amongſt our ſhrubs, roſemary is entirely loſt; 'and to my great ſorrow, becauſe I had not only 'beautiful hedges of it, but ſufficient to afford me 'flowers for the making a very conſiderable quantity 'of the Queen of Hungary's celebrated water: ſo uni'verſal, I fear, is the deſtruction of this excellent plant, 'not only over England, but our neighbour countries 'more ſouthward, that we muſt raiſe our next hopes 'from the ſeed. Halimus, or ſea-purſelan, of which 'I had a pretty hedge, is alſo periſhed; and ſo ano'ther of French furzes. The cypreſs are all of them 'ſcorched, and ſome to death, eſpecially ſuch as were 'kept ſhorn in pyramids; but amongſt great numbers 'there will divers eſcape, after they are well chaſtiſed, 'that is, with a tough hazel or other wand to beat off 'their dead and duſty leaves, which growing much 'cloſer than other ſhrubs, hinder the air and dews from 'refreſhing the interior parts. This diſcipline I uſe 'to all my tonſile ſhrubs, with good ſucceſs, as oft as 'winter parches them.

'The berry-bearing ſavine, which, if well under'ſtood and cultivated, were the only beſt ſuccedaneum 'to cypreſs, has not ſuffered in the leaſt: it perfectly 'reſembles the cypreſs, and grows very tall and thick. 'I think the arbor thuya is alive, and ſo is the Ameri'can acaia; acanthus, paliurus, pomgranad; my laurſ'tinus looks ſuſpiciouſly: ſome large and old alaturnuſes 'are killed, eſpecially ſuch as were more expoſed to 'the ſun, whereas thoſe that grow in the ſhade eſcape; 'the reaſon of which, I conjecture to be from the re'ciprocations of being ſomewhat relaxed every day, 'and then made rigid and ſtiff again all night; which 'bending and unbending, ſo often opening and cloſing 'the parts, does exceedingly mortify them and all 'other tender plants, which, growing in ſhady places, 'undergo but one thaw and change. Moſt of theſe 'will yet arrive again at the root, being cut cloſe to 'the ground: the phillyreas anguſti, and ſerratifolios, 'both of them incomparably the beſt for ornamental 'hedges of any the perennial greens I know, have 'hardly been ſenſible of the leaſt impreſſion, more 'than tarniſhing of their leaves; no more have the 'Spaniſh jaſmines and Perſians; and I enumerate 'theſe particulars the more minutely, that gentlemen, 'who are curious, may take notice what plants they may 'truſt to abroad in all events, for I ſpeak only of ſuch as 'are expoſed.

'As for the choicer rarities, which are ſet in for'hyemation, they certainly eſcape, or are impaired, ac'cordingly as they are treated by the more or leſs ex'perienced and induſtrious gardener, or commodiouſ-

'neſs

December, 1685, appointed, with the Lord Viſcount Tiviot of the kingdom of Scotland, and Colonel Robert Philips, one of the Commiſſioners for executing the great office of Lord Privy-Seal, in the abſence of Henry Earl of Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which he held till March 11, 1686, when the King was pleaſed to make Henry Baron Arundel of Wardour Lord Privy-Seal (*g*). He wrote nothing under this reign at all. After the Revolution, he was Treaſurer of Greenwich Hoſpital, and, though he was then much in years, yet he wrote ſome and tranſlated other pieces, amongſt which we are to reckon that labour of his, which has been ſo highly commended by the beſt judges, and which will do laſting honour to his country (*b*) [*S*]. One would have imagined

(*g*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 942.

(*b*) Nicholſon's Engl. Hiſtorical Library, p. 248.

'neſs of the conſervatory; but to ſay what may be 'added on this ſubject would require a large chapter, 'not a letter. I would in the mean time adviſe ſuch as 'have ſuffered detriment in their green-houſes not to 'deſpair, when they ſee the leaves of their myrtles, 'oranges, oleanders, jaſmines, and other precious 'ſhrubs, ruſſet, or altogether, ſhrivelled and falling; 'but to cut them to the quick, plaſter the wounds, 'and plunge their caſes and pots, trimmed with freſh 'mould, &c. in a warm bed, carefully refreſhed, 'ſhaded, aired, and treated as ſick patients, and as 'the prudent gardener beſt knows how: but, above all, 'that he be ſure not to expoſe them till theſe eaſtern 'winds (which I call our Engliſh Eteſians, and which 'makes our ſprings ſo uncomfortable, when we think 'Winter and all danger paſt) be qualified; for, they 'are deadly to all our plants abroad, and frequently 'do us more prejudice than the moſt churliſh winters, 'as commonly finiſhing the deſtruction of what the 'froſts have ſpared; nor are we to be flattered with a 'warm day or two, which are apt to tempt gardeners 'to ſet out their plants before the end of April, or that 'we find the wiſe mulberry put forth, which is certainly the moſt faithful monitor; nor ſhould we indeed cut or tranſplant any of the perennials, till of themſelves they begin to ſprout.

'I need ſay nothing of holly, yew, box, juniper, '&c. hardy and ſpontaneous to our country; and yet, 'to my grief again, I find an holly ſtandard, of near 'one hundred years old, drooping, and of doubtful 'aſpect; and a very beautiful hedge, though, indeed, 'much younger, being clipped about Michaelmas, is 'mortified near a foot beneath the top, and in ſome 'places to the very ground; ſo as there is nothing 'ſeems proof againſt ſuch a winter, which is late cut 'and expoſed. This hedge doth alſo grow againſt the 'ſouth, and is very ruſſet, whilſt the contrary ſide 'is as freſh and as green as ever; and, in all other 'places of my plantations that are ſhaded, the un'ſhorn hollies maintain their verdure, and are, I 'judge, impregnable againſt all aſſaults of weather. 'Among the fruit-trees and murals, none ſeem to have 'ſuffered, ſave figs; but they being cut down will 'ſpring again at the root.

'The vines have eſcaped; and, of the eſculent plants 'and ſallads, moſt, except artichokes, which are uni'verſally loſt; and, what I prefer before any ſallad 'whatever, eaten raw when young, my ſampier is all 'rotted to the very root. How to repair my loſs I 'know not, for I could never make any of the ſeed 'which came from the rock ſampier (though mine 'were of the very kind) to grow. The arboreſcent 'and other ſedums, aloes, &c. though houſed, 'periſhed with me; but the yucca and opuntia eſcaped. 'Tulips, many are loſt, and ſo the Conſtantinople 'narciſſus, and ſuch tuberoſæ as were not kept in the 'chimney-corner, where was continual fire. Some 'anemonies appear, but I believe many are rotted; but 'I have made no great ſearch in the flowery parterre; 'only I find that moſt capillaries ſpring, and other 'humble and repent plants, notwithſtanding all this 'rigorous ſeaſon. My tortoiſe, which, by his con'ſtant burying himſelf in the earth at approach of 'winter, I looked upon as a kind of plant-animal, 'happening to be obſtructed by a vine-root from mi'ning to the depth he was uſual wont to inter, is found 'ſtark-dead, after having many years eſcaped the 'ſevereſt winter. Of fiſh I have loſt very few; and 'the nightingales, which for being a ſhort-winged 'bird, and ſo exceedingly fat at the time of the year, 'we commonly ſuppoſe them to change the climate, 'whereas, indeed, they are then hardly able to flee an 'hundred yards, are as briſk and frolic as ever; nor 'do I think they alter their ſummer ſtations, whatever 'become of them all winter. I know not yet of any 'body who has given tolerable ſatisfaction in this par'ticular, amongſt our Ornithologiſts.'

[*S*] *Which will do laſting honour to his country.*] The following treatiſes were publiſhed within the period aſſigned in the text. We know nothing of the firſt, except that it has had a place in the catalogue of our author's Works, from which therefore we have no right to remove it; the ſecond is a tranſlation, and annexed to another and larger work of the ſame author's; the third is that work which we have ſo much commended, and to which this note principally refers.

XXIV. "Mundus Muliebris: or, the Ladies "Dreſſing-Room unlocked, and her Toilette ſpread. "In Burleſque. Together with the Fop-Dictionary, "compiled for the Uſe of the Fair-Sex." London, 1690, 4to.

XXV. "Monſieur de la Quintinye's Treatiſe of "Orange-Trees, with the raiſing of Melons, omitted "in the French Editions; made Engliſh by John "Evelyn, Eſq." Lond. 1692.

This is added to the "*Complete Gardener*," written by the ſame author; tranſlated and publiſhed, in folio, with theſe pieces, by Mr. Evelyn. We are told at the beginning, that, about twenty years before, Monſ. de la Quintinye being in England, and making our author a viſit at his houſe, he requeſted of him ſome directions in relation to melons, for the cultivation of which that French gentleman was remarkably famous, who ſent them over accordingly to our author from Paris; and he aſſures us, that his great motive in publiſhing them was to put into the hands of the world in general, and of the lovers of the art of gardening in particular, the very beſt directions, that, in reference to this curious ſubject, had ever been given. Theſe inſtructions make in the whole but one half ſheet. "*The Treatiſe of* "*Oranges*" is larger, and is contained in thirteen chapters, excluſively of the preface; yet the chapters are of no great length, making in all not more than nine ſheets. The method is very natural and exact, the treatiſe full of curious obſervations; and therefore it was a great ſervice, rendered to the publick by Mr. Evelyn, to annex it to the tranſlation of the reſt of this great man's works, by which they are made complete.

XXVI. "Numiſmata: A Diſcourſe of Medals, An"tient and Modern; together with ſome Account of "Heads and Effigies of illuſtrious and famous Per"ſons, in Sculps and Taille Douce, of whom we "have no Medals extant; and of the Uſes to be "derived from them. To which is added, a Digreſſion "concerning Phyſiognomy. By J. Evelyn, S. R. S." Lond. 1697, folio.

There is, prefixed to this book, a ſhort but very affectionate dedication, in Latin, to the only ſon and heir of Sidney Lord Godolphin, then Francis Godolphin, Eſq. ſince the Right Honourable Francis Earl of Godolphin, of whoſe father, Mr. Evelyn (as indeed what good man does not?) makes moſt honourable mention, as of his moſt intimate and moſt faithful friend, recommending to his young patron the cultivation of thoſe ſhining virtues, and great abilities, which were inherent to his family; and remarking to him, his peculiar happineſs in deſcending from a line equally diſtinguiſhed for parts and probity. The ingenious author has entered on his noble and extenſive deſign by informing the reader in his epiſtle, that having begun this work about five years before, he deſiſted from proſecuting it,

imagined, that being now on the borders of fourſcore, and having been at leaſt half a century an author, he would have thought it no diſhonour to have ſued out his Writ of Eaſe, when, being full of years and glory, he might have laid down his pen with as general an approbation from the candid judges of that age, as their fathers had ſhewn to thoſe treatiſes which fell from it when he firſt took it up. But Mr. Evelyn was not of that ſort of men who are glad of a plauſible excuſe of retiring from labour, notwithſtanding nature furniſhes them with ſtrength to go through it. On the contrary, he conſidered his health and his abilities, and, above all, his improved ſtock of knowledge from experience, as talents intruſted with him, by Providence, for the benefit of mankind; and he ſcorned, in his old age, to perform leſs diligently his duty than, from a true principle of public ſpirit, he had done in his youth. It was to this excellent frame of mind, ſo much admired and ſo little imitated, that we owe his laſt treatiſe, at leaſt his laſt new treatiſe upon ſallets (*i*), in which it is hard to ſay which deſerves to be

(*i*) See this father explained in the note.

upon the publiſhing of Mr. Walker's treatiſe upon the ſame ſubject; but, finding ſome particularities that admitted of a farther improvement, he went on again with his own diſcourſe, and, after a ſhort introduction, bewailing the failure of marbles, ſtatues, trophies, &c. in perpetuating memorable actions:

He begins his firſt chapter with the uſe of medals, either made for money, or to preſerve the memory of worthy actions; obſerving their very early uſe in the world, and that the firſt Roman money was braſs, without any mark at all: then ſhews the original of ſtamping, which was for a teſtimonial of their being of ſuch a weight. The firſt ſilver ſtamped at Rome was a little before the firſt Punic war, and gold not till about ſixty-two years after, at which time the worth of gold to ſilver was as twelve and a half to one, though in the earlieſt times it bore but a decuple value among the Romans and Greeks. Next, coming to ſpeak more particularly of medals, he is of opinion, that they did not, when firſt made, paſs for money, but were ſtampt in memory of particular famous actions or perſons. But, upon the inundation of the Goths, the luſtre of medals ended, with all the more polite arts. He then treats of the materials uſed for money, whether leather, paper, earth, porcelain, coral, ſhells, linen, or the like. He in the next place ſpeaks of the time when the ſeveral metals came firſt in uſe, and is inclined to think iron and copper were the firſt, of which he gives ſeveral inſtances. Then he proceeds to conſider the impreſſions and ſizes, of which latter there were three.

The ſecond chapter treats of the medals of ſeveral nations, as Hebraic, Punic, Barbarous, thoſe of the Goths, Huns, Lombards, &c. with the Britiſh coins; where he ſays, he has ſeen a ſeries of all our coins, from Edward the Confeſſor to his own times, except Richard the third. Then returning to ſpeak of medals, he mentions the Saturnalian, made in buffoonry, and touches upon ſome of the cuſtoms uſed at that feaſt; and obſerves, that, except thoſe, no medals were made but upon grave and ſerious occaſions. Speaking of the heads and reverſes, he ſays, medals without any reverſe are never antique, but may without head be good. Our author next makes ſeveral remarks touching the heads, as whether naked or crowned, bearded or ſhaven, &c. as likewiſe of the figures expreſſed at length on the reverſes. He proceeds to the Greek medals, with their ſeveral ornaments and reverſes; thence to the Barbarous, Parthian, Armenian, &c. and ſo to our Saxon, of all which he deſcribes the particular ornaments on their heads, &c. then he comes to medals made of remarkable perſons; touches upon Papal and French medals; after which he mentions the curious collection of Pyrrhus Ligorius, being twenty-ſix volumes of draughts of medals, inſcriptions, relievos, &c. Greek and Roman; of the Duke of Savoy's, Duke Albert's of Bavaria, now in the cuſtody of the Royal Society, containing the images of Roman Kings, Conſuls, Dictators, Knights, Tribunes, &c. from the foundation of Rome to Julius Cæſar; after which, he remarks the niceneſs of the Antients, in having their reſemblances taken by none but exquiſite maſters; whence we may well believe their medals to be very like them: he concludes this chapter with a propoſal of deſigning, in dead-life, by a very good hand, what medals of undoubted truth can be procured, and theſe to be as well and exactly engraven on copper-plates.

The third chapter treats of antient and modern reverſes, as they relate to hiſtory, chronology, and other parts of learning, the uſe and benefit whereof he ſhews in ſeveral particulars; informing us not only in Hiſtory and Chronology, but alſo giving the true form of ſeveral habits, inſtruments, engines, machines, inventions, atchievements, cuſtoms, &c. of the Antients, but imperfectly otherwiſe deſcribed; together with the figure under which they repreſented their gods and genii, particular countries, &c. with the ſeveral rewards, as crowns, &c. for virtuous and noble actions: then, deploring the want of medals to illuſtrate our own hiſtory, he gives an account of all, or the moſt, that have been ſtamped here, from Edward the Third through the ſeveral reigns to the late Revolution, referring the reader, for thoſe made ſince that time, to the late publiſhed "Hiſtoire Métallique de Guillaume III. by N. Chevalier, Amſterdam, 1692;" folio.

The fourth chapter treats of perſons and things deſerving the honour of medals, though moſt of them never obtained it; and in this he finds our nation too deficient, and names ſeveral ingenious worthies then living.

The fifth chapter is of inſcriptions upon medals, and their ſeveral forms and differences, chiefly relating to Roman and Greek medals: here he gives us the notes and abbreviations of words to be met with in Roman medals.

In the ſixth chapter, he lays down inſtructions for the procuring antique and rare medals, with directions to diſtinguiſh the true from Counterfeits, preſenting a catalogue of ſome alphabetically; and in this place ſhews the ſeveral tricks uſed in making the cheats, and falſe ones, and ſets down ſome ways to take off medals, by a ſort of glue, and ſuch like curioſities.

In the ſeventh chapter, our author diſcourſes of mints, and the moſt ſkilful artiſts, with directions to collect and diſpoſe medals for the cabinet, and adds ſome reflections on the modern clipping and diminution of coin. Here he obſerves the great number of mints in the ſame kingdom formerly, and the excellency of the method now uſed in minting, far beyond the old way of hammering, and in this place gives his opinion and reaſons, againſt either debaſing the coin, or enhancing the value, and then enumerates the moſt eminent maſters in this art: amongſt them he mentions Trecia of Milan, who cut the King of Spain's arms on a table-diamond: next he gives a catalogue of authors treating of this ſubject, with ſome curious collectors of our own and other nations, and then concludes his chapter, with a catalogue of thoſe medals that ſucceed Jovianus, where Mr. Walker's catalogue ends.

The eighth chapter gives an account of heads and effigies in Taille-douce, with particular directions for ſuch a collection, preſenting us with a catalogue of perſons meriting a place therein, as well women as men.

The ninth chapter, which concludes the work, contains a digreſſion concerning phyſiognomy, where the Author, beginning with the head, goes through all the features of the face, and proportion of the body and limbs, giving his opinions and conjectures of the natural diſpoſitions, wit, and qualifications, to be gathered from the obſervation of each part and member particularly interſperſed with hiſtorical remarks.

commended moſt, the agreeable vivacity of his language, or the wonderful maturity of his judgment [*T*]. Happy old man! who, ſtill in full poſſeſſion of his parts, undertook and accompliſhed, ſome years after this, the reviewing of his "Sylva," in which laſt edition (*k*) he has interſperſed various circumſtances relative to his private life, as well as to his ſubject, and has alſo ſhewn that he had ſerious and affecting thoughts of his latter end, thought not put in mind of it by his infirmities, which are circumſtances, that, if farther explained, cannot be unacceptable to the inquiſitive reader [*U*]. It has been before

(*k*) This is meant of the laſt edit. publiſhed in his life time.

[*T*] *Or the wonderful maturity of his judgment.*] The title of this work was very ſhort, being only this:

XXVII, "Acetaria: A Diſcourſe of Sallets, by "J. E. S. R. S. Author of the Kalendarium." Lond. 1699. 8vo.

This, which was our Author's laſt work, was dedicated to the Lord Chancellor Somers, at that time Preſident of the Royal Society; and the view of this dedication was to procure a public eſtabliſhment for that ſociety, as will ſufficiently appear from the following paragraphs, which cannot ſeem tedious to the reader, ſince, excepting ſome of Mr. Dryden's, he will hardly find any dedication in our language, penned with equal elegance and ſpirit.

'My Lord,

'The idea and plan of the Royal Society having 'been firſt conceived and delineated by a great and 'learned Chancellor (31), which high office your 'Lordſhip deſervedly bears, not as an acquiſition of 'fortune, but your intellectual endowments, conſpi-'cuous (among other excellences) by the inclination 'your Lordſhip diſcovers to promote natural know-'ledge; as it juſtifies the diſcernment of that aſſembly 'to pitch upon your Lordſhip for their Preſident; ſo 'does it no leſs diſcover the candour, yea, I preſume 'to ſay, the ſublimity, of your mind, in ſo generouſly 'honouring them with your acceptance of the choice 'they have made.

'A Chancellor, and a very learned Lord, was the 'firſt who honoured the Chair; and a no leſs honour-'able and learned Chancellor reſigns it to your Lord-'ſhip (32).

'So, as after all the difficulties and hardſhips the 'ſociety has hitherto gone through, it has, through 'the favour and protection of its Preſidents, not only 'preſerved its reputation from the malevolence of 'enemies and detractors, but gone on culminating 'and now triumphantly in your Lordſhip: under 'whoſe propitious influence, I am perſuaded, it may 'promiſe itſelf that which indeed has hitherto been 'wanting to juſtify the glorious title it bears of a Royal 'Society, the emancipating it from ſome remaining 'and diſcouraging circumſtances which it as yet 'labours under, among which that of a precarious 'and unſteady abode is not the leaſt.

'This honour was reſerved for your Lordſhip, and 'an honour permit me to call it, not at all unworthy 'the owning of the greateſt perſon living, namely, 'the eſtabliſhing and promoting real knowledge, and 'next to what is divine, truly ſo called, as far at leaſt 'as human nature extends towards the knowledge of 'nature, by enlarging her Empire beyond the land 'of ſpectres, forms, intentional ſpecies, vacuum, occult 'qualities, and other inadequate notions, which by 'their obſtreperous and noiſy diſputes affrighting, and 'till of late deterring, men, from adventuring on far-'ther diſcoveries, confined them in a lazy acquieſ-'cence, and to be fed with fantaſms and fruitleſs ſpe-'culations, which ſignify nothing to the ſpecific na-'ture of things, ſolid and uſeful knowledge by the 'inveſtigation of cauſes, principles, energies, powers, 'and effects of bodies and things viſible, and to im-'prove them for the good and benefit of mankind.'

(31) Francis Lord Verulam, and Viſcount St. Albans.

(32) Lord Viſcount Brounker, Chancellor to Queen Katharine. Charles Mountague, Eſq. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

It is a great pity this propoſition of our Author's was not accepted, ſince undoubtedly a national eſtabliſhment under the direction of ſo wiſe and prudent a perſon, would have enabled the ſociety to have proſecuted their laudable and uſeful deſigns, in a manner worthy of themſelves and honourable to their country. It is not, however, impoſſible, that this propoſition might come to nothing by their Preſident's loſs of power, which fell out very ſoon after; but, however it happened, our Author's zeal and diligence in the application was truly laudable. He had the honour to be one of the firſt members, and he continued to be one of the moſt active for upwards of forty years. This laſt work is nothing inferior to any of the preceding: the ſame learning, the ſame perſpecuity, the ſame quickneſs and penetration, reign: through the whole, the reader meets not only with all that he can expect, but with much more, and ſuch a multitude of curious obſervations are interſperſed as render it as pleaſant and entertaining as it is uſeful. Yet, the Author ſuſpecting that ſome might poſſibly cenſure the great pains he had taken upon ſuch a ſubject, and thence infer, that he was led to treat ſuch matters, with ſo much ſkill and pains, from the refined luxury of his own palate, took care to guard againſt this in the following elegant apology, which he has inſerted in his dedication.

'The favour, I humbly beg, is your Lordſhip's par-'don for this preſumption. The ſubject is mean, and 'requires it, and my reputation in danger, ſhould 'your Lordſhip hence ſuſpect, that one could never 'write ſo much of dreſſing ſallets, who minded any 'thing ſerious beſides the gratifying a ſenſual appe-'tite with a voluptuary aſiatick art. Truly, my Lord, 'I am ſo far from deſigning to promote thoſe *ſuppli-'ciæ luxuriæ*, as Seneca calls them, by what I have 'here written, that, were it in my power, I would 're-call the world, if not altogether to their priſtine 'diet, yet to a much more wholſome and temperate 'than is now in faſhion; and what if they find me 'like to ſome who are eager after hunting and other 'field-ſports, which are laborious exerciſes, and fiſh-'ing, which is indeed a lazy one, who, after all their 'pains and fatigue, never eat what they take and 'catch in either? For, ſome ſuch I have known: and 'though I cannot affirm ſo of myſelf, when a well-'dreſſed and excellent ſalad is before me, I am yet a 'very moderate eater of them. So, as to this book, 'luxury, I can affirm, and that truly, what the Poet 'ſays of himſelf, on a leſs innocent occaſion, *Laſciva 'pagina, vita proba.* God forbid, that, after all I 'have advanced in praiſe of ſalads, I ſhould be thought 'to plead for the vice I cenſure, and chuſe that of 'Epicurus for my Lemma: *In hac arte conſenui:* or 'to have ſpent my time in nothing elſe. The plan 'annexed to theſe papers, and the apparatus made to 'ſuperſtruct upon it, would acquit me of having bent 'all my contemplations on ſalads only. What I hum-'bly offer your Lordſhip is, as I ſaid, part of natural 'hiſtory, the product of horticulture, and the field 'dignified by the moſt illuſtrious, and ſometimes tilled '*Laureato vomere*, which, as it concerns a part of Phi-'loſophy, I may without vanity be allowed to have 'taken ſome pains in cultivating, as an inferior mem-'ber of the Royal Society.' Such was the modeſty, ſuch the learning, and ſuch the politeneſs, of this great man!

[*U*] *To the inquiſitive reader.*] It is chiefly from the works of great men, that the curious and particular paſſages of their lives are to be collected. This indeed is a thing of great labour, but at the ſame time infinitely pleaſant to thoſe who delight in honouring the memory of ſuch benefactors to mankind. In this note, we intend a ſpecimen of this ſort from the moſt extenſive and moſt hiſtorical of our Author's performances. We thence learn, that the true ſignification of his Surname, Evelyn, written antiently

Avelan

fore hinted, that, as his collections were very great, so he was far from confining them entirely to his own uſe, but was ever ready to communicate them for the benefit of others; and that, conſidered in that light, he was a great benefactor to the public. An inſtance has been given in the notes to this purpoſe, in reſpect to the famous Mr. Boyle; and many inſtances more might be given, of which, not to treſpaſs on the reader's patience, we will mention but a few. He it was that furniſhed to the late reverend and learned Biſhop of London thoſe additional remarks on the county of Surrey (*l*), which are publiſhed in his Engliſh edition of the "Britannia." He contributed largely to Mr. Houghton's valuable work (*m*); and the ingenious John Aubrey, Eſq. has teſtified how often he was indebted to him for his friendly aſſiſtance in many of his undertakings (*n*). In reſpect to the Royal Society, he was equally aſſiduous in his attendance, and careful in his intelligence. Whatever fell within the compaſs of his own extenſive enquiries, he never failed to tranſmit them to that judicious body, nor was he leſs attentive to the procuring them proper correſpondents both at home and abroad, of which copious teſtimonies are to be met with in their Regiſters, and in their printed

(*l*) Sylva, p. 196.

(*m*) Houghton's Huſbandry and Trade improved, Vol. IV. p. 132.

(*n*) Miſcellanies, p. 87.

Avelan or Evelin, was filberd, or rather hazel, which gives him occaſion to remark, that theſe trees are commonly produced where quarries of free-ſtone lie underneath, as at Hazelbury in Wiltſhire, Haſlingfield in Cambridgeſhire, and Haſlemere in Surrey (33). He more than once remarks, that his grandfather was a great planter and preſerver of timber, as it ſeems were the antient poſſeſſors of the place where he lived, whence it acquired its name of Wotton (i. e.) Woodtown, from the groves and plantations that were about it (34). He farther remarks, that there was an oak felled by his grandfather's order, out of which there was a table made, meaſured by himſelf more than once of five feet in breadth, nine and a half in length, and ſix inches thick, all entire and clear. It was ſet up in brick-work for a paſtry-board; and, to fit it for that uſe, it was ſhortened by a foot, being originally ten feet and a half, as appeared from an inſcription cut in one of its ſides, whence it appeared to have lain there above one hundred years, when our author wrote this deſcription (35). When his grandfather's woods were cut down, which conſiſted entirely of oak, they ſprang up again, not oaks but beeches; and, when theſe two in their turn felt the axe, there aroſe ſpontaneouſly a third plantation, not of oak or beech, but of birch, which he does not ſet down as a thing ſingular in itſelf, but becauſe it happened under his own eye (36). He is a declared enemy to iron works, on account of their deſtroying woods; yet he obſerves, from the prudential maxims prevailing in his own family, they had quite a contrary effect, as being one principal cauſe of their making ſuch large plantations, and taking ſo much pains about them (37). It was a relation of his, that ſold Richmond new Park to King Charles the Firſt, after planting many fine trees there (38). Our author carried this diſpoſition with him to Sayes-Court, where he muſt have ſhewn it very early, ſince he aſſures us, that the Marquis of Argyle preſented him with the cones of a peculiar kind of fir, which he takes to be the Spaniſh pinaſter, or wild pine, and gives a very particular account of the manner in which they grew in the Marquis's county in Scotland (39). He informs us, that it was the Lord Chancellor Bacon who introduced the true plane tree, which he planted originally about Verulam, whence he had his title (40). Mr. Evelyn takes to himſelf the honour of having propagated the alaternus from Cheſhire to Cumberland, which was before reputed an inhabitant only of the green-houſe, but is found very capable, not only of living without doors, but of ſtanding unhurt by the rigour of our ſevereſt winters (41). He mentions a moſt glorious and impenetrable holly-hedge, which he had at Sayes-Court four hundred feet in length, nine feet high, and five in diameter, which occaſions his dropping a hint, that the fine gardens he had raiſed there were wholly ruined by the Czar of Muſcovy, who it ſeems lived there for the ſake of being near the yard (42). He recommended Mr. Gibbons, the Carver, to King Charles the Second, by whom ſome exquiſite works were performed in St. Paul's Cathedral (43). He was likewiſe conſulted by the Bedford

(33) Evelyn's Sylva, or Diſcourſe of Foreſt-Trees, fifth edit. p. 76.

(34) Ib. p. 301.

(35) Ib. p. 199.

(36) Ib. p. 213.

(37) Ib. p. 253.

(38) Ib. p. 40.

(39) Ib. p. 127.

(40) Ib. p. 116.

(41) Ib. p. 152.

(42) Ib. p. 159.

(43) Ib. p. 72.

family, about preſerving their fine trees; ſo long as the gardens were kept up about Bedford-Houſe, which before the laſt edition of his book were demoliſhed, to make way for the new buildings about Bloomſbury (44). He takes notice of an admirable remedy for a Dyſentery, which had been otherwiſe, in all probability, buried in oblivion, and this is the fungus ſubſtance ſeparated from the lobes of Walnut Kernels, powdered and given in a glaſs of wine, which, he affirms, relieved the Engliſh ſoldiers in the famous Dundalk Campaign in Ireland, ſoon after the Revolution, when all other remedies failed (45). He was acquainted with the Conde Mellor, a Portugueſe Nobleman, who reſided ſome time at the Court of King Charles the Second, when an exile from his own, by whom he was informed, that his father, when Prime-Miniſter, as himſelf had likewiſe been, received in a caſe a collection of plants of China oranges of which only one eſcaped, and was with difficulty recovered; and yet from this plant came all the China oranges that ever were ſeen in Europe, which our author obſerves, is a moſt noble and wonderful inſtance of what induſtry may do from the ſlighteſt and leaſt promiſing beginnings (46). One inſtance of the vaſt advantages derived from woods I ſhall borrow, becauſe the facts are notorious and indiſputable (47). 'Upon the eſtate of George Pitt, Eſquire, of Stratfieldſea, in the County of Southampton, a ſurvey of timber being taken in the year 1659, it came to ten thouſand three hundred pounds, beſides near ten thouſand ſamplers not valued and growing up naturally. Since this there hath been made, by ſeveral ſales, five thouſand ſix hundred pounds, and there has been felled for repairs, building, and neceſſary uſes, to the value at the leaſt of twelve hundred pounds, ſo as the whole falls of timber amount to ſix thouſand eight hundred pounds. The timber upon the ſame ground being again ſurveyed, anno 1677, appears to be worth above twenty-one thouſand pounds, beſides eight or nine thouſand ſamplers, and young trees to be left ſtanding, and not reckoned in the ſurvey. But, what is yet to be obſerved, moſt of this timber abovementioned, being oak, grows in hedge-rows, and ſo as that the ſtanding of it does very little prejudice to the plough or paſture.' To conclude; this worthy perſon, who was born in a town famous for wood, who derived from his anceſtors an affection for plantations, who wrote the moſt correct treatiſe of foreſt-trees extant in our own, or, perhaps, in any language, and who was himſelf a moſt eminent planter, had a ſtrong deſire, after the example of Sir William Temple, who directed his heart to be depoſited in his garden, to have his corpſe alſo interred in the like manner (48); but very probably he was prevailed upon to alter his mind afterwards, notwithſtanding what he had expreſſed upon that ſubject (49) in his book; which ſhews how warm and laſting that paſſion for improvement was in his own breaſt, which, with ſo much learning, eloquence, and ſucceſs, he laboured to excite in the boſoms of his countrymen.

(44) Ib. p. 215.

(45) Ib. p. 63.

(46) Ib. p. 141.

(47) Ib. p. 276.

(48) Ib. p. 297.

(49) Aubrey's Natural Hiſt. of Surrey, Vol. IV.

(o) See this explained in the note.

Tranſactions (*o*) [*W*]. He might, therefore, juſtly ſtyle himſelf, as he did, a Pioneer in their ſervice; which expreſſion was well choſen, ſince it marked at once how humble and how indefatigable he was, in whatever might contribute to the advancement of that noble deſign, which was the baſis of their inſtitution. He was a true lover of freedom of thought in all philoſophical enquiries, which as he practiſed upon all occaſions himſelf, ſo he very readily indulged it to others; and though nobody was freer from prejudices, or ſpoke more diſcreetly than he did, of books that it was impoſſible for him to commend, yet he never reſented any attack made upon his own, but bore the contradiction of his opinion with all imaginable temper, being perſuaded that truth and rea-

[*W*] *In their printed Tranſactions.*] It would take up too much time and room, to take notice of every thing that occurs, in this valuable collection, that might be alleged to this purpoſe; and, therefore, we ſhall content ourſelves with a few inſtances. Upon ſome diſcourſe, at the Royal Society, of the eruptions of Mount Veſuvius, he procured the following extract of a letter from Mr. Henry Robinſon, to whom it was written by Captain William Baddily, and at the ſame time produced ſome of the aſhes which are mentioned therein; which letter, and which aſhes, had been preſerved for upwards of thirty years (50).

(50) Philoſoph. Tranſactions, No. 21.

'The ſixth of December, 1631, being in the Gulph 'of Volo riding at anchor about ten of the clock that 'night, it began to rain ſand or aſhes, and continued 'till two of the clock the next morning. It was about 'two inches thick on the deck, ſo that we caſt it over-'board with ſhovels, as we did ſnow the day before: 'the quantity of a buſhel we brought home, and pre-'ſented to ſeveral friends, eſpecially to the Maſters of 'Trinity-Houſe. There was in our company Capt. 'John Wilds, commander of the Dragon, and Capt. 'Anthony Watts, commander of the Elizabeth and 'Dorcas. There was no wind ſtirring when theſe 'aſhes fell: it did not fall only in the places where we 'were, but likewiſe in other parts, as ſhips were co-'ming from St. John d'Acre to our port, they being at 'that time an hundred leagues from us. We compared 'the aſhes together, and found them both one. If you 'deſire to ſee the aſhes, let me know."——Thus, in the ſpring of the year 1670, our author communicated, in the following letter to the Lord Viſcount Brouncker, a large and circumſtantial account of a very ſingular and extraordinary invention, by a perſon of rank, called the Spaniſh *Sembrador*, or new engine for ploughing and equal ſowing all ſorts of grain and harrowing at once; by which a great quantity of ſeed-corn is ſaved, and a rich increaſe yearly gained; together with a deſcription of the contrivance and uſes of this engine, which epiſtle ran thus (51).

(51) Ibid. No. 60.

'I cannot deviſe better how to expreſs my great re-'ſpects to your Lordſhip than by my utmoſt endea-'vours to promote the intereſt of that Society, over 'which you have ſo long, with ſo much ability and af-'fection, ſo faithfully preſided. This, therefore, will 'plead my excuſe with your Lordſhip, if, in ſome con-'fidence of gratifying the generous deſigns of that 'noble aſſembly, I communicate to them, through 'your hands, not only the inſtrument which I herewith 'preſent them, but the deſcription of the uſe and be-'nefit of it, from ſuch a deferent, as I am ſure they will 'very highly value.

'My Lord, it is now almoſt two years ſince, that, 'by ſomewhat an odd accident, lighting upon a paper 'lately printed in Spaniſh, I found a ſhort paſſage in 'it, giving notice of a certain plough newly brought 'out of Germany into Spain; in both which places 'it had, upon trial, ſo generally obtained, as, beſides 'the royal privilege which was granted to the in-'ventor, to procure the univerſal approbation. Upon 'this hint I took the boldneſs to write to my Lord 'Ambaſſador, intreating his Excellency, that, as his 'more weighty affairs would give him leave, he would 'not diſdain to inform himſelf more particularly con-'cerning it. This his Lordſhip was not only pleaſed to 'do, but ſo highly obliging as to tranſmit to me the 'engine itſelf, together with a full deſcription of it and 'its uſe: all of it written with his own noble hand, 'which I do here conſecrate to the Royal Society, to 'be inſerted among their precious *cimelia*.

'My Lord, being not ſo happy as to wait on you 'myſelf with it, at your public aſſembly this day, I 'deſire your Lordſhip will cauſe theſe papers to be 'read there, and expoſe the inſtrument to their ex-'amination and trial. There are many gentlemen who 'will not be offended with theſe ruſticities, and who 'know how highly ſuch inventions, and even attempts, 'have been valued by the greateſt and the beſt of men. 'Something ('tis poſſible) may happen to be out of or-'der, by reaſon of the long journey it hath paſſed: 'but their ingenious Curator will ſoon be able to re-'form, and, if need be, improve, it. My Lord, of 'Sandwich is that illuſtrious perſon to whom the So-'ciety is obliged for this, and many other favours and 'productions of his own more conſummate genius, 'which enrich their regiſters. But, let me tell them, 'his Lordſhip hath made, and brought home with 'him, ſuch other polite notices and particulars, of 'Spain and other foreign parts, as I know no perſon, 'of the moſt refined and public ſpirit, who hath ap-'proached him beſides your Lordſhip: an emulous 'and worthy example, certainly to the reſt of our 'noblemen and miniſters of ſtate abroad, who may 'travel with ſo many advantages to inform themſelves 'above others: and it is to me a ſhining inſtance of 'both your Lordſhip's happy talents and great com-'prehenſion, that, in the throng of ſo many and ſo 'weighty employments, you can think of cultivating 'the arts, and of doubly obliging your country.'

The deſcription of this machine, tranſlated from the Spaniſh into Engliſh, is of a conſiderable length, and therefore we refer the reader to it in the Tranſactions. The chief reaſon for mentioning it here was, to ſhew how vigilant our author was in his enquiries, and how diligent in the proſecution of them; and yet not with any view of concealing the diſcoveries he made, but quite the contrary, that the Royal Society might have the honour, and the Britiſh nation the benefit, of them. In this reſpect, no doubt, he reaped abundant ſatisfaction, ſince it was declared, over and over again in the Tranſactions, that his Sylva had raiſed whole foreſts, and his *Pomona* produced numberleſs orchards: yet, that he affected not praiſe out of any degree of vanity, but was really pleaſed with being the inſtrument of good to others, appears very plainly from that warmth, as well as readineſs, with which he recommended other men's works to the favour of the publick, even upon ſubjects on which he had employed his own pen, particularly in the caſe of Mr. Smith, which is printed in the Tranſactions (52).

(52) Ib. No. 103.

He was alſo very aſſiduous in procuring, as early as poſſible from abroad, all new books upon curious and uſeful ſubjects; as alſo ſuch as, from their univerſal high character, were become ſcarce and dear; ſome of which he communicated to the Secretary of the Society, and of others he made large and curious extracts himſelf; and, as is very juſtly obſerved, his tranſlations were doubly valuable, on account of that clearneſs and fidelity with which he expreſſed the author's ſenſe, and the improvements that he added from his own obſervations, as he rendered no treatiſes into Engliſh, without being perfectly verſed in the ſubject upon which, as well as the language in which, they were written. He likewiſe, in teſtimony of his reſpect and duty to the Society, beſtowed upon them thoſe curious tables of veins and arteries, which he brought with him from Padua, and conſequently deſerved to be honourably mentioned in their regiſters, and to have his picture, as it is, hung up in their apartments (35).

(53) Aubrey's Nat. Hiſt. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 121.

ſon would always triumph in the end, and that it was better to leave things to the deciſion of the public, than to embark in endleſs controverſies, though in the defence of ſentiments ever ſo well founded (*p*) [X]. When we conſider the number of the books he

(*p*) See a proof of this in the notes.

[X] *Though in defence of ſentiments ever ſo well founded.*] Amongſt other advantages that attended the inſtitution of the Royal Society, one was its giving birth to, and the higheſt encouragement for, free and open enquiries; nor was it any wonder, that, amongſt theſe, ſome turned upon thoſe learned perſons who firſt exerted themſelves in favour of this method of improving knowledge. Amongſt theſe, Mr. John Houghton, though with great decency and good manners, cenſured our author's great performance, on account of its croſſing a notion he had advanced, 'that it would 'be highly advantageous for the nation, if all the 'timber within twelve miles of a navigable river were 'deſtroyed.' It is but fair that he ſhould ſpeak for himſelf: his words then are theſe (54):

(54) Collections on Huſbandry and Trade, Vol. IV. p. 273.

'I queſtion not but you eagerly expect to hear 'what may be ſaid, in anſwer to Mr. Evelyn's *Sylva*. 'There he ſeems to be quite of another opinion, and 'to give many inſtances of profits from woods, ſo great 'that few other parts of huſbandry can equal them. 'I muſt confeſs Mr. Evelyn is a great man, one that I 'have the honour to be acquainted with, and happy 'is he that is ſo: he is a gentleman of great piety, 'modeſty, and complacency; and alſo endowed with 'with ſuch an univerſality of uſeful learning, that he 'may very well be eſteemed a darling of mankind. 'But he is particularly well verſed in the affairs of the 'woodman; and his *Sylva* is ſo good a book, that 'I have not heard of any thing written on the ſubject 'like it. To anſwer it, I will not pretend; to gain-'ſay what he affirms I can't, for I believe he loves 'veracity more than life. I will only make ſome ob-'ſervations, and, if my ſentiments differ from his, I 'know he will pardon me, he being well inclined to 'allow freedom of thought, and alſo well verſed in a 'motto, (*) *Nullius in Verba*.

(*) That of the Royal Society.

'Now, I firſt obſerve the reaſon why this Sylva, or 'diſcourſe of foreſt-trees, was delivered to the Royal 'Society. It was, as I am told, in the title-page, 'upon occaſion of certain queries propounded to that 'illuſtrious aſſembly, by the honourable the principal 'Officers and Commiſſioners of the Navy. What theſe 'queries were, do not altogether appear; but, by the 'diſcourſe, one of them ſeems to be how timber might 'be propagated in his Majeſty's dominions. An an-'ſwer to this, our ingenious author hath bravely given. 'But my conſiderations are not how, or how not, to 'propagate timber; but a query, "Whether it is beſt, 'within certain limits, to propagate it or no?" a thing 'quite beſide his deſign.

'Indeed, in his introduction, he, like a very good 'Engliſhman, laments the notorious decay of our 'wooden walls, which he thought likely to follow, 'when our then preſent navy ſhould be worn out or 'impaired; and, I muſt confeſs, when he conſidered 'the great deſtruction of our wood that had been 'made in the foregoing twenty years, by ſome through 'neceſſity, and others through ill ends and purpoſes; 'together with our not being uſed to fetch much tim-'ber from abroad, and a general cry that none could 'furniſh us with any for ſhipping, eſpecially ſo good 'as our own; with the addition of what amounted to 'a complaint from the honourable Commiſſioners of 'his Majeſty's navy: when he conſidered all this, I 'ſay, every good man will rather commend than 'blame his zeal.

'But now ſince that deſtruction of our timber hath 'forced us to look out for a more convenient ſupply to 'London, and ſome other places, and our having 'greater experiences of ſea-fights than ever we had 'before, other things are known; and, it is believed, 'to my certain knowledge, by ſome of the Commiſ-'ſioners of the navy, and others, that have been 'greatly concerned in building of ſhips, that there is 'ſome other timber in the world that will build ſhips 'as well as ours: for inſtance, the French Ruby that 'we took from France, when he joined with Den-'mark and Holland againſt us, had ſuch good timber 'in it, that, as I have been told, England never had 'better. The bullets that entered this French ſhip, 'made only round holes without ſplinters, the thing 'our timber is valued for; and it was ſo hard, that the 'carpenters, with their tools, could hardly cut it, it 'was like a piece of iron.

'I fancy it ſome of that oak Mr. Evelyn ſpeaks of 'in his forecited "Sylva," chap. III. p. 25. "There "is, ſaith he, a kind of it ſo tough, and ſo extremely "compact, that our ſharpeſt tools will hardly enter it, "and ſcarely the very fire itſelf, in which it conſumes "but ſlowly, as ſeeming to partake of a ferrugineous "and metalline ſhining nature, proper for ſundry ro-"buſt uſes." 'Theſe laſt thirty ſhips that were built 'have a great deal of foreign timber in them; and, 'although there is ſome decay in them already, yet I 'am told that the fault is not attributed to the foreign 'timber, but rather to the haſty building; the King 'having not a ſtock before-hand, the timber had not 'time enough for a ſeaſoning. For theſe reaſons, and 'what I ſaid before about the increaſe of ſeamen, per-'ſuades me to believe, that ſuch means will never 'leſſen our ſtrength; and I queſtion not, but that, for 'our money, we may be furniſhed ſufficiently from 'abroad.'

This paper was publiſhed November the ſixth, 1683, and October the thirty-firſt, 1701. The ſame gentleman publiſhed another paper, in which he maintained his former opinion (55), and undertakes to refute Mr. Evelyn's obſervations, as to the profit made by planting, complaining that what he had before written was never anſwered: intimating, at the ſame time, that the reaſon was, becauſe it was unanſwerable: his words are theſe: 'Mr. Evelyn tells us of 'one Mr. Edward Salter, who planted an aſh, and 'before his death ſold it for forty ſhillings. I will 'not reckon the ground this aſh grew on to be worth 'any thing; but ſuppoſe the aſh when planted was 'worth but one ſhilling, and had the man lived but 'eighty-four years after, the ſhilling would have 'amounted to ſix pounds eight ſhillings, which is far 'better than forty ſhillings.

(55) Ib. Vol. III. p. 179.

'Again: three acres of barren land ſown with acorns 'in ſixty years became a very thriving wood, and was 'worth three hundred pounds. Being 'twas barren 'land, I'll ſuppoſe it worth but three ſhillings the 'acre, nine ſhillings the three acres; which for ſixty 'years was worth, in preſent money, fifteen pounds, 'nine ſhillings, and ſeven-pence; which, doubled 'every twelve years, makes four hundred ninety-five 'pounds, ſix ſhillings, and eight-pence. Suppoſe 'that the tillage, acorns, and ſetting, came but to 'the third part of fifteen pounds; which together 'makes above ſix hundred pounds, for the three 'hundred pounds.'

This warm cenſure might be ſafely truſted by our author, without any anſwer, in thoſe days, when none pretended to decide without hearing both parties with attention. It is, however, but doing common juſtice to his memory, to ſet theſe points in a clear light, more eſpecially as it may be done in a very narrow compaſs. In the firſt place, Mr. Evelyn lays down facts that are indiſputable, for he mentions no improvement in his book without clear authority. On the contrary, Mr. Houghton's is a ſuppoſition, and, which is worſe, a ſuppoſition that is entirely groundleſs. He values the young aſh-plant at a ſhilling; he might have read in Mr. Evelyn, that an hundred ſaplings, of three years growth, are worth but eighteen-pence. Inſtead of fourſcore and four years, he ought to have ſet down a third, or at moſt half, that time; and then, at his own rate of compound intereſt, the value of the plant would not have exceeded a ſingle penny. His objections to the ſecond inſtance, are not leſs frivolous. Barren ground, in the common acceptation of the word, is ground worth nothing, and for that reaſon unlet and unemployed: our critic will have it worth three ſhillings an acre, and, having thus created a rent of nine ſhillings a year, he converts it next into a rent-charge, and ſuppoſes a ſixty years leaſe of this barren land to

he publiſhed, and the variety of the ſubjects upon which he employed his time, it is impoſſible to forbear wondering at his induſtry and application, which muſt be greatly heightened when we reflect how careful he was in reviewing, correcting, and augmenting, all his original works; whence it is evident, that whatever ſubject appeared weighty enough to attract his attention, it never loſt its place in his thoughts, but, on the contrary, was often reviewed, and reaped the continual benefit of the new lights he received, as well as of his future meditations, which is the true reaſon that his treatiſes are ſo perfect in their kind, and continue as much eſteemed by poſterity as they were by the inquiſitive and judicious part of the world at the time they came firſt from the preſs. But this is not all; and our aſtoniſhment cannot but attend the information of his leaving behind him unfiniſhed, or at leaſt unpubliſhed, works of a more extenſive nature than thoſe that are printed, which had coſt him incredible pains, and for the compoſing of which he had made prodigious collections (q) [Y]. The hiſtory of this learned

(q) See the Preface prefixed to his Diſcourſe on Sallets.

be worth two and thirty years purchaſe; and this money, put out at compound intereſt, is run up to twice as much as the wood is worth. We will not puſh things to extremity, but ſuppoſe, with him, the land worth nine ſhillings a year, and to be ſold for twenty years purchaſe, which would produce nine pounds. That nine pounds placed out at compound intereſt, at the rate of ſix *per cent.* would amount, in ſixty years, to two hundred eighty-eight pounds; ſo that there is twelve pounds, and all the intermediate profits by lopping, to pay for the original plantation and cultivation of the trees. Upon the whole it is manifeſt, even from this author's manner of arguing, that planting wood is not only more honeſt and virtuous, but at the ſame time a ſafer and ſpeedier way of raiſing a great fortune than the moſt exorbitant uſury.

[Y] *He had made prodigious collections.*] We may, from the large works which Mr. Evelyn has publiſhed, from the complete plan which he has given us of a large work he intended to publiſh, and from various circumſtances that occur in his letters, form a pretty ſure judgment of the method purſued by him, in compoſing the many and valuable treatiſes that fell from his pen. His way was, when he had made choice of a ſubject, to reſolve it into its proper parts, and to entitle theſe according to the bulk of the volume, he propoſed, either books or chapters, that he might digeſt his materials under their proper titles. He then ſet down his own thoughts in a free ſuccinct manner under every head, to which he added what occurred to him, uſeful or memorable in his reading; and, when he had finiſhed this, he digeſted his own thoughts regularly, ſupporting them by proper teſtimonies, from antient and modern authors, or, if that were the caſe, ſhewing the reaſons for which he diſſented from them. This made his collections very large, in compariſon of the books he publiſhed, into which there entered nothing but the quinteſſence of the authors he had peruſed. The firſt great work which occupied his thoughts was one of which he formed the plan in his travels, and of which neither Mr. Wood, Mr. Aubrey, nor any other writer that I have met with, takes the leaſt notice, though it was certainly a very great and important deſign, every way worthy of his learning, penetration, and vaſt abilities. He intended to have called it

"A General Hiſtory of all Trades."

We have an account of this in one of his own letters to Mr. Boyle, in which he aſſigns the reaſons for his laying it aſide, after it had coſt him incredible pains and application. The reader will, without doubt, be pleaſed to ſee what he has ſaid upon this ſubject, his letter is dated from Sayes-Court, Auguſt the ninth, 1659, and begins thus (56).

(56) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 397.

'I am perfectly aſhamed at the remiſſneſs of this 'recognition for your late favours from Oxon, 'where, though had you reſided, it ſhould have in-'terrupted you before this time. It was by our com-'mon and good friend Mr. Hartlib, that I came now 'to know you are retired from thence, but not from 'the Muſes, and the purſuit of your worthy deſigns, 'the reſult whereof we thirſt after with all impatience, 'and how fortunate ſhould I eſteem myſelf, if it were 'in my power to contribute in the leaſt to that which 'I augure of ſo great and univerſal a benefit! But ſo 'it is, that my late inactivity has made ſo ſmall a 'progreſs, that, in the "Hiſtory of Trades," I am 'not advanced a ſtep, finding to my infinite grief, my 'great imperfections for the attempt, and the many 'ſubjections which I cannot ſupport, of converſing 'with mechanical capricious perſons, and ſeveral 'other diſcouragements; ſo that, giving over a deſign 'of that magnitude, I am ready to acknowledge my 'fault, if, from any expreſſion of mine, there was 'any room to hope for ſuch a production farther than 'by a ſhort collection of ſome heads and materials, 'and a continual propenſity of endeavouring, in ſome 'particular, to encourage ſo noble a work as far as 'I am able; a ſpecimen whereof I have tranſmitted 'to Mr. Hartlib, concerning the ornaments of gar-'dens, which I have requeſted him to communicate 'to you, as one from whom I hope to receive my 'beſt and moſt conſiderable furniture, which favour I 'do again and again humbly ſupplicate, and eſpecially 'touching the firſt chapter of the third book, the 'eleventh and twelfth of the firſt, and indeed on every 'particular of the whole.' Whoever would be better acquainted with the whole extent of our author's project, may conſult his extract of the life of Signor Giacomo Favi, who had the like, and intended to have travelled over the whole world, in order to collect proper materials; in which deſign having made ſome progreſs, he died of a fever at Paris. Of this gentleman, Mr. Evelyn ſpeaks in raptures, from the ſimilitude between their tempers; but, it ſeems, he had not altogether the patience of that Italian virtuoſo, who could accommodate himſelf to the humours of the loweſt of the people as well as make himſelf acceptable even to the greateſt monarchs of Europe (57). But, though our author deſiſted from the original plan, yet it was not till he had finiſhed ſeveral parts of it, particularly his Chalcography, which Mr. Boyle prevailed upon him to publiſh, and the following pieces which he never publiſhed.

(57) See the Life of this eminent perſon, who was a native of Bologna in Italy, prefixed to Mr. Evelyn's Chalcography.

"Five Treatiſes, containing a full View of the ſe-"veral Arts of Painting in Oil, Painting in Miniature, "anealing in Glaſs, enamelling, and making Marble-'Paper."

We may form a judgment from the piece he publiſhed, of the great loſs the world had from his not altering his reſolution, with reſpect to theſe, which no doubt were as thoroughly finiſhed and as perfect in their kind as that. We may collect, from the letter before mentioned, that a ſyſtem of gardening made a part of his great deſign, which, however, there are ſome grounds to believe, he detached thence, and conſidered as a whole or diſtinct ſyſtem of itſelf, to the completing of which he applied himſelf with great ſpirit and labour, and intended to have given it the following title, under which he ſhewed part of his collection to his friends.

"Elyſium Britannicum."

We cannot poſitively affirm, but there are very probable grounds to believe, that this was the very ſame work, of which he has given a plan before his "Ace-"taria," about which he intimates, in his Preface to that treatiſe, he had ſpent upwards of forty years, and his collections for which had in that time filled ſeveral thouſand pages. The title of this vaſt work, as it is there expreſſed, is this:

"The

learned perſon's life and labours terminates together; for, in a ſhort time after he had fitted the fourth edition of his "Sylva" for the preſs, he departed this life in the eighty-ſixth year of his age, Feb. 27, 1705-6 (*r*), and was interred at Wotton, in a tomb of about three feet high of free-ſtone, ſhaped like a coffin, with an inſcription upon a white marble ſtone with which it is covered (*s*), expreſſing, according to his own intention (*t*), "That living in an age of extraordinary events and revolutions, he "had learned from thence this truth, which he deſired might be thus communicated to "poſterity, That all is vanity which is not honeſt, and that there is no ſolid wiſdom "but in real piety." As to that more laſting monument, which the pens of the moſt learned and ingenious men have conſecrated to his memory, in the characters which they have afforded us of him and his writings, the reader will find ſome notice taken at the bottom of the page [Z]. By his moſt virtuous and excellent wife, Mary, daughter of Sir Richard

(*r*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1706, p. 527.

(*s*) Aubrey's Nat. Hiſt. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 131.

(*t*) See the inſcription in the book laſt cited.

"The Plan of a Royal Garden. Deſcribing and "ſhewing the Amplitude of that Part of Georgicks "which belongs to Horticulture."

He propoſed to divide this into three books, the firſt of which was to conſiſt of ſix chapters, wherein he meant to diſcourſe of the principles of things, the four reputed elements, the celeſtial influences, the ſeaſons, the natural ſoil of a garden, and all the artificial improvements that could be made therein. The ſecond book was to contain twenty-four chapters, and of theſe it is ſufficient to ſay, that the twentieth chapter ſeems to have been executed in his diſcourſe of ſallads, and that the laſt chapter of this book, was no other than his Gardener's Kalendar. The third book was to be divided into twelve chapters, and to comprehend all the acceſſaries, ſo as to leave nothing which had ſo much as any relation to this favourite ſubject unexhauſted. The cauſe of his leaving this work alſo unfiniſhed, he very freely and plainly tells us, was his perceiving, that it exceeded his whole power of execution, that is, to come up to the ſcheme formed in his own mind, notwithſtanding his glorious ſpirit, his eaſy fortune, and indefatigable diligence. This we may very eaſily credit, when we conſider that his treatiſe of ſallads could not be above a fortieth, perhaps, not above a fiftieth, part of his intended performance.

To theſe his unpubliſhed works, we muſt add another, mentioned only by Mr. Wood, who gives us nothing concerning it but the following title.

(58) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 942.

"A Treatiſe of the Dignity of Man (58)."

(59) Aubrey's Nat. Hiſtory of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 118.

Our Author had likewiſe etched, when he came to Paris, 1649 (59), five ſeveral proſpects of places, which he had drawn on the ſpot, between Rome and Naples, to which he prefixed alſo a frontiſpiece, intitled, "Locorum aliquot inſignium & celeberrimorum "inter Romam & Neapolin, jacentium ὑποδειξις & "Exemplaria; Domino Domino, Thomæ Henſhaw, "Anglo, omnium eximiarum & preclariſſimarum "artium cultori ac propugnatori maximo & συνοψαμενω "αὐτῶ, non propter operis pretium ſed ut ſingulare "amoris ſui teſtimonium exhibeat prima has ἀδειμασίας "aqua forti excuſas & inſculptas Jo. Evelynus, De"lineator, D. D. C. Q. R. Hoare excud. I. Tres "Tabernæ ſive Appii Forum, celebre illud, in ſacris "Literis. Act. 28. II. Terracini, olim Anxuris, "Promontorium. III. Proſpectus verſus Neapolin, a "Monte Veſuvio. IV. Montis Veſuvii juxta Neapolin "externa Facies. V. Montis Veſuvii Fauces & "Vorago; ſive Barathrum internum." He etched alſo a view of his own ſeat at Wotton, and another of Putney in Surrey.

[Z] *Taken at the bottom of the page.*] It is a natural and very juſt method of concluding articles like this with characters of the author by eminent perſons; for, it is firſt paying a due reſpect to their memories; next, it affords the reader ſatisfaction, who is deſirous of learning on what authorities ſuch high characters are built; and, laſtly, it juſtifies the praiſes beſtowed, and the pains taken, in the compiling ſuch articles, more eſpecially when they are carried to an extraordinary length. But it is requiſite, that even this neceſſary attention ſhould be kept within juſt bounds; and therefore having already cited Mr. Boyle, and the Royal Society, in praiſe of Mr. Evelyn, we ſhall now confine ourſelves only to a few, and thoſe too the moſt eminent, of the learned writers, who have celebrated this great man, and endeavoured to do juſtice to his labours. We will begin with Abraham Cowley, Eſq. who, in his Eſſay, intituled, "The Garden," having declared that a rural retreat, and a life of privacy and ſtudy, was the utmoſt extent of his wiſh, and had been ſo for many years, proceeds thus (60): 'Several accidents 'of my ill fortune have diſappointed me hitherto, and 'do ſtill, of that felicity; for, though I have made the 'firſt and hardeſt ſtep to it, by abandoning all ambitions and hopes of this world, and by retiring from 'the noiſe of all buſineſs, and almoſt all company; 'yet, I ſtick ſtill in the inn of a hired houſe and 'garden, among weeds and rubbiſh, and without 'that pleaſanteſt work of human induſtry, the improvement of ſomething which we call not very properly, but yet we call our own. I am gone out 'from Sodom, but I am not yet arrived at my little 'Zoar. O let me eſcape thither (is it not a little one?) 'and my ſoul ſhall live. I do not look back yet, but 'I have been forced to ſtop, and make too many 'halts. You may wonder, Sir, for, this ſeems a 'little too extravagant and pindarical for proſe, what 'I mean by all this preface: it is to let you know, that, 'though I have miſſed, like a chymiſt, my great 'end, yet I account my affections and endeavours 'well rewarded by ſomething that I have met with 'by the bye; which is, that they have procured me 'ſome part in your kindneſs and eſteem, and thereby 'the honour of having my name ſo advantageouſly 'recommended to poſterity by the epiſtle you are 'pleaſed to prefix to the moſt uſeful book that has 'been written in that kind, and which is to laſt as 'long as months and years. Among many other arts 'and excellences which you enjoy, I am glad to find 'this favourite of mine the moſt predominant, that 'you chuſe this for your wife, though you have hundreds of other arts for your concubines, though you 'know them, and beget ſons upon them all, to which 'you are rich enough to allow great legacies; yet, 'the iſſue of this ſeems to be deſigned by you to the 'main of the eſtate; you have taken moſt pleaſure in 'it, and beſtowed moſt charges upon its education: 'and I doubt not to ſee that book, which you pleaſed 'to promiſe to the world, and of which you have 'given us a large earneſt in your Kalendar, as accompliſhed as any thing can be expected, from an extraordinary wit, and no ordinary expences, and a long 'experience. I know no body that poſſeſſes more private happineſs than you do in your garden; and, 'yet, no man who makes his happineſs more public, 'by a free communication of the art and knowledge 'of it to others. All that I myſelf am able yet to do, 'is only to recommend to mankind the ſearch of that 'felicity which you inſtruct them how to find and to 'enjoy.

(60) This poem of Mr. Cowley's is dated Chertſey, Auguſt 16, 1666.

I.

Happy art thou whom God does bleſs
With the full choice of thine own happineſs;
And happier yet, becauſe thou'rt bleſt
With prudence how to chuſe the beſt.
In books and gardens thou haſt plac'd aright,
(Things which thou well doſt underſtand,
And both doſt make with thy laborious hand,)
Thy noble innocent delight.
And in thy virtuous wife, where thou again doſt meet
Both pleaſures more refin'd and ſweet,

The

Richard Brown (*u*), who was the companion of his fortunes, and in ſome meaſure alſo of his ſtudies, for almoſt threeſcore years, he had five ſons and three daughters. Of the former, all died young except one, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the next article; of the latter, only one ſurvived him, Suſannah, married to William Draper of Adſcomb, in the county of Surrey, Eſq. (*w*). His excellent widow did not out-live him quite three years, but, dying Feb. 9, 1709, was, according to her own deſire, depoſited in a ſtone coffin, as near as could be to the corpſe of her dead huſband (*x*). Upon the ſtone coffin, in which the leaden one lies that holds her body, a white marble ſtone is placed of the ſame ſhape, with a very ſhort inſcription (*y*), which informs us, that, at the time of her demiſe, ſhe was in the ſeventy-fourth year of her age, and that ſhe was eſteemed, admired, beloved, and regretted, by all who knew her (*z*).

(*u*) Baronetage of England, Vol. V. p. 146.

(*w*) Aubrey's Hiſt. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 131.

(*x*) Baronetage, &c. Vol. V. p. 148.

(*y*) Aubrey's Hiſt. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 132.

(*z*) Baronetage, &c. Vol. V. p. 149.

The faireſt garden in her looks,
And in her mind the wiſeſt books.
Oh, who would change theſe ſoft yet ſolid joys!
For empty ſhows and ſenſeleſs noiſe!
And all which rank ambition breeds,
Which ſeem ſuch beauteous flowers, and are ſuch poiſ'nous weeds, &c.

The ingenious and learned Joſeph Glanville (61) gave a high character of our author, when but a very few of his works had appeared. 'Mr. John Evelyn,' ſays he, 'hath very conſiderably advanced the hiſtory 'of fruit and foreſt trees, by his Sylva and Pomona; 'and greater things are expected from his preparations 'for Elyſium Britannicum, a noble deſign, now under 'his hands: and certainly the inquiſitive world is 'much indebted to this generous gentleman for his 'very ingenious performance in this kind: as alſo for 'thoſe others of Sculpture, Picture, Architecture, and 'the like practical uſeful things with which he hath 'inriched it.' But the judicious and reverend Dr. William Wotton ſpeaks more highly of our author, as being acquainted with moſt of his writings; and, in comparing the antient with the modern agriculture, he delivers himſelf thus (62). 'In making my compari'ſon, I ſhall comprehend all that the Antients under'ſtood by their *Res Ruſtica*, as it takes in the foreſter's, 'the huſbandman's, and the gardener's buſineſs: Cato, 'Varro, and Columella, include the grazier's alſo, 'thereby completing the whole body of farming; but, 'ſince his work cannot well be made a ſcience of, I 'ſhall omit it. By a foreſter here, I underſtand one 'that knows how to plant, propagate, and increaſe, 'all ſorts of timber trees, what ſoils are proper for 'every ſort, how they may beſt be defended from dan'gers in their growth, to what uſes they are moſt ap'plicable when they have arrived to their utmoſt per'fection, and how they may be beſt applied; ſuch 'a man, in ſhort, as Mr. Evelyn inſtructs in his Sylva, 'where he gives a full ſyſtem of the woodman's ſkill, 'what he ought to know, and what to practiſe. A 'great part of his work, and indeed the niceſt part of 'it, the antients were ſtraugers to, as having leſs occa'ſion for it. The world was then, comparatively 'ſpeaking, in its infancy; there was no want of wood 'for fuel, building, or ſhips, and this plenty made 'men leſs curious in contriving methods of preſerving 'what they had in ſo great abundance. England, till 'within a few ages, was every where over run with 'wood: The Hercynian foreſt, antiently took up what 'is now the moſt flouriſhing part of Germany: and 'France, which is at preſent ſo wonderfully populous 'that little cultivable ground remains untilled, was in 'Cæſar's time over-ſpread with woods and foreſts. As 'men increaſe, tillage becomes more and more requi'ſite; the conſumption of wood will be proportionably 'greater; and its want, and the neceſſary uſes of tim'ber, which grow upon men as they become more nu'merous, will, of conſequence, put them upon ways 'to prevent and increaſe it. Commerce with diſtant 'parts will ſhew men rare and uſeful trees for ſhade 'or fruit; but their induſtry in that particular came 'under another head, as rather belonging to the 'gardener's work. It may therefore, perhaps, be 'eſteemed a ſmall character of Mr. Evelyn's diſcourſe of 'foreſt-trees to ſay, that it out-does all that Theo'phraſtus and Pliny have left us on that ſubject: for, it 'not only does that and a great deal more, but con'tains more uſeful precepts, hints, and diſcoveries, 'upon that now ſo neceſſary a part of our *Res Ruſtica*, 'than the world had till then known, from all the 'obſervations of former ages. To name others after 'him would be a derogation to his performance.' In comparing the antient and modern huſbandman and gardener, he ſpeaks as highly of Mr. Evelyn's "Pomona," and of his "Kalendar," which, however, we will omit. Biſhop Burnet (63), acknowledging ſome communications from him, ſtyles him 'that moſt ingenious 'and virtuous gentleman, Mr. Evelyn, who is not 'ſatisfied to have advanced the knowledge of this age, 'by his own uſeful and ſucceſsful labours about plant'ing and divers other ways, but is ready to contri'bute every thing in his power to perfect other men's 'endeavours.' The honourable Roger North ſpeaks thus of his brother the Lord-Keeper Guildford's viſit to our author, and of his manner of living (64). 'His Lordſhip was once invited to a philoſophical 'meal at the houſe of Mr. Evelyn at Deptford. The 'houſe was low, but elegantly ſet off with ornaments, 'and quaint mottos, at moſt turns; but, above all, 'his garden was exquiſite, being moſt boſcareſque, 'and, as it were, an examplar, of his book of foreſt'trees. They appeared all ſo thriving and clean, 'that, in ſo much variety, no one could be ſatiated in 'viewing; and to theſe were added plenty of ingeni'ous diſcourſes, which made the time ſhort.' A very critical inquirer into every thing relating to Engliſh hiſtory, the late Lord Biſhop of Carliſle, ſpeaking of his "Numiſmata," beſtows the following character of that book, and its author (65). 'We might 'juſtly have expected whatever could have been de'ſired on this ſubject, from the excellently learned 'pen of Mr. Evelyn, had he bent his thoughts, as 'was believed, towards the conſideration of our 'Britiſh coins as well as medals. It now appears, 'that his "Numiſmata" carried him no farther than 'thoſe larger and more choice pieces that are uſually 'called by this latter name; whereon he has, indeed, 'treated with that accuracy and fineneſs which be'came a gentleman and a ſcholar.' Our author's works are alſo very honourably mentioned by ſeveral foreign writers (66), particularly by the judicious Morhoff, who tells us, that ſome of them were tranſlated into Latin. It may prove ſome ſatisfaction to the inquiſitive reader, if we add, that his picture was thrice drawn in oil; firſt, in 1681, by Vanderborcht, a famous artiſt, and brought out of Germany at the ſame time with Wenceſlaus Hollar, the graver, by the Earl of Arundel; a ſecond time, in 1648, by Walker; and, the third time, by Sir Godfrey Kneller, for his friend Mr. Pepys, of the Admiralty; of which that at the Royal Society is a copy. There is a print of him by Nanteüil, in which he is repreſented, in a cloak in his own hair, and under him ſome books marked with the cipher J. E. He likewiſe drew him more than once in black and white, with Indian ink; and there is a picture of him in crayon by Lutterel (67). C.

(61) *Plus Ultra*, or, The Progreſs and Advancement of Knowledge ſince the Days of Ariſtotle, p. 74.

(62) Reflections on Antient and Modern Learning, p. 274.

(63) Hiſt. of Reformation, P. ii. p. 417.

(64) North's Life of Lord Keeper Guildford, p. 286.

(65) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 148.

(66) Polyhiſtor. ii. 2, 21, 7. ii. 2, 41, 4.

(67) Aubrey's Nat. Hiſt. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 124.

*** [With regard to what is ſaid, in note C, concerning the different characters given of Archbiſhop Laud at Rome, it is obſerved by a correſpondent, that there is no inconſiſtency in theſe accounts. "The "Engliſh fathers, with whom Mr. Evelyn converſed, "might treat Laud as an enemy, and others might "conſider him as a friend. They who ſuppoſed that "Laud's zeal for ſhow, and ceremonies, and the "hierarchy, would approach the church of England, to "the church of Rome would ſpeak well of him; and, "they who might ſuſpect that Laud would ſtop "ſhort, and make the Archbiſhop of Canterbury "ſomething

" ſomething like a patriarch, would ſpeak ill of him. " But, after all, how is it poſſible to gather the real " opinions of Popiſh prieſts from the converſations " which they might chuſe to hold with young Pro- " teſtants?"

The obſervations, at the end of note D, that it is much to be regretted that Mr. Evelyn did not publiſh his travels; that, if they had been publiſhed, we ſhould have ſeen clearly, and in a true light, many things in reference to Italy, which are now very indiſtinctly and partially repreſented; and that we ſhould alſo have met with much new matter never touched before, and of which we ſhall now probably never hear at all; might have ſome appearance of truth at the time when they were made, but can ſcarcely apply to the preſent period. We have lately had a multitude of travels into Italy, of different kinds, and written with different views, ſeveral of which are highly inſtructive and entertaining, and have probably communicated all the information that might have been expected from Mr. Evelyn. Indeed, the number of books of this kind has been ſo great, that we ſhould not be ſurprized if the public ſhould begin to be ſatiated with them.

As to what is remarked, in the text, that tranſlations, whatever may be thought of them, now they are become common, were then very juſtly eſteemed, it may be obſerved, that, when they are well executed, they ſtill continue to be highly valued. The laſt forty or fifty years have produced many excellent tranſlations, eſpecially from the ancients. The verſions, indeed, of modern works, particularly from the French, which are haſtily procured by the bookſellers, are often wretchedly performed. There are, however, perſons, who in this department of literature are entitled to much praiſe.

One can ſcarcely help ſmiling at the extravagant, but elegant, encomium which Mr. Waller has paſſed on our author's eſſay on the firſt book of Lucretius. Mr. Evelyn's tranſlation has been ſuperſeded by Creech, and Creech himſelf is not now greatly read. A new verſion of Lucretius, in numbers more elegant and harmonious than thoſe of Creech, would be an acceptable preſent to the literary world.

The ſcheme in note *F* diſplays the active mind of Mr. Evelyn, and indicates the manners of the philoſophers of that time, who directed their views to large and noble projects. But, if ſuch an inſtitution had ever been formed, it would, in all likelihood, have gradually departed from its principles. The plan, on the whole, is too viſionary to have ſtood the colliſion of human paſſions and human events.

Whatever malignity there was in Marchamont Needham's Tract, mentioned in note G, (and he was not, we believe, incapable of malignity,) it is certain that Charles the Second's character could not bear a ſtrict diſcuſſion. This is now univerſally acknowledged; and Mr. Evelyn himſelf muſt have been convinced of it in the courſe of his ſubſequent life.

A ſecond edition of the "Sculptura" was publiſhed in 1755, containing ſome corrections and additions taken from the margin of the author's printed copy; an etching of his head by Mr. Worlidge; an exact copy of the Mezzotinto done by Prince Rupert, by Mr. Houſton; a tranſlation of all the Greek and Latin paſſages; and Memoirs of Mr. Evelyn's Life. The work had become very ſcarce; being chiefly confined to the libraries of the more curious among the learned. Mr. Walpole has ſpoken of it in terms of reſpect (68).

(68) Catalogue of Engravers, p. 82.

The aſſertion of the text, that the learned efforts of our author, in behalf of ſcience and the polite arts, are not leſs reliſhed now than at the time of their firſt appearance, cannot be conſidered as ſtrictly true. His writings are not totally neglected; ſome of them are ſtill held in reputation; but they have in part been ſuperſeded by later publications.

Mr. Evelyn's Sylva is a capital performance, and juſtly entitles his memory to be held in eſteem. It was a very extraordinary circumſtance, that, before it came to a ſecond edition, it ſhould have been the ſole occaſion of furniſhing the Britiſh dominions with more than two millions of timber-trees, beſides an infinite number of others. A new edition of the "Sylva" was publiſhed, in 1776, by Dr. Andrew Hunter, of York, a gentleman eminently qualified for the undertaking. Under the care of this gentleman the work has appeared with every poſſible advantage. For, not to mention the large handſome quarto page, and the neat letter on which it is printed, or the life of the author, taken from the "Biographical Dictionary," it is enriched by the judicious editor with ample and copious notes, and adorned with a ſet of fine engravings. A head of Mr. Evelyn is prefixed, drawn and engraved by Bartolozzi. Dr. Hunter's edition of the "Sylva" is the ſixth. The ſecond appeared in 1669; and the third in 1679, with great additions and improvements. The editions of 1704, and of 1729, are in as corrupted a ſtate as almoſt any book in the Engliſh language (69).

(69) Monthly Review, Vol. LVII. p. 429, 430.

With reſpect to the "Kalendarium Hortenſe," it may be noticed, that many productions of the kind have ſince appeared, and, no doubt, with great improvements. The name of Miller will not be forgotten by thoſe who have any acquaintance with what has been done in this part of Natural Hiſtory and Cultivation.

In reflecting upon Mr. Evelyn's merit, with regard to the Parian Marbles, it muſt not be omitted, that the antiquity and authenticity of theſe marbles have lately been called in queſtion, in a very ingenious and learned diſſertation upon them, written by Mr. Robertſon. He has been anſwered by Mr. Hewlett and Mr. Gough. It is not our buſineſs, in this place, to decide upon the controverſy.

Concerning Mr. Evelyn's work, entituled, "An " Idea of the Perfection of Painting," it may be remarked, that the knowledge of this ſubject has lately been greatly increaſed in England. This our readers will be fully ſenſible of, when (not to ſpeak of other writers) we mention Mr. Walpole's "Anecdotes " of Painting," Sir Joſhua Reynolds's "Diſcourſes," and Mr. Maſon's "Tranſlation of Freſnoy," with notes.

The praiſes of Mr. Evelyn's "Treatiſe on Navi- " gation and Commerce" ſeem, in note P, to have been carried to exceſs. We need not ſay what a multitude of works have ſince been written upon theſe topics.

Of the "Terra" a new edition was publiſhed, in 1778, by Dr. Hunter, the laſt editor of the "Sylva;" who has much improved the work by judicious and ſelect notes.

Mr. Evelyn's "Numiſmata" has met with ſevere treatment from the pen of Mr. Pinkerton. His account of it is as follows: 'The "Numiſmata, or 'Diſcourſe of Medals, ancient and modern," by Mr. 'Evelyn, was printed in 1697. The ſize is folio, 'and the plan and writing are likewiſe in folio. That 'gentleman's ſtyle is ſo very uncouth and unintelligible, that, while he wrote upon every thing, he ought 'to have written about the black art only; but in 'this work *he out-does his former out-doings*; for, it is 'impoſſible for any one to know his meaning, if he 'did not know it before. None of his obſervations 'are new, but all tacitly taken from Vico, Le Pois, 'Patin, and Iobert. The plates of Engliſh medals 'are of little uſe now that thoſe of Snelling have ap- 'peared. Even they would have been better under- 'ſtood had he not added explanations. There is, 'in the Britiſh Muſeum, a copy of this work, cor- 'rected by the author, with an original letter pre- 'fixed, complaining that the printer had utterly 'mangled and ſpoiled his work, ſo that it is neceſſary 'to give corrections. The corrections are for the 'worſe (70).' Perhaps, ſome of our readers may be diſpoſed to ſuſpect, that Mr. Pinkerton's ſatirical ſpirit has entered into this character. The general reflection on Mr. Evelyn's ſtyle is particularly unjuſt. From the numerous ſpecimens of it, given in the article, it is evident that, if it did not ariſe to the ſtrict accuracy of modern compoſition, it was for the moſt part perſpicuous, flowing, and harmonious.

(70) Pinkerton's Eſſay on Medals, Vol I. Pref. p. x. xi.

Mr. Granger has ſpoken of our author in very different terms. 'John Evelyn, the Engliſh Peireſc,' ſays this candid and judicious biographer, 'was a 'gentleman of as univerſal knowledge as any of his 'time; and no man was more open and benevolent 'in the communication of it. He was particularly 'ſkilled in gardening, painting, engraving, architecture, and medals; upon all which he has publiſhed

'treatiſes. His book on the laſt of theſe ſciences is 'deſervedly in eſteem; but is inferior to that of Mr. 'Obadiah Walker, on the ſame ſubject. His tranſla-'tion of "An Idea of the Perfection of Painting," 'written in French by Roland Freart, is become very 'ſcarce. His "Sculptura" was compoſed at the 'particular requeſt of his friend, Mr. Robert Boyle. 'But his great work is his "Sylva;" which was the 'firſt book that was publiſhed by order of the Royal 'Society. The author had one of the fineſt gardens 'in the kingdom, and was one of the beſt and hap-'pieſt men in it. He lived to a good but not to an 'uſeleſs old age; and long enjoyed the ſhade of thoſe 'flouriſhing trees which himſelf had planted (71)'

(71) Biographical Hiſtory of England, Vol. IV. p. 86—88, ſecond edit.

We ſhall ſubjoin the admirable character which has been drawn of Mr. Evelyn by Mr. Walpole, now Earl of Orford. 'If Mr. Evelyn had not been an 'artiſt himſelf, as I think I can prove, I ſhould yet 'have found it difficult to deny myſelf the pleaſure of 'allotting him a place among the arts he loved, pro-'moted, patronized; and it would be but juſtice to 'inſcribe his name with due panegyric in theſe 'records, as I have once or twice taken the liberty to 'criticize him: but they are trifling blemiſhes com-'pared with his amiable virtues and beneficence; and, 'it may be remarked, that the worſt I have ſaid of 'him is, that he knew more than he always commu-'nicated. It is no unwelcome ſatire to ſay, that a 'man's intelligence and philoſophy is inexhauſtible. 'I mean not to write his life, which may be found 'detailed in the new edition of his "Sculptura," in 'Collins's "Baronetage," in the "General Dictio-'nary," and in the "New Biographical Dictionary;" 'but, I muſt obſerve, that his life, which was ex-'tended to eighty-ſix years, was a courſe of enquiry, 'ſtudy, curioſity, inſtruction, and benevolence. The 'works of the Creator, and the mimic labours of the 'creature, were all objects of his purſuit. He un-'folded the perfection of the one, and aſſiſted the 'imperfection of the other. He adored from exa-'mination; was a courtier that flattered only by in-'forming his prince, and by pointing out what was 'worthy for him to countenance; and was really the 'neighbour of the goſpel, for there was no man that 'might not have been the better for him. Whoever 'peruſes a liſt of his works will ſubſcribe to my 'aſſertion. He was one of the firſt promoters of the 'Royal Society, a patron of the ingenious and indi-'gent; and peculiarly ſerviceable to the lettered 'world; for, beſides his writings and diſcoveries, he 'obtained the Arundelian Marbles for the Univerſity 'of Oxford, and the Arundelian Library for the 'Royal Society. Nor is it the leaſt part of his praiſe, 'that he, who propoſed to Mr. Boyle the erection of a 'Philoſophic College for retired and ſpeculative per-'ſons, had the honeſty to write in defence of active 'life againſt Sir George Mackenzie's "Eſſay on 'Solitude." He knew that retirement in his own 'hands was induſtry, and benefit to mankind; but, 'in thoſe of others, lazineſs and inutility (72).'

(72) Catalogue of Engravers, p. 85, 86.

To this character are added ſatisfactory proofs of Mr. Evelyn's having been an artiſt himſelf. There are, in particular, five ſmall prints of his journey from Rome to Naples, of which he was both the deſigner and engraver. His lady had correſpondent talents; for, ſhe deſigned the frontiſpiece to her huſband's "Eſſay to the Firſt Book of Lucretius (73)]."

(73) Ibid. p. 86—89.

K.

EVELYN (JOHN), ſon of the former. He was born at his father's houſe at Sayes-Court, near Deptford, January 14, 1654 (*a*), and was there very tenderly educated in his infancy, being conſidered (after the death of his brother Richard Evelyn, January 27, 1657, who, though but five years of age, was eſteemed a kind of (*b*) prodigy) as the heir of the family. He was likewiſe univerſally admired for the pregnancy of his parts, which induced his father to ſend him, in 1666, to Oxford, where he remained in the houſe of the moſt ingenious and learned Dr. Ralph Bathurſt, then Preſident of Trinity-College, before he was admitted a Gentleman-Commoner, which was in Eaſter-term 1668 (*c*). It is not clear at what time he left Oxford; but Mr. Wood ſeems to be poſitive that he took no degree there, but returned to his father's houſe, where he proſecuted his ſtudies under the directions of that great man (*d*). There is, however, good reaſon to believe, that it was during his reſidence in Trinity-College, and when he was not above fifteen years of age, that he wrote that elegant Greek poem which is prefixed to the ſecond edition of the "Sylva," and is a noble proof of the ſtrength of his genius, and wonderful progreſs in learning in the early part of his life. He diſcovered his proficiency ſoon afterwards, both in the learned and modern languages, by his elegant tranſlations (*e*), as well as his intimate acquaintance with the Muſes, in ſome original poems which were very juſtly admired. Of all theſe the reader will have a farther account in the note [*A*]. He married Martha, daughter and

(*a*) See the Genealogy of the family of Evelyn.

(*b*) St. Chryſoſtom's Golden Book, tranſlated by J. Evelyn, Eſq. p. 119.

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1079.

(*d*) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. V. p. 149.

(*e*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1079.

[*A*] *Will have a farther account in the notes.*] If we conſider the father's turn of mind, and how much the young gentleman muſt be obliged to hear and ſee of gardens and plantations, we need not in the leaſt wonder that he ſhould employ his pen firſt upon this ſubject, more eſpecially in the eaſy way of tranſlation, and from a book ſo juſtly as well as generally admired as the French jeſuit's has ever been. The title of our author's little treatiſe was,

I. "Of Gardens, Four Books, firſt written in Latin "Verſe, by Renatus Rapinus; and now made Engliſh "by John Evelyn, Eſq. 1673, 8vo."

His father annexed the ſecond book of this tranſlation to his Sylva; and it muſt be allowed, that as the ſenſe is very faithfully rendered, ſo the poetry is very eaſy and harmonious, more eſpecially if we conſider it as the work of a lad of nineteen. The reader will judge of this from the following ſhort ſpecimen, containing inſtructions for the culture of the cypreſs-tree in gardens, founded upon the fable of the unhappy cataſtrophe of Cypariſſus (1), ſuppoſed to be changed into beautiful evergreen, by intemperate grief or by the power of Apollo, at the youth's own requeſt. What is ſaid of Sylvanus is an improvement of the fiction, as delivered by the ancients.

(1) Rapin of Gardens, B. ii. p. 35.

Though Cypreſſes contiguous well appear,
They better ſhew if planted not ſo near;
And ſince to any ſhape with eaſe they yield,
What bounds more proper to divide a field?
Repine not, Cypariſſus, then in vain,
Since by your change freſh honours you obtain.
Sylvanus and this boy, with equal fire,
Did heretofore a lovely hart admire.
While in the cooler paſtures once it fed,
An arrow, ſhot at random, ſtruck it dead.
But, when the youth the dying beaſt had found,
And knew himſelf the author of the wound,
With never-ceaſing ſorrow he laments,
And on his breaſt his grief and anger vents.
Sylvanus, mov'd with the poor creature's fate,
Converts his former love to preſent hate;



And

and coheireſs of Richard Spenſer, Eſq.; and, having a head as well turned for buſineſs as ſtudy, became one of the Commiſſioners of the Revenue in Ireland, and would probably have been advanced to higher employments if he had not been cut off in the flower of his age, dying at his houſe in London, March 24, 1698, in the forty-fifth year of his age (*f*). He had by his wife two ſons and three daughters. His eldeſt ſon Richard died an infant at Sayes-Court, as did his eldeſt daughter Martha Mary. His ſecond daughter, Elizabeth, married Simon Harcourt, Eſq. eldeſt ſon and heir of Simon Lord Viſcount Harcourt, Lord High-Chancellor of Great Britain, by whom ſhe became mother to the late Earl Harcourt (*g*). Jane, his third daughter, died an infant at his houſe in the pariſh of St. Martin's in the Fields, and was interred at Kenſington. John Evelyn, his ſecond and only ſurviving ſon, born at Sayes-Court, March 2, 1681, ſucceeded to his grandfather's eſtate. He was married at Lambeth-chapel, September 18, 1705, to Anne, daughter of Edward Boſcawen, of Worthivil, in the county of Cornwall, Eſq. He was, by Letters Patent, bearing date July 30, 1713, created a Baronet (*b*). This worthy gentleman, who inherited the virtue and learning, as well as the patrimony of his anceſtors, made ſeveral alterations and additions to the family ſeat at Wotton, in 1717, one of which was the erecting a beautiful library, forty-five feet long, fourteen feet broad, and as many high, for the reception of that large and curious collection of books made by his grandfather, his father, and himſelf (*i*). He was long one of the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and was bleſſed with a numerous poſterity.

(*f*) Baronetage of England, Vol. V. p. 149.

(*g*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. III. p. 403.

(*b*) Baronetage, Vol. V. p. 149.

(*i*) Aubrey's Hiſt. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 125.

And no more pity, in his angry words,
Than to himſelf th' afflicted youth affords.
Weary of life, and quite oppreſt with woe,
Upon the ground his tears in channels flow;
Which having water'd the productive earth,
The Cypreſs firſt from thence deriv'd its birth,
With Sylvan's aid; nor was it only meant
T' expreſs our ſorrow, but for ornament.
Chiefly, when growing low, your fields they bound;
Or when your garden's avenues are crown'd
With their long rows; ſometimes it ſerves to hide
Some trench declining on the other ſide.
Th' unequal branches always keep that green,
Of which its leaves are ne'er divelled ſeen.
Tho' ſhook with ſtorms, yet it unmov'd remains,
And by rough trials greater glory gains.

II. "The Life of Alexander the Great, tranſlated "from the Greek of Plutarch (2)."

III. "The Hiſtory of the Grand Viſiers, Mahomet, "and Achmet Coprogli; of the Three laſt Grand "Signiors, their Sultanas, and chief Favourites; "with the moſt ſecret Intrigues of the Seraglio, &c." Lond. 1677, 8vo.

This was a tranſlation from the French, and has been eſteemed an entertaining and inſtructive hiſtory. Our author wrote alſo ſeveral poems occaſionally, of which two are printed in a celebrated collection (3). The one, intituled, "On Virtue," has been eſteemed excellent in its kind by the beſt judges; and the other, ſtyled "The Remedy of Love," has been alſo much admired.

C.

(2) Printed in the fourth volume of Plutarch's Lives by ſeveral hands.

(3) Dryden's Miſcellanies, Vol. II. p. 262, 274.

*** [EVREMOND (CHARLES DE ST.), a writer, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his talents and productions in polite literature, and who was many years reſident in England, was born at St. Denis le Guaſt, in Lower Normandy, on the firſt of April, 1613. He was the third ſon of Charles de St. Denis, caſtellan or baron of St. Denis le Guaſt; and he took the name of St. Evremond from a manor which was part of the eſtate of his father, and of which he was ſometimes ſtyled lord. He was intended, by his father, for the profeſſion of the law; and, when he was nine years of age, he was ſent to Paris to be bred a ſcholar. He was entered in the ſecond form in the college of Clermont; and continued there four years, during which he went through a courſe of grammar learning and rhetorick (*a*). He was next ſent to the Univerſity of Caen, in order to ſtudy philoſophy; but he continued there one year only, and then returned to Paris, where he purſued the ſame ſtudy a year longer in the college of Harcourt. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf not only by his application to literature, but by other accompliſhments; and he particularly excelled in fencing, ſo that "St. Evemond's paſs" was famous among thoſe who were ſkilled in that art (*b*).

When he had paſſed through a courſe of philoſophy, he began to ſtudy the law: but, whether his relations had then other views for him, or that his inclination led him to a military life, he quitted that ſtudy after he had proſecuted it ſomewhat more than a year, and was made an enſign before he had quite attained to the age of ſixteen. After he had ſerved two or three campaigns, he obtained a lieutenant's commiſſion; and, after the ſiege of Landrecy, in 1637, he had the command of a company of foot (*c*).

M. de St. Evremond diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the army by his politeneſs and wit, as well as by his bravery; and his accompliſhments procured him the eſteem of the Mareſchals d'Etrées and Grammont, of Viſcount Turenne, of the Count de Moiſſens, afterwards Mareſchal de Albret, of Count Palluau, afterwards Mareſchal de Clerembaut, and of the Marquis de Crequi, who alſo became a Mareſchal of France. He had a ſhare in the confidence of theſe diſtinguiſhed noblemen, and they always teſtified their friendſhip towards him. In 1640, M. de St. Evremond was at the ſiege of Arras;

(*a*) Life of Monſ. de St. Evremond, by Des Maizeaux, prefixed to his Tranſlation of his Works, Vol. I. p. 3, 4 edit. 8vo. 1728.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Des Maizeaux, ut ſupra.

Arras; and, in the enſuing year, he obtained a poſt in the horſe, which gave him freſh opportunities of ſignalizing himſelf. Soon after the Duke of Enguien, afterwards Prince of Condé, became ſo much pleaſed with his converſation, that he made him Lieutenant of his Guards, that he might have him conſtantly near him. He often read with him; and ſometimes communicated to him his moſt ſecret projects, and entruſted him with affairs of the greateſt moment. After the campaign of Rocroy, in 1643, M. de St. Evremond wrote a kind of ſatire againſt the French Academy, which was publiſhed in 1650, and entituled, "The Comedy of the Academicians for reform-"ing the French Tongue [*A*]."

In 1644, he made the campaign of Fribourg; and the following year he received a dangerous wound at the battle of Notlingen. Being ordered to head a ſquadron, and to poſt himſelf below an eminence which was poſſeſſed by the enemy, he was there expoſed, for three hours together, to all the fire of their ſmall ſhot, and a battery of four field-pieces; ſo that he loſt there moſt of his men, and was himſelf wounded in the left knee. His wound was ſo dangerous, that for ſix weeks he was ſuppoſed to be paſt recovery; but, by the ſkill of his ſurgeons and the excellency of his conſtitution, his cure was at length effected. Thirty years after, however, his wound opened afreſh in London; but, being properly treated, he felt no inconvenience from it, excepting
(*d*) Ib. p. 10,11. that his left leg was ſomewhat weaker than the other (*d*).

After the taking of Furnes, in 1646, the Duke of Enguien appointed M. de St. Evremond to carry the news of it to Court; and having, at the ſame time, opened to him his deſign of beſieging Dunkirk, charged him to propoſe it to Cardinal Mazarin, and to ſettle with him every thing which was neceſſary for the execution of that undertaking. M. de St. Evremond managed this buſineſs with ſo much dexterity, that he prevailed on the Prime Miniſter to agree to every thing which was required by
(*e*) Ibid. p. 12. the Duke of Enguien (*e*). But, in 1648, he loſt the poſt which he had near that nobleman, now, by the death of his father, become Prince of Condé. This Prince took great delight in diſcovering what was ridiculous in the characters of his acquaintance; and often indulged himſelf in laughing at their foibles in private, in company with the Count de Moiſſens and M. de St. Evremond. But the Prince of Condé, who took great pleaſure in ridiculing others, was not fond of being ridiculed himſelf. He was informed, that St. Evremond and the Count had found out, that there was ſomewhat ridiculous even in him; that his extreme ſolicitude to diſcover the foibles of others was in itſelf a ſpecies of the ridiculous; and that they ſometimes amuſed themſelves with laughing at his highneſs. This excited in him ſo much reſentment, that he took from M. de St. Evremond the Lieutenancy of his guards, and would have no farther correſpondence with the Count de Moiſſens. It is, however, ſuppoſed, that a reconciliation would have been effected, if they had not been ſeparated by the civil war, which about this time took place in France. When the Prince of Condé returned into France, after the Pyrenean treaty, M. de St. Evremond went to wait upon him, and was very favourably received. The Prince offered him his protection; and after-
(*f*) Ib. p. 13,14. wards, on ſeveral occaſions, gave him aſſurances of his affection and eſteem (*f*).

In 1649, M. de St. Evremond went into Normandy, to viſit his relations. About this time the parliament of Paris had declared againſt Cardinal Mazarin; and the Duke of Beaufort, the Prince of Conti, and the Duke of Longueville, following their example, the latter retired to his government of Normandy, where he aſſembled the nobility, and very earneſtly endeavoured to prevail on St. Evremond to engage in his party. With this view he was offered the command of the artillery; but this office he declined; and has given a facetious account of his refuſal in a ſatirical piece written by him about this time, entituled, "The Duke of Longueville's Retreat to his Govern-"ment of Normandy." He ſays, "They had a mind to beſtow the command of the

[*A*] *The Comedy of the Academicians, &c.*] The title of this piece, in French, at firſt was, "La "Comédie des Académiſtes pour la Réformation de "la langue Françoiſe." St. Evremond afterwards altered and improved it; and the title prefixed to it, in the French edition of his works, is, "Les Acadé-"miciens, Comédie." This piece has never been tranſlated into Engliſh. Chapelain, the French poet, Godeau, Biſhop of Graſſe and Vence, and other members of the French academy, are ridiculed in this comedy, which conſiſts only of three acts. St. Evremond alſo wrote another comedy, which is printed in the French editions of his works, under the title of "Sir Politick Would-be, Comédie, à la "maniere des Anglois." In this piece he introduces an Engliſh knight at Venice, forming ſchemes for the improvement of the Venetian government. One of the knight's plans of improvement was, the appointment of four doges, inſtead of one, for the government of that republic. As the doges of Venice, he remarked, were generally choſen to that office when they were much advanced in age, they were often indiſpoſed, and unfit for public buſineſs; being ſometimes confined to their chambers, and ſometimes to their beds. But, if four doges were elected, then, if even two of them were ſick, two of them would probably be well; and, if it ſhould even happen that three of them ſhould be ill at the ſame time, there would ſtill be one of them capable of doing the buſineſs of the republic. In this piece the different modes of travelling of the French and the Germans are alſo ridiculed. St. Evremond likewiſe wrote another comedy, intitled, "Les Opéras." It does not appear that either of theſe pieces were ever tranſlated into Engliſh.

" ordnance on St. Evremond; and, to ſpeak the truth, conſidering his affection for " St. Germain's (where the King then was), he would have been glad to have ſerved " the Court, by accepting a conſiderable employment, of the buſineſs of which he " knew nothing. But, having promiſed Count de Harcourt to take no employment, " he kept his word, not only from a principle of honour, but that he might not be " like the Normans, moſt of whom had broken their promiſe. From theſe conſidera- " tions, he was induced generouſly to refuſe the money that was offered to him, but " which would never have been paid him (g)"

(g) Oeuvres Mêlées de M. de Saint Evremond, tome I. p. 42, 43. edit. 12mo. Cologne, 1708.

When the civil war broke out, the French King, being acquainted with St. Evremond's merit and bravery, and knowing that he had conſtantly refuſed to join with thoſe who were in oppoſition to the Court, made him a Mareſchal de Camp, or Major-General. His commiſſion was dated Sept. 6, 1652; and the next day he received a warrant for a penſion of three thouſand livres a year. He ſerved afterwards in the war of Guienne, under the Duke of Candale; but, after the reduction of Guienne, he was committed to the Baſtile, where he was confined as a priſoner two or three months. Some jeſts that had been thrown out, relative to Cardinal Mazarin, in a company wherein St. Evremond was preſent, but in which he had no greater ſhare than the reſt, were the pretence for his confinement. But the true reaſon of it was ſuppoſed to be, a ſuſpicion that he had given ſome advice to the Duke of Candale which was inconſiſtent with the Cardinal's views. However, when St. Evremond obtained his liberty, he went, conformably to the ſervile manners that prevailed under the old government of France, to return thanks to the Cardinal for his enlargement. Mazarin told him on this occaſion, that " he was perſuaded of his innocence, but that a man in his ſta- " tion was obliged to hearken to ſo many reports, that it was very difficult for him to " diſtinguiſh between truth and falſehood, and not ſometimes to do injuſtice to an " honeſt man (*b*)."

(*b*) Des Maizeaux, ut ſupra, p. 18.

In 1654, M. de St. Evremond ſerved in Flanders; and about three years after fought a duel with the Marquis de Fore. He continued in the ſervice in Flanders till the ſuſpenſion of arms, which was agreed upon between France and Spain in 1659. The following year, he came over into England with Count de Soiſſons, who was ſent on an embaſſy to congratulate Charles II. on the reſtoration; and, when Cardinal Mazarin ſet out from Paris with a great retinue, in order to negociate a treaty with the firſt Miniſter of the King of Spain, St. Evremond was one of thoſe who accompanied him. He afterwards ſent a letter concerning the conferences to the Marquis de Crequi, in which he informed him, that the Cardinal had ſacrificed the honour and intereſts of France to his own private views. In one part of this letter he ſaid, " It is the Cardinal's maxim, " that a miniſter does not ſo much belong to the ſtate as the ſtate to the miniſter; " and, for this reaſon, if God grant him but a few years, he will get all the eſtates in " the kingdom into his own hands (*i*)."

(*i*) Ibid. p. 284.

This letter of St. Evremond, concerning the Pyrenean treaty, became the occaſion of his baniſhment from France. After the death of the Cardinal, a copy of the letter fell into the hands of ſome of the courtiers who had been connected with him. They repreſented to his Majeſty the danger of allowing private men to judge of ſtate affairs and to cenſure the conduct of miniſters. Their repreſentations made ſuch an impreſſion on the mind of Lewis, that he immediately ordered M. de St. Evremond to be committed to the Baſtile. But St. Evremond had no inclination to pay a ſecond viſit to that fortreſs; and, therefore, having received private information of the deſign, found means to make his eſcape out of France, and arrived in Holland about the end of the year 1661 (*k*).

(*k*) Ibid. p. 38.

He did not continue long in Holland, but went over to England in 1662, and was well received at the Britiſh Court. He particularly numbered among his friends the Dukes of Buckingham and Ormond, the Earls of St. Alban's and Arlington, Lord D'Aubigny and Lord Crofts [*B*]. He alſo cultivated the acquaintance of thoſe perſons in England who were the moſt eminent for literature; and often converſed with Mr. Hobbes, Sir Kenelm Digby, Mr. Cowley, and Mr. Waller [*C*]. In England, he

[*B*] *Numbered among his friends the Dukes of Buckingham and Ormond, &c.*] Mr. Des Maizeaux, after obſerving that St. Evremond was extremely fond of the converſation of Lord D'Aubigny, ſays, 'The 'Duke of Buckingham, my Lord D'Aubigny, and 'he, were together almoſt every day, and their con- 'verſation was often upon theatrical performances. 'M. de St. Evremond not underſtanding the Engliſh 'tongue, thoſe gentlemen acquainted him with the beſt 'dramatic pieces compoſed in that language; of which 'he retained ſo clear an idea, that forty years after he 'remembered them very diſtinctly. The reading of 'them furniſhed him with the reflections he has made 'upon the Engliſh tragedies and comedies in ſome of 'his works (1).'

(1) Life, ut ſupra, p. 40.

[*C*] *And Mr. Waller.*] Dr. Johnſon ſays of Mr. Waller, in his life of him, 'The praiſe given him by 'St. Evremond is a proof of his reputation; for, it was 'only by his reputation that he could be known, as a 'writer, to a man who, though he lived a great part 'of a long life upon an Engliſh penſion, never con- 'deſcended to underſtand the language of the nation 'that maintained him (2).' It ſeems hardly probable, that St. Evremond could be ſo many years in England without being enabled in ſome degree to read the language, though he might not underſtand it accurately, or attempt to ſpeak it. But, as Waller ſpoke French, St. Evremond might form a very juſt idea of his intellectual abilities from his converſation; for, even Clarendon, who was no friend to Waller, ſpeaks of 'the excellence and power of his wit, and 'the pleaſantneſs of his converſation.'

(2) Life of Waller, p. 61, 62.

wrote many literary pieces, which were afterwards printed. In 1665, he was seized with a diſorder, which threw him into a kind of melancholy, and greatly weakened him. His phyſicians told him, that nothing but a change of air could cure him; and that, if he could not go to Montpelier, he would at leaſt do well to croſs the ſea, and make ſome ſtay in Holland. He complied with this advice; and liked his ſituation in Holland ſo well, that he thought of ſpending the remainder of his life in that country. In a letter written about this time to the Marquis de Crequi, he ſays, "After having "lived in the conſtraint of courts, I conſole myſelf with the hope of ending my days "in the freedom of a republic, where, if nothing is to be hoped for, there is at leaſt "nothing to be feared. It would be diſgraceful to a young man not to enter the "world with a deſign of making his fortune: but, when we are upon the decline, na-"ture calls us back to ourſelves; and, the ſentiments of ambition yielding to the love "of our repoſe, we find it agreeable to live in a country, where the laws guard us "againſt any ſubjection to the will of others; and where, to be ſecure of all, we need "only be ſecure of ourſelves. To this bleſſing we may add, that the magiſtrates have "great authority in their offices for the intereſts of the public; but are little diſtin-"guiſhed in their perſons by any particular privileges or advantages. You ſee here "none of thoſe odious diſtinctions, which are ſo offenſive to men of real good breed-"ing; no uſeleſs dignities, or inconvenient degrees of rank; none of that cumbrous "greatneſs, which reſtrains liberty, without advancing one's fortune. Here the "magiſtrates procure our repoſe, without expecting any acknowledgment, or even "any expreſſions of reſpect for the ſervices that they render to us. They are rigorous "in the execution of the orders of the ſtate; firm and unaccommodating in the manage-"ment of the intereſt of their country with foreign nations; mild and tractable with "their fellow-citizens; and eaſy with all ſorts of private perſons. The foundation of "equality remains, notwithſtanding the exerciſe of authority; and, therefore, credit "never makes a man inſolent, nor do the governors ever bear hard on thoſe that "are governed." Speaking of the ſtate of Religion in Holland, he ſays, "The dif-"ference of religion, which in other places raiſes ſo many commotions, here does not "in the leaſt diſturb the minds of men. Every one ſeeks the road to Heaven in his "own way; and thoſe who are thought to go aſtray are more pitied than hated, and "only excite in others a pure charity, totally devoid of the indiſcretion of falſe "zeal (*l*)."

(*l*) Oeuvres Mêlées de M. de St. Evremond, tome II. p. 163, 164. Cologne, 12mo. 1708.

During his ſtay in Holland, St. Evremond became acquainted with moſt of the foreign miniſters and perſons of diſtinction there; and alſo viſited ſeveral eminent literary men, who happened then to be at the Hague; particularly Heinſius, Voſſius, and Spinoza. Of the latter he gave the following account to Mr. Des Maizeaux: "He "was," ſaid he, "of a middle ſtature, and pleaſing countenance. His learning, mo-"deſty, and diſintereſtedneſs, made him eſteemed by all the ingenious perſons then at "the Hague. It did not appear, from his ordinary converſation, that he had thoſe "ſentiments which were afterwards found in his poſthumous works (*m*)." About the year 1667, ſome applications were made to the French King, by means of M. de St. Evremond's friends, particularly of the Marquis de Lionne, to induce that monarch to permit him to return to his own country: but theſe applications were not ſucceſsful [*D*]. In 1668, the Prince of Tuſcany arrived in Holland; and, as he deſigned to make ſome ſtay at the Hague, he hired a houſe there. But it happened, that, in the houſe which was taken for him, M. de St. Evremond had an apartment, as had alſo ſome other perſons of diſtinction. They were, therefore, obliged to ſeek for other lodgings; but, when St. Evremond was preparing to remove like the reſt, the Prince not only deſired him to ſtay, but likewiſe to uſe his table whilſt he continued at the Hague. He alſo ever afterwards teſtified his eſteem for him, and ſent him every year a preſent of ſome of the beſt Italian wines (*n*).

(*m*) Life, p. 56.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 66.

St. Evremond now thought of paſſing the remainder of his days in Holland; but, in 1670, Sir William Temple delivered to him letters from the Earl of Arlington, by which he was informed, that King Charles II. deſired his return to England. This induced him to change his intentions; and, on his arrival in England, the King conferred on him a penſion of three hundred pounds a year (*o*). In 1675, the Dutcheſs of Mazarin arrived in England; and, we are told, that "her houſe was the uſual "rendezvous of the politeſt perſons in England; and in theſe aſſemblies the people of "faſhion found an agreeable amuſement, and the learned an excellent pattern of "politeneſs (*p*)." It is added, that, in her houſe, "all manner of ſubjects were diſ-"courſed upon, as philoſophy, religion, hiſtory, pieces of wit and gallantry, plays,

(*o*) Ibid. p. 72.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 94.

[*D*] *Theſe applications were not ſucceſsful.*] Des Maizeaux, ſpeaking of this diſappointment, ſays, 'In 'the mean while, he did what he could to make 'himſelf eaſy in a diſagreeable ſituation. Happily 'for him, he loved learning, reflected on what he 'had read, and knew how to write. A man of 'letters never knows the plague of idleneſs. When 'the company of his friends fails him, he finds a 'remedy in reading, or in compoſition (3).'

(3) Life, p. 60.

"and authors antient and modern (q)." St. Evremond ſpent much of his time at the houſe of the Dutcheſs of Mazarin [E], and appears to have had a great friendſhip for her. He was alſo on very friendly terms with the celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos, with whom he often correſponded [F]. St. Evremond ſometimes paſſed the ſummer ſeaſon

(q) Ibid. p. 95.

[E] *The Dutcheſs of Mazarin.*] Mr. Granger obſerves of this celebrated lady, whoſe name was Hortenſia Mancini, that ſhe 'was, by permiſſion of 'Lewis XIV, heireſs to the title, arms, and eſtate 'of her uncle, the famous Cardinal Mazarin; all 'which ſhe transferred, by a marriage-contract, to 'the Duke of Meilleraye, whom ſhe eſpouſed. She 'poſſeſſed every qualification that could inſpire love, 'and appears to have been extremely ſuſceptible of 'the paſſion herſelf. Having quarrelled with the 'Duke her huſband, ſhe came into England, flushed 'with the conqueſts ſhe had made in her own coun'try. She had evidently a deſign upon Charles II. 'and was regarded as a moſt formidable rival to 'the Ducheſs of Portſmouth. It is ſaid, that a diſ'covery of an intrigue, in which ſhe imprudently en'gaged ſoon after ſhe came over, prevented her gain'ing the aſcendant in the royal favour. The king, 'however, aſſigned her an annual penſion of four 'thouſand pounds. She lived many years at Chelſea, 'where her houſe was daily reſorted to by the witty, 'the gallant, and polite. St. Evremond, her avowed 'admirer, has drawn her character to great advan'tage; indeed, ſo great, that we preſently ſee his 'paſſions were too much engaged for a candid hiſ'torian. He could ſcarcely think that ſo angelic a 'creature had any foibles, much leſs that ſhe had 'vices which would have diſgraced the meaneſt of her 'ſex (4).'

(4) Biog. Hiſt. of England, Vol. IV. p. 196, 197. edit. 8vo. 1775.

In a character of the Dutcheſs of Mazarin, written by St. Evremond, he ſays, 'I am unjuſtly accuſed of 'having too great a partiality for Madame Mazarin: 'for, in truth, there is no perſon that ſhe has greater 'reaſon to complain of than myſelf. For ſix months 'together I have been maliciouſly ſpying out ſome'thing in her, which might diſpleaſe me; but, in 'ſpite of all my endeavours, I could diſcover nothing 'that was not too lovely and too charming.'—'I 'have ſeen ſome ladies that have made conqueſts by 'the advantage of their beauty, and loſt them again 'through a defect of wit. I have ſeen others that en'gaged us to them by being beautiful and witty 'together; but diſcouraged us from a farther purſuit 'by their indiſcretion, fickleneſs, and avarice. But, 'in Madame Mazarin, if you paſs from her face to 'her wit, from the qualities of her mind to thoſe of 'her ſoul, you will find that every thing attracts you, 'that every thing faſtens and binds you, and that 'nothing can diſengage you. We defend ourſelves 'from the charms of other ladies by our reaſon: but, 'tis reaſon that ſubjects us to her power. With other 'ladies, our love generally begins where our reaſon 'ends: here our love cannot end, unleſs we loſe our 'reaſon (5).'

(5) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 250, 252.

It is ſaid, that the fortune which the Ducheſs brought to her huſband was 1,625,000l. ſterling, and that by this marriage he became the richeſt ſubject in Europe (6). She lived, however, to be deſtitute of money to pay her debts; and was, for many years, ſupported by an Engliſh penſion. She eloped from her huſband in 1667. Monſ. Herard was employed as an advocate againſt her in one of the courts of Paris, by the Duke of Mazarin, who petitioned the court, 'That, during the unjuſt elopement of the 'Dutcheſs, and her obſtinacy in abſenting herſelf from 'her houſe, and from the kingdom, ſhe ſhould be 'deprived and diveſted of her dower, and right of 'alimony; and that it might be lawful for him to 'ſeize her wherever he could find her, and to cauſe 'her to be conducted to his own houſe.' The pleadings of Herard againſt the Dutcheſs were publiſhed, and afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh, with a reply by St. Evremond, and printed in 8vo. in 1699.

(6) Preface to the Arguments of Monſieur Herard for the Duke of Mazarin, Lond. 8vo. 1699.

It is ſaid, in the pleadings againſt the Dutcheſs, that ſhe 'made it one of the ordinary diverſions of 'her youth to throw bags of gold away by handfuls, 'out of the windows of the palace of Mazarin, for 'the pleaſure of ſetting the mob together by the 'ears (7).' Her huſband is repreſented as a man of extreme ſuperſtition. As an inſtance of it, it is ſaid, in St. Evremond's reply to Herard, that, 'he cauſed 'one of Madame de Richelieu's children to be brought 'up, with expreſs prohibition to the nurſe from 'ſuckling it on Fridays and Saturdays; that, inſtead 'of milk, it might ſuck in the holy ule of faſting and 'mortification (8).' In the ſame piece it is obſerved, that true Chriſtians render good for evil; but the Duke of Mazarin, who affected to be very devout, left a wife to ſtarve, who brought him 'a greater 'fortune than all the queens of Europe together 'brought to the kings their huſbands (9).'

(7) Duke and Dutcheſs of Mazarin's caſe, p. 111.

(8) Ibid. p. 145.

(9) Ibid. p. 147.

Des Maizeaux ſays, 'The Dutcheſs of Mazarin 'uſed to ſpend the fine ſeaſon at Chelſea, a village 'on the Thames, three miles from London, which 'was at that time the rendezvous of thoſe perſons that 'paid their court to her. M. de St. Evremond was 'very aſſiduous in his viſits. There they enjoyed the 'innocent diverſions of the country. But, in 1699, 'an end was put to all thoſe pleaſures. Madam 'Mazarin fell ſick in the beginning of June that 'year, and died on the 22d of the ſame month, aged 'about fifty-three. She preſerved her beauty to the 'laſt. Time, which conſumes every thing, had a re'ſpect for her charms (10).'

(10) Life of St. Evremond, p. 144.

Mr. Granger remarks, that the print which is given for the Dutcheſs of Mazarin, in the Engliſh tranſlation of St. Evremond's works, is a copy from Lombart's print of the Dutcheſs of York (11).

(11) Biog. Hiſt. ut ſupra.

It appears, that, at the time of the Dutcheſs of Mazarin's death, ſhe was four hundred guineas in debt to St. Evremond; but he declared, in one of his letters, that he 'mourned for the loſs of her every 'day;' and, he added, that 'the conſideration of 'what ſhe owed him had no part of his com'plaints (12).'

(12) Works, Vol. III. p. 67.

[F] *Ninon de l'Enclos, with whom he often correſponded.*] In one of this lady's letters to him, ſhe ſays, 'The 'Count de Clerembaut gave me a ſenſible pleaſure, 'when he told me that you thought of me; which I 'really deſerve, becauſe of my conſtant affection to 'you. We ſhall deſerve the praiſes of poſterity for 'the duration of our lives, and that of our friendſhip. 'I fancy I ſhall live as long as you. I am ſome'times weary with doing always the ſame thing, and 'I commend the Swiſs who drowned himſelf for that 'reaſon. My friends often check me on this ſcore; 'and aſſure me, that life is deſirable, ſo long as we 'enjoy tranquillity and a ſound mind (13).' In another letter to him, ſhe ſays, 'Your letters perſuade 'me, that England promiſes you forty years more of 'life: for, I think that it is in England only that they 'talk of people who have lived beyond the age of 'man. I could have wiſhed to have paſſed the re'mainder of my life with you. Had you thought in 'the ſame way that I do, you would be in this 'country now (14).' In one of his letters to her, St. Evremond ſays, 'Every thing contributes to make 'me regret the happy time which I have ſpent in 'your company, and to deſire in vain to ſee you once 'more. I have not ſtrength enough to tranſport my'ſelf over to France, and you have allurements there 'which will hinder you from coming to England. 'The Dutcheſs of Bouillon can tell you that England 'has its charms; and I ſhould be ungrateful myſelf, 'if I did not own that I have met with pleaſures and 'comforts in it.'—'What I find the moſt trouble'ſome at this age is, that hope is loſt; hope, which 'is the ſweeteſt of all the paſſions, and that which 'contributes moſt to make us paſs our time agreeably. 'That which gives me the greateſt pain is my de'ſpairing ever to ſee you: I muſt ſit down ſatisfied 'with writing to you ſometimes, in order to keep up 'a friendſhip, which has reſiſted the length of time, 'the diſtance of place, and the uſual coldneſs of old 'age. This laſt word regards me. Nature will be'gin

(13) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 58.

(14) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 422.

season with the Court at Windsor, where he conversed much with Isaac Vossius, who had been made one of the prebendaries of Windsor by King Charles II. By the death of that Prince, St. Evremond lost his pension; but, in 1686, the Earl of Sunderland proposed to King James II. to create for him an office of Secretary of the Cabinet, whose province should be to write the King's private letters to foreign princes. The King agreed to the proposal, but St. Evremond declined accepting the office. He made his acknowledgments to Lord Sunderland, and to the King; and said, "he "should account himself very happy to be able to serve his Majesty; but that a man "of his age ought to think of nothing, but how to husband the little time he had to "live, and to spend it in ease and tranquillity (*r*)." After the Revolution, he was so well treated in England by King William [*G*], that he declined returning again to his own country, though the French King now gave him permission [*H*], and even promised him a favourable reception (*s*). About the year 1693, the Abbot de Chaulieu sent a poem to the Dutchess of Mazarin, accompanied with a letter in verse, which contained a high compliment to St. Evremond, whom he compared to Ovid. St. Evremond made some remarks on the Abbot's poetical epistle, in which he objected to the comparison between himself and the Roman poet. "Ovid," said he, "was the "most witty and the most unfortunate man of his time. I am not like him, either "as to wit or misfortunes. He was exiled among barbarians, where he made fine "verses; but so doleful and melancholy, that they excite as much contempt for his "weakness as compassion for his disgrace. Where I am, I daily see the Dutchess of "Mazarin. I live among sociable people, who have a great deal of merit and a "great deal of wit. I make very indifferent verses; but so gay, that they make my "humour to be envied, while they make my poetry to be laughed at. I have too "little money; but I love to be in a country where there is enough: besides, the use "of it ends with our lives; and the consideration of a greater evil is a sort of remedy "against a lesser. Thus you see I have several advantages over Ovid. It is true, that "he was more fortunate at Rome with Julia than I have been at London with Hor-"tensia: but the favours of Julia were the occasion of his misfortune; and the ri-"gours of Hortensia do not make a man of my age uneasy (*t*)."

(*r*) Ibid. p. 126, 127.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 132.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 135, 136.

St. Evremond was a kind of Epicurean philosopher; but, though his speculative morality was too lax, yet in his general conduct he appears to have acted like a man of probity. He preserved his health and his chearfulness to a very great age. In one of his letters to Ninon de l'Enclos he says, "At eighty eight years of age, I eat oisters "every morning. I dine heartily, and sup tolerably. Heroes are celebrated for less "merit than mine (*u*)." He was at length afflicted with a strangury, which was attended with great pain, and by which he was much weakened. Bayle tells us, in one of his letters, that it was publicly known, that St. Evremond used no assistance of minister or priest to prepare him for death; and that it was said, that the Envoy from the Court of Florence sent to him an ecclesiastic, who, asking him whether he would be reconciled, received for answer, "With all my heart: I would fain be reconciled "to my stomach, which no longer performs its usual functions." Bayle also says, "I have seen verses, which he wrote fifteen days before his death; and his only regret "was, that he was reduced to boiled meats, and could no longer digest partridges and "pheasants." He died on the 9th of September, 1703, aged ninety years, five months, and twenty days (*w*). Des Maizeaux says, 'He preserved, to the very last, a lively

(*u*) Works, Vol. III. p. 55.

(*w*) Life, p. 152, 153.

'gin with you to shew, that it is possible not to grow 'old (15).'

(15) Ibid. p. 431, 432.

Sr. Evremond related, that, in the earlier part of her life, Ninon once told him, that 'she returned 'God thanks every night for her wit; and 'prayed him, every morning, to preserve her from 'the follies of her heart (16).'

(16) Life, p. 92, 93.

[*G*] *Well treated in England by King William.*] Des Maizeaux says, 'The Revolution, which raised 'the Prince of Orange to the throne of Great Britain, 'was advantageous to Monsr. de St. Evremond. That 'Prince had been very kind to him in Holland; and, 'when he came to be King of England, gave him 'very substantial marks of his favour. He often took 'him into his parties of pleasure; and loved to con-'verse with him, and to hear him talk of the great 'captains that he had seen in France, and of the 'military transactions to which he had been wit-'ness (17).'

(17) Ibid. p. 131.

[*H*] *The French King now gave him permission.*] We are told, that 'Mr. de St. Evremond thought of 'nothing but ending his days in peace in England, 'when he received letters from the Count de Gram-'mont, acquainting him, that the King of France 'had declared, that he might return, and should be 'well received. His Majesty, perceiving that a war 'was breaking out between the two nations, thought 'it would be dangerous for M. de St. Evremond to 'stay with a people exasperated against France: but 'his merit had acquired him the general esteem and 'good will of the English. The Count de Grammont 'congratulated him upon the favourable regard the 'King had for him, and desired him to hasten his 'return: but they were very much surprized, when 'they saw he had no mind to leave England. He 'answered the Count de Grammont, that he had a deep 'sense of gratitude for the favour his Majesty intended 'him, and would have readily accepted it, were he 'in a condition to enjoy it; but that the infirmities 'almost inseparable from old age would not permit 'him to undertake such a journey, and to leave a 'country where he lived very agreeably (18).'

(18) Ibid. p. 131, 132.

Voltaire, in his "Age of Lewis XIV." says, 'when Lewis XIV. permitted St. Evremond to re-'turn to his country, towards the latter end of his 'life, this philosopher scorned to accept the per-'mission as a favour; and proves that a man's 'country is the place where he lives happily; and he 'did so at London.' He also observes, that St. Evremond in England 'lived and died a freeman and 'a philosopher.'

'imagination, a ſolid judgment, and a happy memory. The great and acute pains, 'which he felt during his ſickneſs, never diſturbed his tranquillity. He bore them 'with a courage and conſtancy that may be envied by philoſophers of the firſt rate (*x*).' (*x*) Ibid. p. 153.

The ſame writer gives the following deſcription of his perſon: 'M. de St. Evremond 'had blue, lively, and ſparkling, eyes, a large forehead, thick eye-brows, a hand-'ſome mouth, and a ſneering phyſiognomy. Twenty years before his death, a wen 'grew between his eye-brows, which in time increaſed to a conſiderable bigneſs. He 'once deſigned to have it cut off; but, as it was no ways troubleſome to him, and he 'little regarded that kind of deformity, Dr. Le Fevre adviſed him to let it alone, leſt 'ſuch an operation ſhould be attended with dangerous ſymptoms in a man of his age. 'He would often make merry with himſelf on account of his wen, his great leather 'cap, and grey hair, which he choſe to wear rather than a periwig (*y*).' Des Mai- (*y*) Id. ibid.
zeaux afterwards adds, 'His behaviour was civil and engaging, his converſation lively 'and pleaſant, his repartees quick and happy. We find very few that know how to 'read well. M. de St. Evremond told me one day, that he had not known three in his 'whole life that could read juſtly. He had this art in perfection; and, what is altoge-'ther as uncommon, he had a very happy way of telling a ſtory (*z*).'—'His humour (*z*) Ibid. p. 154.
'was ever gay and merry; which was ſo far from declining towards the latter end of 'his life, that it ſeemed rather to gather freſh ſtrength.'—'He was extremely fond of 'the company of young people, and delighted to hear the ſtories of their adventures.' —'Although he did not pretend to over-rigid morals, yet he had all the qualities of 'a man of honour. He was juſt, generous, and grateful; and full of goodneſs and 'humanity (*a*).' (*a*) Ibid. p. 155.

St. Evremond alſo drew his own character, in a letter to the count de Grammont. It is as follows: 'He was a philoſopher equally removed from ſuperſtition and from 'impiety; a voluptuary, who had no leſs averſion from debauchery than inclination 'for pleaſure: a man who had never felt the preſſure of indigence, and who had ne-'ver been in poſſeſſion of affluence. He lived in a condition deſpiſed by thoſe who 'have every thing, envied by thoſe who have nothing, and reliſhed by thoſe who 'make their reaſon the foundation of their happineſs. When he was young, he hated 'profuſion, being perſuaded that ſome degree of wealth was neceſſary for the conve-'niencies of a long life. When he was old, he could hardly endure oeconomy; be-'ing of opinion, that want is little to be dreaded when a man has but little time left 'to be miſerable. He was well pleaſed with nature, and did not complain of fortune. 'He hated vice, was indulgent to frailties, and lamented misfortunes. He ſought not 'after the failings of men with a deſign to expoſe them; he only found what was ri-'diculous in them for his own amuſement. He had a ſecret pleaſure in diſcovering 'this himſelf; and would, indeed, have had a ſtill greater in diſcovering this to others, 'had he not been checked by diſcretion. Life, in his opinion, was too ſhort to 'read all ſorts of books, and to burden one's memory with a multitude of things at 'the expence of one's judgment. He did not apply himſelf to the moſt learned 'writings, in order to acquire knowledge; but to the moſt rational, to fortify his rea-'ſon. He ſometimes choſe the moſt delicate, to give delicacy to his own taſte; and 'ſometimes the moſt agreeable, to give the ſame turn to his own genius. It remains 'that he ſhould be deſcribed ſuch as he was in friendſhip and in religion. In friend-'ſhip he was more conſtant than a philoſopher, and more ſincere than a young man of 'good nature without experience. With regard to religion, his piety conſiſted more 'in juſtice and charity than in penance or mortification. He placed his confidence 'in God, truſting in his goodneſs, and hoping, that, in the boſom of his providence, 'he ſhould find his repoſe and his felicity (*b*).' (*b*) Vie de M. de St. Evremond, p. 84, 85.

He was interred in Weſtminſter-Abbey [*I*], where a monument was erected to his memory by his friends, on which is his buſt, with the following inſcription:

"CAROLUS

[*I*] *Interred in Weſtminſter-Abbey.*] Of his death and burial the following notice is taken, in a letter from Dr. Atterbury, afterwards Biſhop of Rocheſter, to Biſhop Trelawny. 'Mr. St. Evremond died re-'nouncing the Chriſtian religion. Yet the church of 'Weſtminſter thought fit, in honour to his memory, 'to give his body room in the Abbey, and to allow 'him to be buried there gratis, as far as the chapter 'were concerned, though he left eight hundred 'pounds ſterling behind him; which is thought 'every way an unaccountable piece of management. 'Sartré buried him roundly, and hoped that his 'brother would riſe to life eternal. Dr. Birch proſ-'fered to be at the charge of the funeral, on account 'of the old acquaintance between St. Evremond and 'his father Waller; but, that proffer not being 'accepted, is reſolved to have the honour of laying a 'marble ſtone upon his grave (19).' In this paſſage the bigotry of Atterbury is ſufficiently apparent. It may alſo be obſerved, that he had probably no other ground for ſaying, that "St. Evremond died renoun-"cing the Chriſtian religion," but his declining the aſſiſtance of any prieſt, or clergyman, to prepare him for death. This was alone ſufficient to ſhock the high prejudices of Atterbury; and it muſt be allowed to be a very alarming circumſtance, that the chapter of Weſtminſter ſhould agree to bury an ingenious and celebrated foreigner in their cathedral without claiming their fees. Such an inattention to the revenues of the church might well be thought deſerving of very ſevere cenſure. (19) Miſcellaneous Works of Bp. Atterbury, with Hiſtorical Notes by J. Nichols, 2d edit. Vol. I. p. 247, 248.

In another letter to Biſhop Trelawny, Dr. Atterbury ſays, 'An epitaph, written by Dr. Garth, on 'St. Evremond, is to be put up in the abbey, if the 'Biſhop

" Carolus de Saint Denis, Dominus de Saint Evremond,
" Nobili genere in Normannia ortus,
" A prima juventute
" Militiæ nomen dedit,
" Et per varia munera
" Ad Caſtrorum Mareſcalli gradum evectus,
" Condæo, Turennio,
" Aliiſque claris belli ducibus,
" Fidem ſuam & fortitudinem
" Non ſemel probavit.
" Relicta patria Hollandiam;
" Deinde à Carolo II. accitus Angliam
" Venit.
" Philoſophiam & humaniores litteras
" Feliciter excoluit:
" Gallicam Linguam
" Cum ſoluta tum numeris aſtricta oratione
" Expolivit, adornavit, locupletavit.
" Apud potentiſſ. Angliæ Reges benevolentiam & favorem;
" Apud regni proceres gratiam & familiaritatem;
" Apud omnes laudem et applauſum
" Meruit.
" Nonaginta annis major obiit
" Die IX. Septembris, MDCCIII.
" Viro clariſſimo
" Inter præſtantiores
" Ævi ſui ſcriptores,
" Semper memorando
" Amici mœrentes
" P. P."

The works of St. Evremond conſiſt of a variety of eſſays and letters, containing many ingenious and acute remarks on polite literature, and on life and manners, together with poems, and ſeveral dramatic pieces. He poſſeſſed a conſiderable degree of wit and humour, and great knowledge of the world. He appears to have had a very intimate acquaintance with Roman literature; but acknowledged that he did not underſtand the Greek language (*c*). His works in French have paſſed through many editions, and been printed in different ſizes. One edition is in two volumes, 4to. and ſome of the editions are in ſeven volumes, 12mo. An Engliſh tranſlation of ſome of his works was publiſhed in two volumes, 8vo. in 1700; and a tranſlation of ſome other of his pieces in 1705, in one volume, 8vo. under the title of " The Poſthumous " Works of M. de St. Evremond, containing variety of elegant Eſſays, Letters, Poems, " and other miſcellaneous Pieces on ſeveral curious Subjects." Another tranſlation, in two volumes, 8vo. was publiſhed by Mr. Des Maizeaux, in 1714, with a dedication to Lord Halifax [*K*]. But the beſt edition was publiſhed by the ſame editor, with the life of the author prefixed, in three volumes, 8vo, in 1728. This tranſlation, however, does not contain our author's poems, nor his dramatic pieces.]

(*c*) Works, Vol. I. p. 156.

T.

' Biſhop will ſuffer it, where St. Evremond is commended for his indifference to all religion. I have ' given the Biſhop this night (by a ſure hand) notice ' of it, that he may not ſay he was ſurprized into a ' conſent, which will indeed be very ſcandalous (20).' From what is here ſaid, it is probable, that ſome paſſage was inſerted in the epitaph as originally written, which was afterwards omitted.

(20) P. 319.

By his will, St. Evremond left 20l. to the poor French refugees; and the ſame ſum to ' the poor ' Roman Catholics, or of any other religion.' His manuſcripts he left to Dr. Sylveſtre. The Earl of Galway was his executor (21).

(21) Life, p. 152.

[*K*] *With a dedication to Lord Halifax.*] In this dedication, Mr. Des Maizeaux ſays, ' To publiſh in ' Engliſh the works of Monſ. de St. Evremond is, ' if I may ſo ſay, no more than reſtoring to England ' that which of right belonged to it before. It was ' in this happy country that he wrote the greateſt ' part of them, during an abode of forty years; and ' England ſeems to have gained thereby the right of ' looking upon his productions as thoſe of one of its ' own authors. They only wanted to appear in the ' language of the country to which they owe their ' birth, and, perhaps, even their greateſt beauties; ' ſince they contain ſuch bold and lively ſtrokes as ' are peculiar only to the writers of a free nation. ' And, indeed, liberty inſpires a noble and elevated ' confidence, which naturally enlarges the mind, and ' gives it an emulation that inclines it to trace out ' new roads towards attaining the ſciences; whereas ' a ſervile dependence terrifies the ſoul, and fills the ' mind with a timorous circumſpection, that renders ' it mean and groveling, and even debars the uſe of ' its moſt refined talents. Greece and Italy never had ' illuſtrious writers but whilſt they preſerved their ' liberty: the loſs of that was followed by the decay ' of wit, and the ruin of polite learning. Greece, ' formerly the ſeat of the muſes, is now involved in a ' frightful barbarity, under the ſlavery of the Ottoman empire; and Italy, which, under the influence ' of a Roman ſenate, was ſo fruitful in great and ' learned men, now ſubject to the tribunal of the ' inquiſition, produces no conſiderable works of erudition or politeneſs.']

F. FABIAN,

# F.

FABIAN, or FABYAN (ROBERT), author of the "Concordance of Stories (*a*)," or Chronicle of England and France, was born in London (*b*). He was brought up to trade, and became ſo conſiderable a merchant, that he was choſen one of the Aldermen of that illuſtrious city. In the ninth of Henry VII, namely, in part of the years 1493 and 1494, he had the honour of being one of the Sheriffs of the ſame (*c*). He was a perſon of learning for the times he lived in, and had ſome ſkill in poetry, both in Engliſh, Latin, and French (*d*) [*A*]. But he applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of hiſtory; and compiled, out of ſeveral authors [*B*], a chronicle, which was printed after his deceaſe [*C*]. He died at London in the beginning of the

(*a*) So he called his Chronicle.

(*b*) Pitſ. de Illuſt Angl. Script. Ætas XVI. ad ann. 1512, No. 913.

(*c*) J. Stowe's Survey, with J. Strype's Addit. edit. 1720, Vol. II. B. v. p. 126; and our author's Chronicle, edit. 1533, fol. CCXXX. b.

(*d*) Bale. Script. Brytanniæ Cent. 8vo. No. 62.

[*A*] *And had ſome ſkill in poetry, both in Engliſh, Latin, and French.*] Take a ſample of his Engliſh poetry, from the prologue to his Chronicle, where he gives an account of that work.

Into ſeven partes, I have this booke divided,
So that the reader maie choſe where he will.
The firſt conteineth how the Britons guided
This lande, from Brute (*) Moliuncius untill:
And from Moliuncius, I have ſette for ſkill,
To the ninthe yere of kyng Caſſibelan
The ſeconde parte, for that the Romaines thin
Conquered Britain. And thens to Severine
The thirde parte I have alſo aſſigned.
The fourthe endeth then at Conſtantine.
The fifte at Cadwaladar I have alſo diffined.
At the conqueſt I have eke determined
The ſixte parte. And of the ſeventh or laſte,
At our redoubted Prince I have the ende caſte,
Henry the eight whom God preſerve and ſave,
And hym defende from all adverſitie.

(*) Molmutius.

— — — — — — — — — — — — — —

And for this booke includeth ſtories tele,
And toucheth thynges doen in ſondrie place,
So that one tyme muſt with an other dele,
To kepe the yeres, the time and the ſpace,
Therfore this name ſhall it now purchaſe,
(*Concordaunce of ſtories*) by me provided,
The actuhour, ians nome finally diviſe.

— — — — — — — — — — — — — —

He hath alſo Verſes at the beginning of the ſecond volume of his Chronicle, ſome of which run thus:

Whoſo hym liketh theſe verſes to reade
With favour I praie he will them ſpel.
Let not the rudeneſſe of them him leade,
For to deſprave this rime-dogrell.
Some part of the honor it doeth you tel
Of this old citee Troinovaunt:
But not thereof the halfe dell
Connyng in the maker is ſo adaunt.

[*B*] *Out of ſeveral authors.*] Particularly, Euſebius, Eutropius, Paullus Diaconus, Matthæolus Veronenſis, Petrus Pictavienſis, Guido de Columna, Roger de Hoveden, Alured of Beverley, Ranulph Higden, John de Treviſa, Lydgate, John Froiſſard, Gaguin, Hartman Shedel, Jacobus Bergomas, Will. Caxton, and eſpecially Geoffrey of Monmouth (1).

(1) Bale, Script. Brytanniæ Cent. octavo, No. 62. p. 643, edit. 1559.

[*C*] *A chronicle, which was printed after his deceaſe.*] It was firſt printed at London in 1516. fol. by R. Pynſon; and afterwards by William Raſtell, 1533, fol. in neat and ſmall black types, and on good paper. At the concluſion of each part, there is a hymn to the Virgin Mary [omitted in the following editions.] And, at the end of all, 'Thus endeth 'Fabyans Chronicle. Printed by W. Raſtell, and fy-'nyſhed the laſt daye of December, in the yere of 'our Lorde. M. V. C. and XXXIII.' There are alſo, at the end, five leaves, which bring down the Hiſtory to the beginning of King Henry VIII. but are omitted in ſubſequent editions, particularly in the year 1559, now before us. The whole work is divided into two volumes; whereof the firſt begins at Brute, and ends at the death of our King Henry II. and Philip II. King of France. The ſecond volume, which is the moſt valuable of the two, contains the Chronicles of England and of France, from the beginning of the reign of Richard I. until the end of the reign of Charles VIII. of France, that is till the year 1498. And it appears by the concluſion, that it was finiſhed by the Author, November 7, 1504 (2). The ſecond volume begins with an account of the wards of London, and the pariſh-churches in each ward: and then are ſet down the bailiffs of that city under every year, from the time they were appointed, that is, from 1190, until the year 1209, when the two bailiffs were converted, by King John, into a mayor and two ſhireves. Of theſe the author gives exact liſts, under each year, as far as his Chronicle reaches. He comprehends, as 'tis ſaid in the title-page, the Chronicles of England and of France; not all together, or under the reſpective years, but in diſtinct chapters, or articles, denoted in the beginning, by the words Anglia and Francia.—We are told, that Cardinal Wolſey cauſed as many copies of this book as he could come at to be burnt, becauſe the author had made too clear a diſcovery of the large revenues of the clergy (3). As for the character it bears: 'tis called, by one who was a good judge (4), 'a painful labour, to the great ho-'nour of the city and the whole realm.' He is very particular in the affairs of London; many good things being noted by him (which concern the government thereof) hardly to be had elſewhere. In the beginning of his ſeventh part, he obſerves Ralph Higden's method of making his years commence at Michaelmas: and is, in other reſpects, a great follower of that author (5).

(2) See p. 525, col. 1. edit. 1559.

(3) Bale, ubi ſupra.

(4) Stow's Survey, &c. as above, B. v. p. 126.

(5) Dr. Nicolſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, edit. 1736, fol. p. 69.

year 1512, and was buried February 28, in the church of St. Michael's, Cornhill (*e*); where formerly was to be seen his monument [*D*].

(*e*) And not of All Saints, as both Bale and Pits have it, ubi ſupra; and from them Dr. Fuller in his Worthies, in London. p. 218.

[*D*] *Where formerly was to be ſeen his monument.*] On which was the following inſcription: but now gone:

Like as the day his courſe doth conſume,
And the new morrow ſpringeth again as faſt,
So man and woman by natures cuſtome,
This life to paſſe, at laſt in earth are caſt,
In joy, and ſorrow, which here their time do waſt,
Never in one ſtate, but in courſe tranſitory,
So full of change is of this world the glory (6).

M.

(6) Stow's Survey, as above, B ii. p. 145.

*** [Fabian, according to Tanner, and the Authors whom Tanner follows, was *Poëta haud infelicis Ingenii* (7). He makes, however, but a poor figure in Mr. Warton's hiſtory of Engliſh poetry. "In his Chronicle," ſays this gentleman, 'or *Concordance of Hiſtories*, it is his uſual practice, at the diviſion of the books, to inſert metrical prologues, and other pieces in verſe. The beſt of his metres is the *Complaint* of King Edward the Second, who, like the perſonages in Boccacio's *Fall of Princes*, is very dramatically introduced, reciting his own misfortunes. But this ſoliloquy is nothing more than a tranſlation from a very ſhort and poor Latin poem, attributed to that monarch, but probably written by William of Wyrceſter, which is preſerved among the manuſcripts of the College of Arms, and entituled, "Lamentatio glorioſi Regis Edwardi de Karnarvon "quam edidit tempore ſuæ incarcerationis." Our Author's tranſitions from proſe to verſe, in the courſe of a prolix narrative, ſeem to be made with much eaſe: and, when he begins to verſify, the hiſtorian diſappears only by the addition of rhyme and ſtanza. In the firſt edition of his *Chronicle*, by way of epilogues to his ſeven books, he has given us *The ſeven Joys of the Bleſſed Virgin, in Engliſh rime.* And, under the year 1325, there is a poem to the Virgin, and another to one Badby, a Lollard under the year 1409. Theſe are ſuppreſſed in the later editions. He has likewiſe left a panegyric on the city of London; but deſpairs of doing juſtice to ſo noble a ſubject for verſe, even if he had the eloquence of Tully, the morality of Seneca, and the harmony of that *faire lady* Calliope.'

(7) Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 272.

Fabian was the firſt of our old Chroniclers who wrote hiſtory in Engliſh proſe; but, he attained, in this reſpect, a very ſmall degree of excellence. 'As an hiſtorian,' ſays Mr. Warton, 'our author is the dulleſt of compilers. He is equally attentive to the Mayors of London and of the Monarchs of England: and ſeems to have thought the dinners at Guildhall, and the pageantries of the city companies, more intereſting tranſactions than our victories in France and our ſtruggles for public liberty at home. One of Fabyan's hiſtorical anecdotes, under the important reign of Henry the Fifth, is, that a new weather-cock was placed on the croſs of St. Paul's ſteeple. The earlier chapters of theſe childiſh annals faithfully record all thoſe fabulous traditions, which generally ſupply the place of hiſtoric monuments in deſcribing the origin of a great nation (8).'

K.

(8) Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, Vol. II. p. 191—193.

*** [FAIRFAX (EDWARD), an ingenious poet, who flouriſhed in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James the Firſt, was the ſecond ſon of Sir Thomas Fairfax, of Denton, Yorkſhire, by Dorothy his wife, daughter of George Gale, of Aſcham-Grange, Eſq. Treaſurer to the Mint at York (*a*) [*A*]. In what year he was born is not related. The family from which he ſprang was of a very military turn. His father had paſſed his youth in the wars of Europe, and was with Charles Duke of Bourbon, at the ſacking of Rome, in the year 1527. His engaging in this expedition is ſaid to have given ſuch offence to Sir William Fairfax, that he was diſinherited (*b*). But this is a fact to the truth of which we can by no means give our aſſent. He might incur for a time the diſpleaſure of his father; but it is certain that he ſucceeded to the family-eſtate at Denton, and tranſmitted that eſtate to his deſcendants (*c*). It was in 1577, or, according to Douglas, in 1579, that he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth. This was when he was far advanced in years (*d*). The poet's eldeſt brother, Thomas, who in proceſs of time became the firſt Lord Fairfax of Cameron, received the honour of knighthood before Rouen in Normandy, in 1591, for his bravery and good behaviour in the army ſent to the aſſiſtance of Henry the Fourth of France; and he afterwards ſignalized himſelf on many occaſions in Germany againſt the Houſe of Auſtria. A younger brother of Edward Fairfax, Sir Charles, was a Captain under Sir Francis Vere, at the battle of Newport, fought in 1600; and in the famous three years ſiege of Oſtend, commanded all the Engliſh in that town, for ſome time before it ſurrendered. Here he received a wound in his face, from the piece of a ſkull of a Marſhal of France, killed near him by a cannon-ball; and ſoon after he was himſelf ſlain. This event happened in 1604 (*e*).

(*a*) Douglas's Peerage, p. 118.

(*b*) Biſhop Atterbury's Correſpondence, Vol. III. p. 256. Ibid Note.

(*c*) Douglas, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Ibid. Atterbury's Correſpondence, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 256, 257.

While his brothers were thus honourably employed abroad, Mr. Edward Fairfax devoted himſelf to a ſtudious courſe of life. That he had the advantages of a very liberal education cannot be doubted, from his intellectual acquirements, and the diſtinction which he ſoon obtained in the literary world. Indeed, his attainments were ſuch, that he became qualified to have filled any employment, either in Church or State. But an invincible modeſty, and the love of retirement, induced him to prefer

[*A*] *Second ſon of Sir Thomas Fairfax, by Dorothy his wife.*] The author of the "Lives of the Poets," publiſhed under the name of Theophilus Cibber, ſays that Mr. Edward Fairfax was the natural ſon of Sir Thomas; and this opinion has been pretty generally received. But Douglas, who is a writer of good authority, has poſitively expreſſed himſelf as we read in the text; and Mr. Brian Fairfax, Secretary to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in his account of our poet, ſent to Dr. Atterbury in 1704-5, does not ſpeak of him as if he had any idea that he was of illegitimate birth. The circumſtances, too, of his being always ſtyled Edward Fairfax, Eſq. of Newhall in Fuyiſtone, in the Foreſt of Knareſborough, and of his living upon his own eſtate, in the boſom of his family, ſeem beſt to accord with the ſuppoſition of his having been a lawful branch of that family.

the ſhady groves and natural caſcades of Denton, and the Foreſt of Knareſborough, to the employments and advantages of a public ſtation. Accordingly, having married, he fixed himſelf at Fuyiſtone, as a private gentleman. His time was not, however, inactively or ingloriouſly ſpent. This was apparent in his poetical exertions, and in ſeveral compoſitions in proſe, the manuſcripts of which were left by him in the library of Lord Fairfax, at Denton. The care and education of his children, for which he was ſo well qualified, probably engaged ſome part of his attention. We are informed, likewiſe, that he was very ſeviceable, in the ſame way, to his brother Lord Fairfax; beſides which, he aſſiſted him in the government of his family and the management of his affairs. The conſequence of this was, that all his Lordſhip's children were bred ſcholars, and well principled in religion and virtue; that his houſe was famed for its hoſpitality, and, at the ſame time, his eſtate improved. What Mr. Edward Fairfax's principles were, appears from the character which he gives of himſelf, in his book on Dæmonology. "For myſelf," ſays he, "I am in Religion neither a fantaſtic Puritan "nor a ſuperſtitious Papiſt; but ſo ſettled in conſcience, that I have the ſure ground "of God's word to warrant all I believe, and the commendable ordinances of our "Engliſh Church to approve all I practiſe: in which courſe I live a faithful Chriſtian, "and an obedient ſubject, and ſo teach my family." In theſe principles he perſevered to the end of his days, which took place about the year 1632. He died at his own houſe, called Newhall, in the pariſh of Fuyiſtone, between Denton and Knareſborough, and was buried in the ſame pariſh. A marble ſtone, with an inſcription, was placed over his grave; but he deſerved a monument near Godfrey of Boulogne, in the Temple of Jeruſalem (*f*).

(*f*) Atterbury's Correſpondence, ubi ſupra, p. 257. 258, 263, 267, 268.

Such are the few particulars that are related concerning the private life of Mr. Edward Fairfax. But it is as a poet that he is principally entitled to attention; for, in this reſpect, he is held in juſt reputation, and deſerves to have his name tranſmitted with honour to poſterity. His prime work was his tranſlation of Torquato Taſſo's heroic poem of "Godfrey of Bologne" out of Italian into ſmooth and excellent Engliſh verſe. What adds to the merit of the work is, that it was his firſt eſſay in poetry, and executed when he was very young. On its appearance it was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. The book was highly commended by the beſt judges and wits of the age in which it was written, and their judgment has been ſanctioned by the approbation of ſucceeding critics. King James valued it above all other Engliſh poetry; and King Charles uſed to divert himſelf with reading it in the time of his confinement (*g*). All who mention Fairfax, ſays the writer of Cibber's Lives of the Poets, do him the juſtice to allow that he was an accompliſhed genius; but then, it is in a way ſo cool and indifferent, as ſhews that they had never read his works, or were any way charmed with the melody of his verſes. It was impoſſible that Dryden could be ſo blind to his beauties. Accordingly, we find him introducing Spenſer and Fairfax almoſt on the level, as the leading authors of their times; nay, tacitly yielding the palm in point of harmony to the laſt; by aſſerting that Waller confeſſed that he owed the muſic of his numbers to Fairfax's Godfrey of Bologne. "The truth is, this gentle-"man is, perhaps, the only writer down to Sir William Davenant, who needs no "apology to be made for him on account of the age in which he lived. His diction "is ſo pure, elegant, and full of graces, and the turn of his lines ſo perfectly melo-"dious, that one cannot read it without rapture; and we can ſcarcely imagine the "original Italian has greatly the advantage in either: nor is it very probable that, "while Fairfax can be read, any author will attempt a new tranſlation of Taſſo with "ſucceſs (*h*)." Without diſputing the general truth of this eulogium, (which, however, might ſomewhat have been ſoftened,) it cannot fail to be obſerved, how much the Biographer has been miſtaken in his concluding conjecture. A new tranſlation of Taſſo has not only been attempted, but executed, by Mr. Hoole, with remarkable ſucceſs and with diſtinguiſhed excellence; and indeed in ſuch a manner, that, in the opinion of Dr. Johnſon, Fairfax's work will perhaps not ſoon be reprinted (*i*). Of Fairfax a periodical critic thus ſpeaks: "He had the powers of genius and fancy, and "broke through that ſervile cuſtom of tranſlation which prevailed in his time. His "liberal elegance rendered his verſions more agreeable than the dryneſs of Johnſon, and "the dull fidelity of Sandys and May; and he would have tranſlated Taſſo with ſucceſs, "had he not unhappily choſen a ſpecies of verſification which was ill adapted to the "Engliſh language (*k*)." Mr. Hoole, in aſſigning the reaſons for his giving a new verſion of Taſſo's "Jeruſalem delivered," has expreſſed himſelf as follows: "I may "be told, indeed, that there is an Engliſh tranſlation of him already, and therefore "that an apology is neceſſary for a new one. To this I anſwer, that the only com-"plete tranſlation is that of Fairfax, which is in ſtanzas that cannot be read with "pleaſure by the generality of thoſe who have a taſte for Engliſh poetry: of which no "other proof is neceſſary than that it appears ſcarcely to have been read at all. It is "not only unpleaſant, but irkſome, in ſuch a degree as to ſurmount curioſity, and "more than counterbalance all the beauty of expreſſion and ſentiment, which is to "be

(*g*) Ibid. p. 258.

(*h*) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 223, 224.

(*i*) Johnſon's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 406.

(*k*) Monthly Review, Vol. XXXI. p. 105.

" be found in that work. I do not flatter myſelf that I have excelled Fairfax, ex-
" cept in my meaſure and verſification; and, even of theſe, the principal recommenda-
" tion is, that they are more modern, and better adapted to the ear of all readers of
" Engliſh poetry, except of the very few who have acquired a taſte for the phraſes and
" cadencies of thoſe times, when our verſe, if not our language, was in its rudi-
" ments (*l*)." It was not neceſſary to the juſtification of Mr. Hoole's new verſion, that he ſhould paſs ſo ſevere a cenſure on Fairfax's meaſure. To ſay that " it is not only " unpleaſant, but irkſome, in ſuch a degree as to ſurmount curioſity, and more " than counterbalance all the beauty of expreſſion which is to be found in the " work," appears to us to be very unjuſt. The writer of the preſent article, though ſenſible of Mr. Hoole's ſuperiority, has lately read the whole of Fairfax, not merely without diſguſt, but with pleaſure. The perſpicuity and harmony of his verſification are indeed extraordinary, conſidering the time in which he wrote; and in this reſpect he ranks nearly with Spenſer. Nothing but a fine fancy and an elegant mind could have enabled him, in that period, to have made ſuch advances towards perfection.

(*l*) Hoole's "Jeruſalem delivered," Vol. I. preface, p. xviii, xix.

Since theſe remarks were written, we have had the pleaſure of finding that Mr. Hume's ſentiments are not very different from our own. " Fairfax," ſays that hiſtorian, " has tranſlated Taſſo with an elegance and eaſe, and at the ſame time with an exact-
" neſs, which for that age are ſurprizing. Each line in the original is faithfully ren-
" dered by a correſpondent line in the tranſlation. Harrington's tranſlation of Arioſto
" is not likewiſe without its merit. It is to be regretted, that theſe poets ſhould have
" imitated the Italians in their ſtanza, which has a prolixity and uniformity in it that
" diſpleaſes in long performances. They had otherwiſe, as well as Spenſer, contri-
" buted much to the poliſhing and refining of Engliſh verſification (*)." Many, if not moſt of our readers have ſeen a ſpecimen of Fairfax's meaſure at the end of Dr. Johnſon's life of Waller. Another ſhall be given below [*B*].

(*) Hume's Hiſtory of Great Britain, Vol. VI. p. 193. Edit. of 1789.

Mr.

[*B*] *Another ſhall be given below.*] It is from the twelfth book, where Arſetes, an Eunuch, relates to Clorinda the hiſtory of her birth.

18

Clorinda there her ſilver arms off rent,
Her helm, her ſhield, her hawberk ſhining bright,
An armour black as jet or coal ſhe hent,
Wherein withouten plume her ſelf ſhe dight;
For thus diſguis'd amid her foes ſhe ment
To paſs unſeen, by help of friendly night,
To whom her eunuch, old Arſetes, came,
That from her cradle nurſt and kept the dame.

19

This aged ſire had follow'd far and near,
(Through land and ſeas) the ſtrong and hardy maid,
He ſaw her leave her arms and wonted gear,
Her danger nigh that ſudden change foreſaid:
By his white locks from black that changed were,
In following her, the woful man her praid,
By all his ſervice and his taken pain,
To leave that fond attempt, but pray'd in vain.

20

At laſt (quoth he) ſince hardned to thine ill,
Thy cruel heart is to thy loſs prepar'd,
That my weak age, nor tears that down diſtil,
Nor humble ſuit, nor plaint, thou liſt regard;
Attend a while, ſtrange things unfold I will,
Hear both thy birth and high eſtate declar'd;
Follow my counſel, or thy will, that done,
She ſit to hear, the eunuch thus begun.

21

Senapus rul'd, and yet perchance doth raign
In mighty Ethiope, and her deſarts waſte,
The Lore of Chriſt both he and all his train
Of people black, hath kept and long embrac'd,
To him a Pagan was I ſold for gain,
And with his Queen (as her chief eunuch) plac'd;
Black was this Queen as jet, yet on her eyes
Sweet lovelineſs (in black attired) lies.

22

The fire of love and froſt of jealouſie,
Her huſband's troubled ſoul alike torment,
The tyde of fond ſuſpicion flowed high,
The foe to love and plague to ſweet content,
He mew'd her up from ſight of mortal eye,
Nor day he would his beams on her had bent:
She (wiſe and lowly) by her huſband's pleaſure,
Her joy, her peace, her will, her wiſh did meaſure.

23

Her priſon was a chamber, painted round
With goodly pourtraits and with ſtories old,
As white as ſnow there ſtood a virgin bound,
Beſides a dragon fierce, a champion bold
The monſter did with poinant ſpear through wound,
The gored beaſt lay dead upon the mold;
The gentle Queen before this image laid,
She plain'd, ſhe mourn'd, ſhe wept, ſhe ſigh'd, ſhe praid:

24

At laſt with child ſhe prov'd, and forth ſhe brought
(And thou art ſhe) a daughter fair and bright,
In her thy colour white new terrour wrought,
She wondred on thy face with ſtrange affright,
But yet ſhe purpos'd in her fearful thought
To hide thee from the King thy father's ſight,
Leſt thy bright hew ſhould his ſuſpect approve,
For feld a crow begets a ſilver dove.

25

And to her ſpouſe to ſhew ſhe was diſpos'd
A Negro's babe late born, in room of thee,
And for the tower wherein ſhe lay incloſ'd,
Was with her damſels only wond and mee,
To me, on whoſe true faith ſhe moſt repos'd,
She gave thee, ere thou couldeſt chriſtned be,
Nor could I ſince find means thee to baptize,
In Pagan lands thou know'ſt its not the guiſe.

Mr. Fairfax's poetical exertions did not end with his tranſlation of Taſſo. He wrote the hiſtory of Edward the Black Prince, and a number of eclogues. No part of the hiſtory of Edward the Black Prince has, we believe, ever been laid before the public; which is the rather to be regretted as it might hence have more diſtinctly been diſcerned what were our poet's powers of original invention. The eclogues were compoſed in the firſt year of the reign of King James, and, after their being finiſhed, lay

26

To me ſhe gave thee, and ſhe wept withall,
To foſter thee in ſome far diſtant place,
Who can her griefs and plaints to reck'ning call,
How oft ſhe ſwouned at the laſt embrace:
Her ſtreaming tears amid her kiſſes fall,
Her ſighs, her dire complaints did enterlace?
And looking up at laſt, O God (quoth ſhee)
Who do'ſt my heart and inward mourning ſee,

27

If mind and body ſpotleſs to this day,
If I have kept my bed ſtill undefilde,
(Not for my ſelf a ſinful wretch I pray,
That in thy preſence am an abject vilde)
Preſerve this babe, whoſe mother muſt denay
To nouriſh it, preſerve this harmleſs child,
Oh let it live, and chaſte like me it make,
But for good fortune elſewhere ſample take.

28

Thou heav'nly ſouldier which deliv'red haſt
That ſacred virgin from the ſerpent old,
If on thine altars I have offerings plac'd,
And ſacrific'd myrrh, frankincenſe and gold,
On this poor child thy heav'nly looks down caſt,
With gracious eye this ſilly babe behold;
This ſaid, her ſtrength and living ſprite was fled,
She ſigh'd, ſhe groan'd, ſhe ſwouned in her bed.

29

Weeping I took thee, in a little cheſt,
Cov'red with herbs and leaves, I brought thee out
So ſecretly, that none of all the reſt
Of ſuch an act ſuſpicion had or doubt,
To wilderneſs my ſteps I firſt addreſt,
Where horrid ſhades enclos'd me round about,
A tygreſs there I met, in whoſe fierce eyes
Fury and wrath, rage, death, and terrour lies:

30

Up to a tree I leapt, and on the graſs,
(Such was my ſudden fear) I left thee lying,
To thee the beaſt with furious courſe did paſs,
With curious looks upon thy viſage prying,
All ſuddenly both meek and mild ſhe was,
With friendly cheer thy tender body eying:
At laſt ſhe lick'd thee, and with geſture milde
About thee play'd, and thou upon her ſmilde.

31

Her fearful muzzle full of dreadful threat,
In thy weak hand thou took'ſt withouten dreed,
The gentle beaſt with milk out-ſtretched teat;
(As nurſes cuſtom) proffer'd thee to feed,
As one that wondereth on ſome marvel great,
I ſtood this while amazed at the deed,
When thee ſhe ſaw well fill'd and ſatisfied,
Unto the woods again the tygreſs hied.

32

She gone, down from the tree I came in haſt,
And took thee up, and on my journey wend,
Within a little thorp I ſtaid at laſt,
And to a nurſe the charge of thee commend,
And ſporting with thee there long time I paſt,
Till term of ſixteen months were brought to end,
And thou begun (as little children do)
With half clipt words to prattle, and to go.

33

But having paſt the Auguſt of mine age,
When more than half my tap of life was run,
Rich by rewards given by your mother ſage,
For merits paſt, and ſervice yet undone,
I long'd to leave this wandring pilgrimage,
And in my native ſoil again to won,
To get ſome ſeely home I had deſire;
Loth ſtill to warm me at anothers fire.

34

To Egypt-ward (where I was born) I went,
And bore thee with me, by a rolling flood,
Till I with ſavage thieves well nigh was hent;
Before, the brook, the thieves behind me ſtood:
Thee to forſake I never could conſent,
And gladly would I 'ſcape thoſe outlaws wood,
Into the flood I leapt far from the brim,
My left hand bore thee, with the right I ſwim.

35

Swift was the currant, in the middle ſtream
A whirpool gaped with devouring jaws,
The gulph (on ſuch miſhap ere I could dream)
Into his deep abyſs my carkaſs draws,
There I forſook thee, the wild waters ſeem
To pity thee, a gentle wind there blows,
Whoſe friendly puffs ſafe to the ſhore thee drive,
Where wet and weary I at laſt arrive:

36

I took thee up, and in my dream that night,
(When buried was the world in ſleep and ſhade)
I ſaw a champion clad in armour bright,
That o're my head ſhaked a flaming blade,
He ſaid, I charge thee execute aright,
That charge this infant's mother on thee laid,
Baptize the child, high Heav'n eſteems her dear,
And I her keeper will attend her near;

37

I will her keep, defend, ſave and protect,
I made the waters milde, the tygreſs tame,
O wretch that heav'nly warnings do'ſt reject!
The warriour vaniſht having ſaid the ſame.
I roſe and journey'd on my way direct,
When bluſhing morn from Tithon's bed forth came,
But for my faith is true and ſure I ween,
And dreams are falſe, you ſtill unchriſtened been.

38

A Pagan therefore thee I foſtred have,
Nor of thy birth the truth did ever tell,
Since you encreaſed are in courage brave,
Your ſex and natures ſelf you both excel,
Full many a realm have you made bond and ſlave,
Your Fortunes laſt your ſelf remember well,
And how in peace and war, in joy and teen,
I have your ſervant, and your tutor been.

39

Laſt morn, from ſkies ere ſtars exiled were,
In deep and deathlike ſleep my ſenſes dround,
The ſelf-ſame viſion did again appear,
With ſtormy wrathful looks, and thundering ſound,
Villain (quoth he) within ſhort while thy dear
Muſt change her life, and leave this ſinful ground,
Thine be the loſs, the torment, and the care,
This ſaid, he fled through ſkies, through clouds and aire.

40 Hear

lay neglected ten years in the author's ſtudy, until Lodowic, Duke of Richmond and Lenox, deſired a ſight of them, which occaſioned Mr. Fairfax to tranſcribe them for his Grace's uſe. That copy was ſeen and approved by many learned men; and Dr. Field, afterwards Biſhop of Hereford, wrote verſes upon it. The following lines were addreſſed to our poet by Wilſon, Scoto-Britannus:

" Et Phœbum, caſtaſque doces, Fairfaxe, Sorores
" Salſa verecundo verba lepore loqui;
" Ulla nec in toto prurit laſcivia libro,
" Pagina non minus eſt quam tibi vita proba.

" Chaſte is thy muſe as is a veſtal nun,
" And thy Apollo ſpotleſs as the ſun;
" No wanton thought betray'd by word or look,
" As blameleſs is thy life as is thy book."

But the book itſelf, and Dr. Field's encomium, periſhed in the fire, when the banqueting-houſe at Whitehall was burnt, and with it part of the Duke of Richmond's lodgings. Mr. William Fairfax, however, our author's ſon, recovered the eclogues out of his father's looſe papers (*m*). Theſe eclogues were twelve in number, and were compoſed on important ſubjects, relating to the manners, characters, and incidents of the times. They were pointed with many fine ſtrokes of ſatire; dignified with wholeſome leſſons of morality and policy to thoſe of the higheſt ranks; and ſome modeſt hints were given even to Majeſty itſelf. With reſpect to poetry, they were entitled to high commendation; and the learning they contained was ſo various and extenſive, that, according to the evidence of his ſon, who wrote large annotations on each, no man's reading beſide the author's own was ſufficient to explain his references effectually. The fourth eclogue was printed, by Mrs. Cooper, in "The Muſes Library," publiſhed in 1737. It is ſomewhat extraordinary that the whole of them ſhould never have appeared in print. If they are ſtill in being, it might not, perhaps, be an unacceptable ſervice to give them to the public (*n*).

(*m*) Atterbury's Correſpondence, ubi ſupra, p. 258, 259, 262.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 269.

None of Fairfax's writings in proſe have ever been publiſhed. They moſt of them related to the controverſy of Religion with the Church of Rome, and are repreſented as having afforded ſignal proofs of his learning and judgment. The perſon with whom the controverſy was carried on was one John Dorrell, a Romiſh Prieſt of no ordinary fame, at that time a priſoner in the Caſtle of York. Between him and Mr. Fairfax a variety of letters paſſed, relative to the moſt diſtinguiſhed tenets of popery. A copy of our author's Treatiſe on Dæmonology is in the poſſeſſion of Iſaac Reed, Eſq. It is entituled, " A Diſcourſe of Witchcraft, as it was acted in the Family of Mr. Edward " Fairfax, of Fuyiſtone, in the county of York, in the year 1621." Fairfax left ſeveral children, ſons and daughters. William, his eldeſt ſon, before mentioned, was a ſcholar, and of the ſame temper with his father, but more cynical. He tranſlated Diogenes Laertius out of Greek into Engliſh (*o*). This gentleman was grammatical tutor to Mr. Stanley, the celebrated author of the Hiſtory of Philoſophy (*p*). It is aſſerted by Mrs. Cooper, that the greateſt part of that work, as well as the notes on Euripides, truly belonged to Mr. William Fairfax, though his modeſty and friendſhip declined the reputation of them (*q*). To ſuch vague aſſertions little regard, we apprehend, is to be paid. It was not Euripides, but Æſchylus, that was publiſhed by Mr. Stanley.]

(*o*) Ibid. p. 259, 260, 263, 267.

(*p*) Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſes, Vol. I. p. 284.

(*q*) Atterbury's Correſpondence, ubi ſupra, p. 267.

K.

40

Hear then my joy, my hope, my darling, hear,
High Heav'n ſome dire misfortune threatned hath,
Diſpleaſed pardie, becauſe I did thee lear
A lore, repugnant to thy parents faith;
Ah, for my ſake, this bold attempt forbear;
Put off theſe ſable arms, appeaſe thy wrath.
This ſaid, he wept, ſhe penſive ſtood and ſad,
Becauſe like dream her ſelf but lately had.

41

With cheerful ſmile ſhe anſwer'd him at laſt,
I will this faith obſerve, it ſeems me true,
Which from my cradle age thou taught me haſt;
I will not change it for religion new,
Nor with vain ſhews of fear and dread agaſt,
This enterprize forbear I to purſue,
No, not if death in his moſt dreadful face
Wherewith he ſcareth mankind, kept the place (*r*).

(*r*) Fairfax's "Godfrey of Bulloigne," p. 361-363. The octavo edition of 1687.

FAIRFAX (THOMAS, Lord), a very active man in the Parliament's ſervice during our unhappy civil wars in the laſt century, and at length General of their armies, was the eldeſt ſon of Ferdinando Lord Fairfax [*A*], by Mary his wife, daughter of Edmund Sheffield Earl of Mulgrave. He was born at Denton within the pariſh of Otley, in Yorkſhire, in January, 1611 (*a*). After a proper ſchool education, he ſtudied ſome time in St. John's College, in Cambridge, to which, in his latter days, he became a benefactor. He appears to have been a lover of learning, though he did not excel in any branch, except it was in the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Britain, as will appear in the ſequel. Being of a martial diſpoſition even in his younger years, but finding no employment at home, he went and ſerved in Holland as a volunteer under the command of Horatio Lord Vere [*B*], in order to learn the art of war (*b*). After ſome ſtay there (but how long we cannot learn) he came back to England; and, retiring to his father's houſe, married to Anne, fourth daughter of the ſaid Lord Vere. Here he contracted a ſtrong averſion for the Court; either by the inſtigation of his wife, who was a zealous Preſbyterian (*c*), or elſe by the perſuaſions and example of his father, who grew 'actively and factiouſly diſaffected to the King (*d*).' So that, upon his Majeſty's firſt endeavours to raiſe a guard at York for his own perſon; [apprehended then by the people of thoſe parts, and found quickly after, to be the beginning of an army;] he was entruſted by his party to prefer a petition to the King, beſeeching him to hearken to his Parliament, and not to take that courſe of raiſing forces; which petition the King endeavouring to ſhun, he preſſed with that inſtance, and followed him ſo with it, on Heyworth-moor, in the preſence of near 100,000 people, that at laſt he preſented it upon the pommel of his ſaddle (*e*). Shortly after, upon the actual breaking out of the civil wars, in 1642, his father having received a commiſſion from the Parliament to be General of the forces in the North, he had a commiſſion under him to be General of the Horſe (*f*). His firſt exploit was at Bradford in Yorkſhire, which he obliged a body of Royaliſts to quit, and to retire to Leeds. A few days after, he and Capt. Hotham, with ſome horſe and dragoons marching thither, the Royaliſts fled in haſte to York. And the former having advanced to Tadcaſter, reſolved to keep the paſs at Wetherby, for ſecuring the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, whence their chief ſupplies came. Sir Thomas Glemham attempted to diſlodge them thence; but, after a ſhort and ſharp encounter, retired (*g*). Whereupon William Cavendiſh Earl of Newcaſtle, and Henry Clifford Earl of Cumberland, united their forces at York, amounting to 9000 men (*h*), and reſolved to fall upon Tadcaſter: which being judged untenable, the Lord Fairfax, and his ſon Sir Thomas, drew out to an advantageous piece of ground near the town: but, after a ſix hours fight, were beaten, and withdrew in the night to Selby (*i*). Three days after, Sir Thomas marched in the night by ſeveral towns in which the Royaliſts lay, and came to Bradford, where he entrenched himſelf. But having too many ſoldiers to lie idle, and too few to be upon conſtant duty [*C*], he reſolved to attempt his enemies in their garriſons. Accordingly, coming before Leeds, he carried that town (Jan. 23, 1642-3) after a hot diſpute, wherein a good ſtore of ammunition fell into his hands, of which he ſtood in great want (*k*). Next

(*a*) A. Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. edit. 1721, col. 86.

(*b*) Ibid & Anglia Rediviva; England's Recovery, &c. by Joſhua Sprigge, fol. Lond. 1647, p. 7.

(*c*) Memoirs of Edm. Ludlow, edit 1698, Vol. I. p. 314.

(*d*) The Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. edit 1732, 8vo. Vol. II. p. 718.

(*e*) Sprigge, p. 8.

(*f*) Short Memorials of Tho. Lord Fairfax, Lond. 1699, 8vo, p. 96.

(*g*) Ib. p. 2-8.

(*h*) The Commons War of England, &c. Lond. 1662, 8vo. p. 12.

(*i*) Memorials, as above, p. 4-13.

(*k*) Ibid. p 17.

[*A*] *Was the eldeſt ſon of Ferdinando Lord Fairfax.*] The Heralds, according to their uſual flattering ſtrain, trace up this family's pedigree even higher than the Norman Conqueſt; telling us, that it was at that time ſeated at Touceſter in Northumberland, whence they removed into Yorkſhire (*). But it is a great queſtion, whether ſurnames were thus early taken from perſons complexions; as this of Fairfax, ſignifying *fair locks*, from *fair*, and the Saxon ꝑeax, hair: and the family ſeems to have had no notion of this derivation, when they took for their motto this rebus or pun, viz. the Latin words *Fare fac*, ſay, do—But to return; Sir William Fairfax was High Sheriff of Yorkſhire in the 26th and 31ſt of King Henry VIII. and Thomas, his grandſon, was advanced by King Charles I. May 4. 1627. to the title of Baron Cameron in Scotland (1). This Thomas Lord Fairfax married Helen, daughter to Robert Aſk, Eſq. and by her left five ſons and two daughters. Ferdinando, the eldeſt, was entirely attached to the Parliament (2); one of their committee for the country of York (3); and General of their forces in Yorkſhire, and the adjacent counties (4). He ſerved them with the utmoſt zeal, upon every occaſion, till his death, which happened at York, March 13, 1647-8 (5). By his wife, Mary, daughter of Edmund Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, as above related, he had three ſons; Sir Thomas, who is the ſubject of this article; Charles, ſlain at the battle of Marſton-moor, July 3, 1644; and another, not mentioned by name. Alſo ſix daughters (6). This family, as Mr. Whitelock informs us (7), was deſcended from the law.

(*) British Compendium, for Scotland, by F. Nichols, ed. 1729, p. 451.

(1) Compend. ib. and Camden's Britan. edit. 1722, Vol. II. col. 1189.

(2) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, Vol. III. p. 138.

(3) Id. Vol. II. p. 515.

(4) Id. Vol. III. p. 142.

(5) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 296.

(6) Compendium, ubi ſupra.

(7) Memorials, p. 66.

[*B*] *Under the command of Horatio Lord Vere.*] This Horatio, was fourth ſon of John de Vere, the fifteenth Earl of Oxford, of that noble family: and, by King Charles I. ann. 1625, was advanced to the title of Lord Vere of Tilbury (8). He long ſerved in Holland, with great valour and reputation, jointly with his brother the brave Sir Francis Vere, Governor of the Briel. In 1620, Sir Horatio commanded the regiment ſent from England to the aſſiſtance of the Elector Palatine (9): and, afterwards, was employed in ſeveral other expeditions in the Netherlands. About the year 1632, or 1633, Sir Thomas Fairfax ſerved as a volunteer under him; and was at the conſiderable action of taking Boſch, or Bois-le-Duc, from the Spaniards, but had no command while he was there. He returned to England in 1634, or 1635 (10).

(8) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 199.

(9) Ar. Wilſon's Hiſt. of King James I. under 1620.

(10) Wood, as above, col. 86.

[*C*] *And too few to be upon conſtant duty.*] According to his own account, he had but three troops of horſe, and about eight hundred foot; but, upon ſummoning the country, he made up the latter twelve or thirteen hundred (11). Whilſt he lay at Selby, he went and beat up a quarter of the Royaliſts at Sherburne, and took Major-general Windham, and others, priſoners; but, in this attempt, his horſe was ſhot under him (12).

(11) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 12, 15.

(12) Ibid, p. 18, &c.

he defeated a party of 700 horſe and foot at Giſborough, under the command of Col. Slingſby (*l*). And then Wakefield and Doncaſter yielded themſelves to the Parliament. But, for theſe overt acts, William Earl of Newcaſtle, the King's General, proclaimed Sir Thomas and his father traitors, and the Parliament did the like for the Earl (*m*). In the mean time, the Lord Fairfax, being denied ſuccour from Hull and the Eaſt Riding, was forced to forſake Selby, and retire to Leeds: of which the Earl of Newcaſtle having intelligence, he lay with his army on Clifford-moor, to intercept him in his way to Leeds. Whereupon Sir Thomas was ordered, by his father, to bring what men he could to join with him at Sherburne, on purpoſe to ſecure his retreat. To amuſe the Earl, Sir Thomas made a diverſion at Tadcaſter, which the garriſon immediately quitted, and whereof he ſlighted the works. But the Lord Goring marching to its relief, with twenty troops of horſe and dragoons, defeated Sir Thomas upon Bramham-moor: who alſo received a ſecond defeat upon Seacroft-moor, where ſome of his men were ſlain, and many taken priſoners. So that he made his retreat with much difficulty to Leeds, about an hour after his father was ſafely come thither. And, according to him, this was one of the greateſt loſſes he ever received (*n*). Leeds and Bradford being all the garriſons the Parliament had in the North, Sir Thomas thought it neceſſary to poſſeſs ſome other place: therefore with about 1100 horſe and foot, he drove, on the 21ſt of May, the Royaliſts out of Wakefield, which they had ſeized again; and took 1400 priſoners, 80 officers, and great ſtore of ammunition (*o*). But, ſhortly after, the Earl of Newcaſtle coming to beſiege Bradford, and Sir Thomas and his father having the boldneſs, with about 3000 men, to go and attack his whole army, which conſiſted of 10,000, on Adderton-moor; they were entirely routed by the Earl, on the 30th of June (*p*), with a conſiderable loſs [*D*]. Upon that, Halifax and Beverly being abandoned by the Parliamentarians, and the Lord Fairfax having neither a place of ſtrength do defend himſelf in, nor a garriſon in Yorkſhire to retire to [*E*], withdrew the ſame night to Leeds, to ſecure that town. But, by his order, Sir Thomas ſtayed in Bradford with 800 foot, and 60 horſe; wherein being ſurrounded, he was obliged to force his way through: in which deſperate attempt, his lady, and many others, were taken priſoners [*F*]. At his coming to Leeds, he found things in great diſtraction; the Council of War having reſolved to quit the town, and retreat to Hull, which was ſixty miles off; with many of the King's garriſons in the way. However, though there were fifty or ſixty troops of Royaliſts within three miles of Leeds, he got ſafely to Selby, where there was a ferry, and hard by one of the Parliament's garriſons at Cawood (*q*). Immediately after his coming to Selby, being attacked by a party of horſe which purſued him, he received a ſhot in the wriſt of his left arm, which made the bridle fall out of his hand; and being among the nerves and veins, ſuddenly let out ſuch a quantity of blood, that he was ready to fall from his horſe. But, taking the reins in the other hand in which he had his ſword, he withdrew himſelf out of the crowd [*G*]; and after

(*l*) The Commons War, p. 24.

(*m*) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 66. Heath's Chron. edit. 1676, fol. p. 43.

(*n*) His Memorials, as above, p. 22-27.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 28-34.

(*p*) Heath's Chron. p. 47. and Memorials.

(*q*) Memorials, p. 34-53.

[*D*] *With a conſiderable loſs.*] Two thouſand were killed and taken; and the next day two thouſand priſoners were made at the taking of the town (13).

(13) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars, by T. Hobbes, Lond. 1679, 8vo p. 177.

[*E*] *Nor a garriſon in Yorkſhire to retire to.*] For, Sir John Hotham, the Governor of Hull, had declared, if they were forced to retreat thither, he would ſhut the gates on them. Whilſt the Lord Fairfax was muſing on theſe ſad thoughts, a meſſenger was ſent unto him, from Hull, to let him know the townſmen had ſecured the Governor; that they were ſenſible of the danger he was in, and, if he had any occaſion to make uſe of that place, he ſhould be very readily and gladly received there (14).

(14) Memorials of Lord Fairfax, as above, p. 44, 45. See alſo, p. 22.

[*F*] *In which deſperate attempt, his lady, and many others, were taken priſoners.*] As we learn from his own memorials, in the following words:—'I muſt 'not here forget my wife, who ran the ſame hazard 'with us in this retreat, and with as little expreſſion 'of fear; not from any zeal, or delight, in the war, 'but through a willing and patient ſuffering of this 'undeſirable condition. I ſent two or three horſemen before, to diſcover what they could of the enemy, who preſently returned, and told us there was 'a guard of horſe cloſe by us.———I, with ſome '12 more, charged them. Sir Henry Fowles, Major-General Gefford, myſelf, and three more, brake 'through. Capt. Mudd was ſlain, and the reſt of our 'horſe being cloſe by, the enemy fell upon them, and 'ſoon routed them, taking moſt of them priſoners, 'among whom was my wife, the Officer, Will. Hill, 'behind whom ſhe rid, being taken. I ſaw this diſaſter, but could give no relief; for, after I was got 'through, I was in the enemies rear alone; thoſe, who 'had charged through with me, went on to Leeds, 'thinking I had done ſo too: but I was unwilling to 'leave my company, and ſtayed till I ſaw there was 'no more in my power to do, but to be taken priſoner with them. I then retired to Leeds (15).'

(15) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 49. 50.

[*G*] *He withdrew himſelf out of the crowd.*] Theſe additional circumſtances, from his own account, may not be unacceptable to the reader. '———The ene-'my minding nothing ſo much as how to get away, 'I drew myſelf out of the crowd, and came to our 'men, who turned about, and ſeeing me ready to 'fall from my horſe, they laid me on the ground: 'now, when I was almoſt ſenſeleſs, my ſurgeon came 'ſeaſonably, and bound up the wound, and ſtopt the 'bleeding. After a quarter of an hour's reſt, I got 'a horſeback again; the other part of our horſe had 'beaten the enemy back to Cawood, the ſame way 'they came firſt to us. Thus, by the goodneſs of 'God, our paſſage was made clear; ſome went over 'the ferry after my father; I myſelf, with others, went 'through the levels to Hull.———I had been twenty 'hours on horſeback, after I was ſhot, without any 'reſt or refreſhment, and as many hours before. And 'as a farther affliction, my daughter [afterwards 'Ducheſs of Buckingham] not above five years old, 'being carried before her maid, endured all this re-'treat a horſeback; but, nature not being able to hold 'out any longer, ſhe fell into frequent ſwoonings, and 'in appearance was ready to expire her laſt. Having 'now paſſed the Trent, and ſeeing a houſe not far 'off, I ſent her, with her maid only, thither, with 'little hopes of ſeeing her any more alive, though I 'intended the next day to ſend a ſhip from Hull for 'her.

after a very troubleſome and dangerous paſſage (being often attacked, ſometimes in the front, ſometimes in the rear), he came to Hull (*r*). Upon theſe repeated diſaſters, the Scots were haſtily ſolicited to ſend 20,000 men to the aſſiſtance of the Parliamentarians, who were thus likely to be overpowered. The Lord Fairfax, after his coming to Hull, made it his firſt buſineſs to raiſe new forces, and, in a ſhort time, had about 1500 foot, and 700 horſe. The town being little, Sir Thomas was ſent to Beverly, with the horſe and 600 foot: for, the Marquis of Newcaſtle (*s*) looking upon them as inconſiderable, and leaving only a few garriſons, was marched with his whole army into Lincolnſhire; having orders to go into Eſſex, and block up London on that ſide. But he was haſtily recalled Northward, upon the Lord Fairfax's ſending out a large party to make an attempt upon Stanford-bridge near York. The Marquis, at his return into Yorkſhire, firſt diſlodged, from Beverly, Sir Thomas, who retreated into Hull, to which the Marquis laid ſiege; but could not carry the place. During the ſiege, the horſe being uſeleſs, and many dying every day, Sir Thomas was ſent with them over into Lincolnſhire, to join the Earl of Mancheſter's forces, then commanded by Major-General Cromwell (*t*). At Horncaſtle, or Winſby, they routed a party of 5000 men, commanded by Sir John Henderſon: and, at the ſame time, the beſieged in Hull making a ſally upon the beſiegers, obliged them to retire. Theſe two defeats together, the one falling heavy upon the horſe, the other upon the foot, kept the Royaliſts all that winter from attempting any thing; and the Parliamentarians, after the taking of Lincoln, ſettled themſelves in winter-quarters (*u*). But Sir Thomas had not long the benefit of them; for, in the coldeſt ſeaſon of the year, he was commanded by the Parliament to go and raiſe the ſiege of Nantwich in Cheſhire, which the Lord Byron, with an army from Ireland, had reduced to great extremity. He ſet forward from Lincolnſhire, December 29, and, being joined by Sir William Brereton, entirely routed, on the 21ſt of January, the Lord Byron, who was drawn out to meet them (*w*) [*H*]. After that, they took in ſeveral garriſons in Cheſhire, particularly Crew-houſe, &c. (*x*). Sir Thomas, having ſtayed in thoſe parts till the middle of March, was ordered back by his father into Yorkſhire, that by the conjunction of their forces he might be abler to take the field. They met about Ferry-bridge; and Col. Bellaſis, Governor of York, having advanced to Selby to hinder their junction, they found means, notwithſtanding, to join, and entirely defeated him, on the 11th of April, 1644 (*y*) [*I*]. This good ſucceſs rendered Sir Thomas maſter of the field in Yorkſhire, and nothing then hindered him from marching into Northumberland, as he had been ordered by the Parliament to join the Scots, which were kept from advancing Southward by the ſuperior forces of the Marquis of Newcaſtle, quartered at Durham. But that ſtroke having thrown York into the utmoſt diſtraction, the inhabitants ſpeedily ſent to the Marquis to haſte back thither; by which means a way was left open for the Scots, who, with cold, and frequent alarms, were reduced to great extremity. They joined the Lord Fairfax at Wetherby, on the 20th of April, and, marching on to York, laid ſiege to that city [*K*], wherein

(*r*) Ibid. p. 52-56.

(*s*) He was created Marquis, Oct. 27, 1643. Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 421.

(*t*) Memorials, as above, p. 59-65; and Whitelock, p. 75.

(*u*) Memorials, as above, p. 66-69.

(*w*) Ib. p. 69-76. Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. V. p. 302. Whitelock, p. 81.

(*x*) Ibid.

(*y*) Memorials, p. 76-79. Whitelock, p. 86.

'her. I went on to Barton, having ſent before to 'have a ſhip ready againſt my coming thither. Here 'I lay down to take a little reſt, if it were poſſible 'to find any in a body ſo full of pain, and a mind 'yet fuller of anxiety and trouble. Though I muſt 'acknowledge it as the infinite goodneſs of God, that 'my ſpirit was nothing at all diſcouraged from doing 'ſtill that which I thought to be my duty. I had 'not reſted a quarter of an hour, before the enemy 'came cloſe to the town. I had now not above a 'hundred horſe with me: we went to the ſhip, where 'under the ſecurity of her ordnance we got all our 'men and horſe aboard; and, croſſing Humber, we 'arrived at Hull, our men faint and tired. I myſelf 'had loſt all, even to my ſhirt; for, my cloaths were 'made unfit to wear with rents and blood. Preſently 'after my coming to Hull, I ſent a ſhip for my daughter, who was brought the next day to the town, 'pretty well recovered of her long and tedious journey. Not many days after, the Earl of Newcaſtle 'ſent my wife back again in his coach, with ſome 'horſe to guard her; which generous act of his gained 'him more reputation than he could have got by 'detaining a lady priſoner upon ſuch terms (16).'

(16) Memorials, p. 54, &c.

[*H*] *Entirely routed, on the 21ſt of January, the Lord Byron, who was drawn out to meet them.*] His army of Iriſh conſiſted of 3000 foot, of whom above 2000 were ſlain or taken priſoners; and, of 1800 horſe, moſt of whom eſcaped by flight. Col. George Monk, then in the King's ſervice, being taken in this action, was ſent up priſoner to the Tower of London, where he remained till 1647, when he entered into the Parliament's ſervice, for the reduction of Ireland. And his great bravery in that kingdom was the cauſe of his ſucceeding advancement (17).

(17) Memorials, p. 69, &c. Whitelock, p. 81. Ruſhworth, Vol. V. p. 302; and Life of General Monk, by T. Skinner, M. D. edit. 1724, 8vo. ch. ii.

[*I*] *They found means, notwithſtanding, to join, and entirely defeated him, &c.*] The Lord Fairfax took a great compaſs about, to deceive the vigilance of the Royaliſts, and by that means joined his ſon (18). Their attack was in three diviſions; the firſt led on by the Lord Fairfax himſelf; the next by Sir John Meldrum; and the third by Col. Bright, brother-in-law to Col. Lambert: Sir Thomas Fairfax led on the horſe. The matter was a long time diſputed with equality on both ſides, till the horſe forced a paſſage into the town, where the following priſoners were taken; 2 Colonels, 3 Lieutenant-Colonels, 1 Major of horſe, and 3 of foot; 8 Captains of horſe, 11 Captains of foot, 3 Captain-Lieutenants, 3 Lieutenants of horſe, 23 Lieutenants of foot, 12 Enſigns, 6 Cornets of horſe, 4 Quarter-maſters; above 60 Serjeants, Trumpets, &c. 1600 common Soldiers; 2000 arms, and above; and all the bag and baggage (19).

(18) Ruſhworth, Vol. V. p. 618.

[*K*] *Laid ſiege to that city.*] During the ſiege, St. Mary's Tower, wherein many foundation-charters and other grants relating to the Monaſteries, in Yorkſhire, and other Northern counties were depoſited, being accidentally blown up; Sir Thomas recovered as many of theſe valuable pieces as he could, rewarding very generouſly ſuch ſoldiers as brought any of them to him. He had before employed Roger Dodſworth, to copy out great numbers of them, allowing him an annuity of 40*l. per annum* during his life; by which means they were preſerved from irrecoverable ruin, and make a very conſiderable part of the *Monaſticon Angli-*

(19) From the account then printed by authority.

wherein the Marquis of Newcaſtle had ſhut himſelf up (z), being cloſely purſued, on the way thither, by Sir Thomas, and Major-General Deſley (a). And, when Prince Rupert was advancing out of Lancaſhire to the relief of that place, they marched with 6000 horſe and dragoons, and 5000 foot, to ſtop his progreſs (b): but he, eluding their vigilance, and fetching a compaſs about with his army, which conſiſted of above 20,000 men, got into York (c). Whereupon the Parliamentarians raiſed the ſiege, and retired to Heſſey-moor. The Engliſh were for fighting, and the Scots for retreating; which laſt opinion prevailing, they both marched away to Tadcaſter (d), there being great differences and jealouſies between the two nations. But the raſh and haughty Prince, inſtead of haraſſing and wearing them out by prudent delays, reſolved, without conſulting the Marquis of Newcaſtle, or any of his officers, to engage them, on Marſton-moor eight miles from York, on the 2d of July: where that bloody battle was fought which entirely ruined the King's affairs in the North (e). In this battle, Sir Thomas Fairfax commanded the right wing of the horſe [L]. The Prince, after his defeat, retiring towards Lancaſhire, and the Marquis, in diſcontent, ſailing away to Hamburgh (f), the three Parliaments-General came and ſat down again before York, which ſurrendered the 15th of July: and the North was now wholly reduced by the Parliament's forces, except ſome garriſons (g). In September following, Sir Thomas was ſent to take Helmeſley-caſtle, where he received a dangerous ſhot in one of his ſhoulders, and was brought back to York, all being doubtful of his recovery for ſome time (h). Some time after, he was near being killed by a cannon-ſhot before Pomfret-caſtle [M].

(z) Memorials, p. 77, 78, 79, 80.
(a) Whitelock, p. 87.
(b) Ib. p. 92.
(c) Ib. p. 93.
(d) Memorials, as above, p. 82, 83.
(e) Ib. p. 82, &c. and Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. edit. 1732, 8vo, Vol. IV. p. 503, &c.
(f) Lord Clarendon, ibid.
(g) Memorials, p. 89. Whitelock, p. 95.
(h) Ibid.

Hitherto he had acquitted himſelf with undaunted bravery, and with great and deſerved applauſe from his party. Had he ſtopped here, or at ſuch times at leaſt as the King's conceſſions were in reaſon and equity a juſt ground for peace (which was more than once), he might have been honourably ranked amongſt the reſt of thoſe Patriots, who took up arms only for the redreſs of grievances. But his boundleſs ambition, and his great deſire to rule, made him weakly engage, with the utmoſt zeal, in the worſt and moſt exceptionable parts of our unhappy Civil Wars. For, when the Parliamentarians thought fit to new-model their army, and to lay aſide the honeſt but unſucceſsful Robert Devereux, Earl of Eſſex; they unanimouſly voted Sir Thomas Fairfax to be their General in his room; and he, being eaſy, and forward to undertake or execute any thing that he was put upon, was the more readily choſen by the two then prevailing parties of Preſbyterians and Independants. To him Oliver Cromwell was joined with the title of Lieutenant-General, but with intention of being his governor (i); and he was indeed the ſpring of all his ſucceeding motions. Sir Thomas, being thus voted Commander in Chief of the Parliament's army on the 21ſt of January, 1644-5 (k), received orders from the Parliament ſpeedily to come up from the North to London (l). Accordingly he repaired privately thither, Feb. 18, and, the next day, was brought by four of the members into the Houſe of Commons, where he was highly complimented by the Speaker, and received his commiſſion of General (m). The 15th of the ſame month, an Ordinance was made, for raiſing and maintaining of forces under his command [N]: it having been voted, a few days before, that he ſhould nominate all the commanders in his army, to be taken out of any of the other armies, with the approbation of both Houſes (n). March 25, the Parliament ordered him 1500l. (o). The 3d of April, he went from London to Windſor, where he appointed the general rendezvous: and continued there till the laſt day of that month, new-framing and modelling the army: or rather Cromwell doing it in his name. For, as Mr. Rapin well obſerves (p), Cromwell had ſuch an influence over him, that he made him do whatever he pleaſed. April 16, he was appointed, by both Houſes, Governor of Hull (q). In the mean time, Taunton, in Somerſetſhire, one of the Parliament's garriſons, being cloſely beſieged by the Royaliſts, Sir Thomas Fairfax received orders to haſten to its relief, with 8000 horſe and foot (r). He began his March,

(i) Elenchus Motuum, autore G. Bates, edit. 1676, p. 67, 68.
(k) The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer, No. 89.
(l) Whitelock, p. 128.
(m) Ib. p. 132.
(n) Ib. p. 130, 136.
(o) Ib. p. 138.
(p) Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. edit. 1733, fol. p. 516.
(q) Whitelock, p. 142.
(r) Ib. p. 144.

*Anglicanum.* All the ſaid Dodſworth's collections and MSS. amounting in the whole to 122 volumes, were afterwards bequeathed by the Lord Fairfax to the Bodleian Library at Oxford (20).

(20) Wood, Faſt. Vol. II. col. 11, 14, 15. See alſo the article DUGDALE (Sir WILLIAM).

[L] *In this battle, Sir Thomas Fairfax commanded the right wing of the horſe.*] This right wing of horſe, which conſiſted of Sir Thomas Fairfax's troops in the van, and of the Scotch cavalry in the rear, (againſt which the Prince had a more peculiar indignation,) was, at the firſt onſet of the King's left wing of horſe, put to rout; the Royaliſts following them in the purſuit ſo far (as it was their unhappy cuſtom) that thereby they became the overthrow of their own army (21).

(21) Heath's Chron. p. 59.

[M] *He was near being killed, &c.*] This we learn from Mr. Whitelock, in theſe words. 'Sir Thomas 'Fairfax and Colonel Forbes ſtanding together near 'Pomfret-caſtle, a cannon bullet from thence came 'betwixt them, and the wind of it beat them both 'to the ground, and put out one of Col. Forbes's 'eyes, and ſpoiled that ſide of his face, and yet no 'other hurt to Sir Thomas Fairfax (22).'

(22) Whitelock, p. 124.

[N] *An Ordinance was made, for raiſing and maintaining of the forces under his command.*] This Ordinance imported, that there ſhould be forthwith raiſed and formed, for the defence of the King and Parliament, the true Proteſtant Religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom, an army conſiſting of 6000 horſe to be diſtributed into eleven regiments; and of 1000 dragooniers, to be diſtributed into ten companies; and of 14400 foot, to be diſtributed into twelve regiments, each regiment of foot to conſiſt of twelve hundred, and each ſuch regiment to be diſtributed into ten companies. For their maintenance, there was impoſed, upon nineteen of the counties and cities in England, the monthly ſum of fifty-three thouſand four hundred and fifty-ſix pounds; which was raiſed in the ſame manner as our preſent Land-tax (23).

(23) Collection of all the publique Orders, &c. Printed for Edw. Huſband, Lond. 1646, fol. p. 599.

May

May 1, and by the 7th had reached Blandford in Dorſetſhire (*s*): but, the King taking the field from Oxford, with ſtrong reinforcements brought by the Princes Rupert and Maurice, Sir Thomas was ordered by the Parliament to ſend 3000 foot and 1500 horſe to relieve Taunton, and himſelf to return, with the reſt of his forces, to join Oliver Cromwell and Major-General Browne, and attend the King's motions (*t*). The 14th of May he was come back as far as Newbury (*u*); where having reſted three nights, he went and faced Dennington-caſtle, and took a few priſoners. Thence he proceeded to lay ſiege to Oxford, as he was directed by the Committee of both kingdoms, and ſat down before it the 22d. But, before he had made any progreſs in this ſiege, he received orders to draw near the King, who had taken Leiceſter by ſtorm, May 31, and was threatening the eaſtern aſſociated counties (*w*). Sir Thomas therefore riſing from before Oxford, June 5, arrived the ſame day at Marſh-Gibbon, in Buckinghamſhire; on the 11th he was at Wootton, and the next day at Gilſborough, in Northamptonſhire: where he kept his head-quarters till the 14th, when he engaged the King's forces, at the fatal and deciſive battle of Naſeby [*O*], and obtained a complete victory (*x*). The King, after that, retiring into Wales, Sir Thomas went and laid ſiege on the 16th to Leiceſter, which ſurrendered on the 18th (*y*). He proceeded, on the 22d, to Warwick; and thence (with a diſpoſition either to go over the Severn towards the King, or to move Weſtward as he ſhould be ordered) he marched on through Glouceſterſhire towards Marlborough, where he arrived the 28th (*z*). And here he received orders from the Parliament, to haſten to the relief of Taunton, which was beſieged again by the Royaliſts; letters being ſent at the ſame time into the aſſociated counties for recruits, and the arrears of pay for his army (*a*). But, July 2, upon his coming to Blandford, he was informed, that the Lord Goring had drawn off his horſe from before Taunton, and left his foot in the paſſage to block up that place, marching himſelf with the horſe towards Langport (*b*). Sir Thomas Fairfax, therefore, advancing againſt him, defeated him there on the 10th of July (*c*); and, the next day, went and ſummoned Bridgewater, which was taken by ſtorm on the 22d (*d*). He became alſo maſter of Bath the 30th of the ſame month; and then laid cloſe ſiege to Sherborne-caſtle, which was likewiſe taken by ſtorm Auguſt 15. And, having beſieged the rich and famous city of Briſtol from the 22d of Auguſt to the 10th of September [*P*], it was ſurrendered to him by Prince Rupert (*e*); at which the King was ſo exceſſively angry [*Q*], that he ordered the Prince to go and ſeek his ſubſiſtence ſomewhere beyond ſea (*f*). After this laborious expedition, the General reſted ſome days at Bath, having ſent out parties to reduce the caſtles of the Deviſes and Berkley, and other garriſons between the Weſt and London; and on the 23d moved from Bath to the Deviſes, and thence to Warminſter on the 27th, where he ſtayed till October 8, when he went to Lyme in Dorſetſhire (*g*). From this place he came to Tiverton, of which he became maſter on the 19th (*h*); and then, as he could not undertake a formal ſiege in the winter ſeaſon, he blocked up the ſtrong city of Exeter, which did not ſurrender till the 13th of April following (*i*): in the mean time, he took Dartmouth by ſtorm, January 18, 1645-6 (*k*); and ſeveral forts and garriſons at

(*s*) Sprigge, ubi ſupra, p. 15.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 17. and Whitelock, p. 145.

(*u*) Sprigge, p. 19.

(*w*) Ibid. p 21. and Whitelock, p. 149, 147. Memorable occurrences, at the end of *Mercurius Ruſticus*.

(*x*) Sprigge, p. 33, &c.

(*y*) Ib. p. 48,49.

(*z*) Ib. p. 55.

(*a*) Whitelock, p. 153.

(*b*) Idem. p. 155; and Sprigge, p. 57, 60.

(*c*) Sprigge, p. 64, &c. Whitelock, p. 158, 159.

(*d*) Sprigge, p. 66, &c. Whitelock, p. 161, 162, 166.

(*e*) Sprigge, p. 76-120.

(*f*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. IV. p. 694.

(*g*) Sprigge, p. 124, 127, 128.

(*h*) Ib. p. 134, 144.

(*i*) Ib. p. 146, &c.

(*k*) Ib. p. 167; and Whitelock, p. 189.

[*O*] *When he engaged the King's forces, at the fatal and deciſive battle of Naſeby.*] As I am not writing a hiſtory of England, I ſhall not enter into the particulars of this battle, but only take notice of the ſhare Sir Thomas Fairfax had in it. He commanded the main body of foot; and behaved with uncommon valour and bravery (24). During the engagement, having had his helmet beat off, he rode bareheaded up and down from one part of his army to another, to ſee how they ſtood, and what advantage might be gained: and, coming up to his own life-guard, commanded by Col. Charles Doyley, he was told by him, that he expoſed himſelf to too much danger, and the whole army thereby, riding bareheaded in the fields, and ſo many bullets flying about him; and Doyley offered the General his helmet, but he refuſed it, ſaying, 'It is well enough, Charles (25).'——This viſible indifference appears in the encouragement given to the two contending parties, which may account for their different ſucceſs almoſt in every battle. The King's forces fought for him, not for themſelves; and both officers and ſoldiers were in general negligent and unfaithful in their duty (26). But the Parliamentarian ſoldiers fought for themſelves, for booty and plunder, at leaſt for very great rewards, and could not but mend their fortunes by fiſhing in troubled waters; no wonder therefore that they fought with ſo much fury and reſolution.

(24) Sprigge, p. 33, &c.

(25) Whitelock, p. 151.

(26) Clarendon, Vol. IV. p. 729.

[*P*] *And having beſieged the rich and famous city of Briſtol from the 22d of Auguſt to the 10th of September.*] Sir Thomas Fairfax, in his firſt ſummons to Prince Rupert, has theſe remarkable words; which are ſubmitted to the reader's conſideration.—— 'Sir, 'the Crown of England is and will be where it ought 'to be; we fight to maintain it there. But the King, 'miſled by evil counſellors, or through a ſeduced 'heart, hath left his Parliament, under God, the 'beſt aſſurance of his crown and family: the main-'taining of this ſchiſme is the ground of this unhappy 'war on your part: and what ſad effects it hath pro-'duced in the three kingdomes is viſible to all men. 'To maintain the rights of the crown and kingdom 'jointly; a principal part whereof is, that the King 'in ſupream acts is not to be adviſed by men of whom 'the law takes no notice, but by his Parliament, the 'great counſel of the kingdom, in whom (as much 'as man is capable of) he hears all his people as it 'were at once adviſing him, and in which multitude 'of councellours lyes his ſafety, and his peoples inte-'reſt; and, to ſee him right in this, hath been the 'conſtant and faithfull endeavour of the Parliament. 'And to bring theſe wicked inſtruments to juſtice that 'have miſled him is a principal ground of our fight-'ing (27).'—But, from theſe plauſible and righteous ſentiments, Sir Thomas ſeems to have departed afterwards.

(27) Sprigge, p. 98.

[*Q*] *At which the King was ſo exceſſively angry.*] And the more, as the Prince, in a letter to his Majeſty of the 12th of Auguſt, had aſſured him, 'that, 'if no mutiny happened, he would keep Briſtol for 'four months (28).'

(28) Clarendon, ibid.

different times. Feb. 16, he defeated the Lord Hopton near Torrington (*l*) [*R*]. This Nobleman retreating with his broken forces into Cornwall, Sir Thomas followed him: in purſuit of whom he came to Launceſton Feb. 25, and to Bodmin March 2. On the 4th, Mount Edgecombe was ſurrendered to him; and Fowey about the ſame time (*m*). At laſt the Parliament army approaching Truro, where Lord Hopton had his head-quarters; and he being ſo hemmed in as to remain without a poſſibility of eſcaping; Sir Thomas, on the 5th of March, ſent and offered him honourable terms, if he would capitulate [*S*]. After ſome delays and difficulties, the Lord Hopton accepted of them: and a treaty was ſigned by Commiſſioners on both ſides, March 14; in purſuance of which, the Royaliſts, conſiſting of above 5000 horſe, were diſbanded; and took an oath never to bear arms againſt the Parliament (*n*). But, before the treaty was ſigned, the Lord Hopton, and Arthur Lord Capel, retired to Scilly, whence they paſſed into Jerſey, April 17, with Charles Prince of Wales, Sir Edward Hyde, and other perſons of diſtinction (*o*). Thus the King's army in the Weſt being entirely diſperſed by the vigilance and wonderful ſucceſs of General Fairfax, he returned, March 31, to the ſiege of Exeter, which ſurrendered to him upon articles, the 13th of April, as I have already obſerved (*p*): and with the taking of this city ended our General's weſtern expedition. Having entirely ſubdued thoſe parts, which were the greateſt ſtrength and almoſt the only refuge of the Royaliſts, he marched, with wonderful ſpeed (*q*), towards Oxford, the moſt conſiderable garriſon remaining in the King's hands. Setting out therefore from Exeter April 16, he came, on the 1ſt of May, with his army before that city, and began to lay ſiege to it (*r*). The King, who was there, afraid of being encloſed, privately, and in diſguiſe, departed thence on the 27th of April; and, May 4, put himſelf into the hands of the treacherous Scots (*s*). Oxford ſurrendered upon articles, June 24 [*T*], as did Wallingford, July 22 (*t*). After the reduction of theſe places, Sir Thomas went and beſieged Ragland-caſtle, in Monmouthſhire, the property of Henry Somerſet, Marquis of Worceſter, which yielded Aug. 19 (*u*). And thus, before Michaelmas 1646, the unhappy King Charles I. had neither army nor fortreſs left in England. The next employment required of the General, was to diſband Major-General Maſſey's brigade, which he did at the Deviſes. About that time he was ſeized with a violent fit of the ſtone, under which he laboured many days. As ſoon as he was recovered, he took a journey to London; where he arrived November 12, being met ſome miles off by great crowds of people, and the city militia. The next day, both Houſes of Parliament agreed to congratulate his coming to town, and to give him thanks for his faithful ſervices and wiſe conduct [*U*]: which they did the day following, waiting upon him at his houſe in Queen-

(*l*) Sprigge, p. 184, &c. and Whitelock, p. 192, 193.

(*m*) Sprigge, p. 203.

(*n*) Sprigge, p. 205-229. Whitelock, p. 198, 199.

(*o*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 734; and Vol. V. p. 2, 4.

(*p*) Sprigge, p. 233-244.

(*q*) Whitelock, p. 201.

(*r*) Sprigge, p. 245, &c.

(*s*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 22. T. Hobbes, as above, p. 185.

(*t*) Sprigge, p. 260-290. Whitelock, p. 210.

(*u*) Sprigge, p. 291-330.

[*R*] *February* 16, *he defeated the Lord Hopton near Torrington.*] And, as a reward for his great ſervice, on the 24th of February, the Parliament ordered fifty thouſand pounds for his army, out of the exciſe (29).

(29) Whitelock, p. 194.

[*S*] *Sir Thomas Fairfax, on the* 5*th of March, ſent and offered him, honourable terms, if he would capitulate.*] Namely, 'To the ſouldiery in general, Engliſh and Forreigners, liberty either to go beyond ſea, or to their homes in England, as they pleaſed; and, to ſuch Engliſh as ſhould chooſe to live at home, his protection for the liberty of their perſons, and for the immunity of their eſtates from all plunder or violence of ſouldiers, and all to go their wayes with what they had, ſaving horſes and armes; but for officers in commiſſion and gentlemen of quality, he ſhould allow them to go with horſes for themſelves and one ſervant or more, ſuitable to their quality, and with armies befitting gentlemen in a condition of peace; and ſuch officers as would goe beyond ſea for other ſervice, to take with them their armes and full number of horſes anſwerable to their offices. To all troopers and inferiour ſort of their horſe-officers bringing in and delivering up of their horſes to carry armes, 20*s.* a man, in lieu of their horſes, to carry them home: to Engliſh gentlemen of conſiderable eſtates, his paſſe and recommendation to the Parliament for their moderate compoſition (30).'

(30) Sprigge, p. 205, 206.

[*T*] *Oxford ſurrendered upon articles, June* 24.] And at that juncture, Sir Thomas expreſſed his regard to learning, by agreeing, in the 14th article of the ſurrender, 'That the Chancellour, Maſters and Schollers of the Univerſity of Oxon, and the Governours and Students of Chriſt-Church, and all other Heads and Governours, Maſters, Fellowes and Schollers of the Colleges, Hals, &c. of the ſame Univerſity, and the publick Profeſſors and Readers, and the Orator thereof, and all other perſons belonging to the ſaid Univerſity, or to any Colleges or Hals therein, 'ſhould and might, according to their ſtatutes, charters and cuſtomes, enjoy their ancient forme of government, ſubordinate to the immediate authority and power of Parliament: and that all the rights privileges, franchizes, lands, tenements, houſes, poſſeſſions, rents, revenues, hereditaments, libraries, debts, goods and chattels, belonging to the ſaid Univerſity, or to Chriſt-church, or to any Colleges or Halls in the ſaid Univerſity (except ſuch rents and revenues as had been already taken and received by Ordinance of Parliament) ſhould be enjoyed by them reſpectively, free from ſequeſtrations, fines, taxes, and all other moleſtations whatſoever.——— 'And that all churches, chappels, colledges, hals, libraries, ſchooles, and publick buildings, within or belonging to the City or Univerſity, or to Chriſt's-church, or the ſeveral Colleges or Hals thereof, ſhould be preſerved from defacing and ſpoyle.' But it ſeems theſe articles were not reliſhed by the root-and-branchmen (31). Sir Thomas took alſo great care for the preſervation of the public library, which in ſeveral reſpects did ſuffer while the garriſon was poſſeſt by the royal party (32).

(31) Ib. p. 267, 273.

(32) Wood, Faſt. ut ſupra, col. 83.

[*U*] *And to give him thanks for his faithful ſervices and wiſe conduct.*] They gave him ſomething more ſubſtantial than words and compliments, by making him very conſiderable preſents and grants at different times. As, namely, in 1645, they ſent him a jewel of great value, ſet with diamonds, which was tied in a blue ribbond, and put about his neck (33). In 1646, an ordinance was made for ſettling 5000*l.* a year upon him and his heirs (34). And 4000*l.* a year was granted to him out of the Duke of Buckingham's eſtate (35): which probably was part of the 5000*l.* ſettled upon him by the parliament. Inſtead of the other thouſand, 10,000*l.* was given him by parliament (36).

(33) Whitelock, p. 177, 180. Sprigge, p. 152.

(34) Ibid. p. 223, 235, 246.

(35) Heath's Chron. p. 235.

(36) Whitelock, p. 298.

ſtreet.

ſtreet (*w*). Hardly had he had time to reſt, when he was called upon to convoy the two hundred thouſand pounds that had been granted to the Scotiſh army; the price of their delivering up, or betraying, their ſovereign King Charles [*W*]. For that purpoſe he ſet out from London, December 18, with a ſufficient force (*x*), carrying at the ſame time 50,000*l.* for his own army. The King being delivered by the Scots to the Parliament's Commiſſioners at Newcaſtle, Jan. 30, 1646-7, Sir Thomas went and met him, Feb. 15, beyond Nottingham, in his way to Holmby; and his Majeſty ſtopping his horſe, Sir Thomas alighted, and kiſſed his hand; and afterwards mounted, and diſcourſed with him as they rode along (*y*) [*X*]. The 5th of March following, after long debate in Parliament, he was voted General of the forces that were to be continued. He came to Cambridge the 12th of the ſame month, where he was highly careſſed and complimented, and created Maſter of Arts (*z*) [*Y*].

(*w*) Sprigge, p. 311, &c. Whitelock, p. 227.

(*x*) Sprigge, p. 317. Whitelock, p. 231.

(*y*) Whitelock, p. 238.

(*z*) Ibid. p. 239, 240.

Hitherto, the crafty and ambitious Oliver Cromwell had permitted him to enjoy in all reſpects the ſupreme command, at leaſt to outward appearance. And, under his conduct, the army's rapid ſucceſs, after their new model, had much ſurpaſſed the expectation of the moſt ſanguine of their maſters, the parliament. The queſtion now was, to diſband the majority of them after their work was done, and to employ a part of the reſt in the reduction of Ireland. But either of the two appeared to all of them intolerable. For, many having, from the dregs of the people, riſen to the higheſt commands; and by plunderings and violence amaſſing daily great treaſures; they could not bear the thoughts of loſing ſuch great advantages. To maintain themſelves therefore in the poſſeſſion of them, Cromwell, and his ſon-in-law Ireton, as good a contriver as himſelf, but a much better writer and ſpeaker, deviſe how to raiſe a mutiny in the army againſt the Parliament. To this end they ſpread a whiſper among the ſoldiery, 'that the parliament, now they had 'the King, intended to diſband them; to cheat them of their arrears; and to ſend them 'into Ireland, to be deſtroyed by the Iriſh.' The army, enraged at this, were taught by Ireton to erect a council among themſelves, of two ſoldiers out of every troop and every company, to conſult for the good of the army, and to aſſiſt at the Council of War, and adviſe for the peace and ſafety of the kingdom. Theſe were called Adjutators, or Agitators (*a*), and wholly under Cromwell's influence and direction; the moſt active of them being his avowed creatures (*b*). Sir Thomas ſaw with uneaſineſs his power on the army uſurped by theſe Agitators, the forerunners of confuſion and anarchy, whoſe deſign (as he obſerves) was to raiſe their own fortunes upon the public ruin: and that made him reſolve to lay down his commiſſion (*c*). But he was over-perſuaded by the heads of the Independent faction to hold it [*Z*] till he had accompliſhed their deſperate projects, of rendering themſelves maſters not only of the parliament, but of the whole kingdom; for, he joined in the ſeveral petitions and proceedings of the army that tended to deſtroy the Parliament's power (*d*). About the beginning of June, he advanced towards London, to awe the Parliament, though both Houſes deſired his army might not come within fifteen miles of the ſame (*e*); June 15, he was a party in the charge againſt eleven of the Members of the Houſe of Commons (*f*) [*AA*]; in Auguſt, he eſpouſed

(*a*) Hobbes, ubi ſupra, p. 191, 192.

(*b*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 46.

(*c*) His Memorials, p. 105, 106.

(*d*) See Whitelock, p. 240, 241, 242, 246, &c.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 252, 261, 262.

(*f*) Papers then publiſhed; and Ruſhworth, Vol. VI. p. 570.

[*W*] *The price of their delivering up, or betraying, their ſovereign King Charles.*] Mr. Rapin takes great pains, in endeavouring to clear his friends the Scots from the imputation of having ſold the King to the Parliament (37). But if the Parliament did not actually give that ſum for this very conſideration, it is certain, that it very much ſecured and haſtened the payment of the Scotch army's arrears; which might have remained long unſatisfied. Though it is true that they were become very burthenſome to the northern counties (38): But, if they had grown too troubleſome, as they were no longer neceſſary, they would undoubtedly have been ſerved in the ſame manner as they afterwards were by Oliver Cromwell. Mr. Whitelock's following words deſerve to be duly weighed. 'Now there began to be an 'underſtanding between ſome here and the Scots, for 'their delivery up of the King's perſon to the Parliament (39).' And the ſame author mentions (40), that the King ſaid, 'he was bought and ſold.'

(37) Hiſt. edit. 1733, fol. Vol. II. p. 525.

(38) See Whitelock, p. 223, 225, 226, 227, 231.

(39) Page 231.

(40) Page 236.

[*X*] *And afterwards mounted, and diſcourſed with him as they rode along.*] The King ſaid to one of the Commiſſioners of the Parliament, 'That the General 'was a man of honour, and kept his word with 'him (41).' But we are not informed upon what occaſion.

(41) Whitelock, p. 238.

[*Y*] *And created Maſter of Arts.*] He was alſo, Jan. 11. this year, elected one of the repreſentatives in Parliament for the Burgh of Cirencester (42).

(42) Id. p. 234, 380.

[*Z*] *But he was over perſuaded——to hold it.*] Though he had never thought of oppoſing or diſobeying the Parliament, yet he was diſpoſed to more concurrence with the impetuous humour of the army, when he ſaw it was ſo much complied with, and ſubmitted to, by all men (43).

(43) Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 45.

[*AA*] *June 15, he was a party in the charge againſt eleven of the members of the Houſe of Commons.*] Theſe eleven accuſed members, were, Denzill Hollis, Eſq. Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Major-General Maſſey, John Glyn, Eſq. Recorder of London, Walter Long, Edward Harley, and Antony Nicholl, Eſqrs. (44). The ſubſtance of the charge againſt them only amounted to ſome pretended 'violent or 'oppreſſive ways, tending (as the words of the accuſation run) to overthrow the rights and liberties of 'the ſubjects of this nation.' But their real fault (which was far from being a fault) conſiſted in their oppoſing the army's unlawful and arbitrary proceedings; endeavouring to diſband it; or ſending part into Ireland: which, as it tended to ruin and put a period to the exorbitant power of the army, was in their eyes an unpardonable crime. No wonder, therefore, that they oppoſed to the utmoſt all attempts towards their own diſſolution; and endeavoured to exclude from parliament, or deſtroy, all thoſe that were for pulling them down from their exalted height, and ſending thom back to their mechanic trades, or reducing them to thair original meanneſs, obſcurity, and rags. And thus, as Mr. Whitelock well obſerves (45), 'The 'army whom the parliament had raiſed, paid, and 'commiſ-

(44) Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra.

(45) Page 281.

eſpouſed the Speakers of both Houſes, and the ſixty-ſix members that had fled to the army, and betrayed the privileges of Parliament: and, entering London, Auguſt 6, reſtored them in a kind of triumph. For which he received the thanks of both houſes; and was appointed Conſtable of the Tower (*g*). He was no way concerned in the violent removal of the King from Holmby [*BB*], by Cornet Joyce, on the 3d of June; and waited with great reſpect upon his Majeſty at Sir John Cutts's houſe near Cambridge (*h*). Being ordered, on the 15th of the ſame month, by the Parliament, to deliver the perſon of the King to ſuch perſons as both Houſes ſhould appoint; that he might be brought to Richmond, where propoſitions were to be preſented to him for a ſafe and well-grounded peace (*i*): inſtead of complying (though he ſeemed to do ſo) he carried his Majeſty from place to place, according to the ſeveral motions of the army [*CC*]. And yet he outwardly expreſſed, upon moſt occaſions, a due reſpect for him [*DD*]; ſo that his ambiguous conduct was owing to the fear he had, leſt the Parliament ſhould become maſters of the King's perſon. Thus, not having the will or reſolution to oppoſe what he had not power enough to prevent, he reſigned himſelf entirely to Cromwell [*EE*]; and, though he wiſhed nothing that Cromwell did, yet he contributed to bring it all to paſs (*k*). It was this undoubtedly that made him concur, Jan. 9, 1647-8, in that cruel Declaration of the army, wherein they adhered to the Commons votes, of 'No further 'addreſſes or application to the King; and reſolved to ſtand by the Parliament, in what 'ſhould be further neceſſary for ſettling and ſecuring the Parliament and kingdom, 'without the King and againſt him (*l*).' His father dying at York, March 13, he became poſſeſſed of his title and eſtate; and was appointed Keeper of Pontefract-caſtle, Cuſtos Rotulorum of Yorkſhire, &c. in his room (*m*). But his father's death made no alteration in his conduct, he remaining the ſame ſervile or deluded tool to Cromwell's ambition. For, he not only ſent extraordinary ſupplies, and took all

(*g*) Whitelock, p. 261-264.

(*h*) Id. p. 252; and Sir T. Fairfax's Memorials, p. 112, &c.

(*i*) Whitelock, p. 253, 255.

(*k*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 52, 86.

(*l*) Paper printed at that time. See alſo Whitelock, p. 287.

(*m*) Whitelock, p. 296.

'commiſſioned, now mutiny againſt them, and with 'ſwords in their hands, controul and oppoſe their 'principals and maſters.'

[*BB*] *He was no way concerned in the violent removal of the King from Holmby.*] The reaſons, ſent to the General by the authors of this violence, for their committing it, were, 'That they had intimation of a 'deſign, which they were able to make good, of ſome 'to ſurprize the King (46);' *viz.* the parliament, or ſome by their order. For, as one obſerves, the King was then the golden apple contended for by the parliament and the army.—Sir Thomas gives the following account of that affair. 'Being at Saffron-Walden, I 'had notice that Cornet Joyce, an Arch-Agitator, who 'quartered about Oxford, had ſeized on the King's 'perſon, removed his guards, &c. So ſoon as I heard 'of it, I immediately ſent away two regiments of 'horſe, commanded by Colonel Whaley, to ſet all 'things again in their due courſe and order. But, be-'fore he came to Holmby, the King was advanced 'two or three miles on his way to Cambridge, attend-'ed by Joyce, where Colonel Whaley acquainted the 'King, he was ſent by the General to let him know 'how much he was troubled at thoſe great inſolencies 'that had been committed ſo near his perſon; and as 'he had not the leaſt knowledge of them before they 'were done, ſo he had omitted no time in ſeeking to 'remove that force, which he had orders from me to 'ſee done; and therefore he deſired his Majeſty that 'he would be pleaſed to return again to Holmby, 'where all things ſhould be ſettled again in as much 'order and quietneſs as they were before. And alſo he 'deſired the Commiſſioners of Parliament to re-aſſume 'their charge, and attend the King as uſual. But the 'King refuſed to return, and the Commiſſioners to act; 'whereupon Colonel Whaley urged them to it, ſaying, 'He had an expreſs command to ſee all things well 'ſettled again about his Majeſty, which could not be 'done, but by his returning again to Holmby. The 'King ſaid poſitively he would not do it; ſo the Co-'lonel preſt him no more, having indeed a ſpecial di-'rection from me to uſe all tenderneſs and reſpect, as 'was due to his Majeſty.'—The next day I waited 'on his Majeſty [at Sir John Cutts's houſe], it being 'alſo my buſineſs to perſuade his return to Holmby, 'but he was otherwiſe reſolved, the Agitators having 'brought him into an opinion that the army was for 'him.—That it might appear what a real trouble 'this act was to me,—I called for a council of war 'to proceed againſt Joyce, for this high offence and 'breach of the articles of war; but the officers, whe-'ther for fear of the diſtempered ſoldiers, or rather 'as I ſuſpected a ſecret allowance of what was done, 'made all my endeavours in this ineffectual (47).'

(46) Whitelock, p. 251.

(47) Memorials, p. 112, &c.

[*CC*] *According to the ſeveral motions of the army.*] The army was in the end of March 1647, at Walden; May 26, &c. at St. Edmund's-bury; June 4, &c. at Newmarket; June 10, at Royſton; June 14, &c. at St. Alban's; June 25, at Barhamſtead; the 26th, at Uxbridge; the 30th, at High-Wickham; July 21, at Ayleſbury; the 24th, at Bedford; the 31ſt, at Uxbridge; Aug. 2, at Colebrook; the 4th, at Hammerſmith; the 6th, at London; the 7th, at Croydon; the 14th, at Kingſton, the 28th, at Putney; in November, at Hertford; in December, &c. at Windſor.——And the King was, till June 3, at Holmby; the 5th, at Huntington; the 8th, at Sir John Cutts's; the 11th, at Newmarket; the 24th, at Royſton; the 26th, at Hatfield; July 2, at Windſor; the 3d, at Caverſham; the 21ſt, at Woburne; the 24th, at Latimer's; the 24th, at Hampton-Court (48): where he continued till the 11th of November following, when he eſcaped into the Iſle of Wight.

(48) From Papers printed by authority at that time; and Whitelock, p. 249-267.

[*DD*] *And yet he outwardly expreſſed, upon moſt occaſions, a due reſpect for him.*] For, in letters from him to the parliament, he declares, that he and his officers 'endeavoured only the ſettlement of the pub-'lic peace and rights of the nation; and aſſured the 'King, that this being done with his concurrence, the 'rights of his Majeſty and his family ſhould be pro-'vided for; and in the mean time his Majeſty ſhould 'find from them all perſonal civilities and reſpects, and 'ſuch freedom as may ſtand with ſafety, and the truſt 'lying upon them.——That they are no enemies to 'monarchy and civil government.——That they con-'ceived, to avoid all harſhneſſes, and afford all kind-'neſſes to his Majeſty, conſiſting with the peace and 'ſafety of the kingdom, is the moſt chriſtian, honour-'able, and prudent way; and that tender, equitable, 'and moderate dealing towards his Majeſty, his fami-'ly, and party, is the moſt hopeful courſe, to take 'away the ſeeds of war, and feuds amongſt us and our 'poſterity, and to procure a laſting peace (49).'

(49) Whitelock, p. 258.

[*EE*] *He reſigned himſelf entirely to Cromwell.*] About this time, being tired with multiplicity of buſineſs and petitions at London, he appointed Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood, and divers other officers, and ſuch field-officers as were in town, or any five of them, to meet every day in Whitehall, to receive petitions, and conſider of buſineſs relating to the army, and for the better preparing of diſpatches (50).

(50) Ibid. p. 232.

pains imaginable for reducing Col. Poyer in Wales, but alſo quelled, with the utmoſt zeal and induſtry, an inſurrection of apprentices and others in London, April 9, who had declared for God and King Charles (*n*). The 1ſt of the ſame month, he removed his head-quarters to St. Edmund's-bury; and, upon the Royaliſts ſeizing Berwick and Carliſle, and the apprehenſion of the Scots entering England, he was deſired, May 9, by the Parliament, to advance in perſon into the North, to reduce thoſe places, and to prevent any danger from the threatened invaſion. Accordingly he began to march that way, the 20th (*o*). But he was ſoon recalled to quell an inſurrection in Kent, headed by George Goring, Earl of Norwich, and Sir William Waller. Advancing therefore againſt them from London, in the latter end of May, he defeated a conſiderable party of them at Maidſtone June 2, with his uſual valour (*p*) [*FF*]. But the Earl, and about 500 of the Royaliſts, getting over the Thames at Greenwich into Eſſex, June 3, they were joined by ſeveral parties brought by Sir Charles Lucas, and Arthur Lord Capel, which made up their numbers about 400; and went and ſhut themſelves up in Colcheſter on the 12th of June (*q*). The Lord Fairfax, informed of their motions, paſſed over with his forces at Graveſend, with ſo much expedition, that he arrived before Colcheſter, June 13. Immediately he ſummons the Royaliſts to ſurrender; which they refuſing, he attacks them the ſame afternoon with the utmoſt fury. But, being repulſed, he reſolved June 14, to block up the place, in order to ſtarve the Royaliſts ſhut up therein into a compliance. Theſe endured a ſevere and tedious ſiege of eleven weeks, not ſurrendering till Auguſt 28, and feeding for about five weeks chiefly on horſe-fleſh; all their endeavours for obtaining peace on honourable terms being ineffectual [*GG*]. This affair is the moſt exceptionable part in the Lord Fairfax's conduct. For, he granted the worſe terms to that poor town than to any other in the whole courſe of the war; he endeavoured to deſtroy it as much as poſſible; he laid an exorbitant fine, or ranſom, of 12,000*l.* upon the inhabitants, to excuſe them from being plundered; and he vented his revenge and fury upon Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle [*HH*], who had behaved in the beſt and moſt inoffenſive manner during the ſiege, ſparing that buffoon the Earl of Norwich, whoſe behaviour had been quite different (*r*): ſo that his name and memory there ought to be for ever deteſtable. After his mighty exploits againſt a poor and unfortified town, he took a kind of triumphant progreſs to Ipſwich, Yarmouth, Norwich, St. Edmund's-bury, Harwich, Merſey, and Maldon (*s*). About the beginning of December he came to London, to awe that city and the Parliament, and to forward the proceedings againſt the King; quartering himſelf in the royal palace of Whitehall (*t*): and, 'by 'ſpecial order from him and the council of the army [*II*],' it was, that ſeveral members of

(*n*) Ib. p 298, 299.

(*o*) Id. p. 305, 306, 307.

(*p*) Id. p. 309.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 312; and Hiſt. of Colcheſter, by P.M. B. i. p. 58, &c.

(*r*) Whitelock, p. 312, 318.

(*s*) Ib. p. 337.

(*t*) Heath's Chron. p. 192.

[*FF*] *With his uſual valour.*] Though he was very much diſabled and indiſpoſed, and had a great fit of the gout then upon him, yet he could not be prevailed upon to remain with the main body of the army in the field; but, with his foot wrapped up, he mounted on horſeback, led on his men in the greateſt danger, and was one of the firſt in all this action. Both ſides did their parts with much valour and reſolution, and there was ſcarcely any action in the war more deſperate and hazardous, and better performed than this (51).

(51) Whitelock, p. 309.

[*GG*] *All their endeavours for obtaining peace on honourable terms being ineffectual.*] For, as early as June 19, they propoſed, 'That there might be a treaty 'between both armies for a peace:' adding, that 'it 'was the general peace of the kingdom they contended 'for.' But Sir Thomas replied, 'That ſuch a treaty, 'and for ſuch a peace, was not the proper work of 'himſelf, or the army, but theirs that had employed 'him:' and he offered only, that, if within 24 hours they laid down their arms, the common ſoldiers ſhould have leave to depart to their ſeveral homes; and the officers paſſes to go beyond ſea. His terms grew much higher afterwards (52).

(52) See Hiſt. of Colcheſter, B. 57.*

[*HH*] *And he vented his revenge and fury upon Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle.*] From the very beginning of the ſiege, he expreſſed the utmoſt paſſion and reſentment againſt Sir Charles Lucas in particular (53): and, in his Memorials (54), is ſo injurious to his memory, as to call him, and Sir George, mere ſoldiers of fortune. His words are, 'But Sir Charles 'Lucas, and Sir George Liſle, being mere ſoldiers of 'fortune, and falling into our hands by chance of 'war, were executed.' Whereas Sir Charles was no more a ſoldier of fortune than his Lordſhip; for he had an eſtate in Eſſex, till diſpoſſeſſed of it by plundering rebels; and was heir to the honour and eſtate of his brother John Lord Lucas, for want of iſſue male. In his letter to the parliament, his Lordſhip ſeems to queſtion, whether he had not prejudiced the honour and juſtice of parliament in their execution. '—For ſome ſatisfaction, ſays he, to military juſtice, 'and in part of avenge for the innocent blood they 'have cauſed to be ſpilt, and the trouble, damage, 'and miſchiefe they have brought upon the towne, 'this country, and the kingdome, I have, with the 'advice of a Counſell of Warre of the chiefe officers 'both of the country-forces and the army, cauſed two 'of them, who were rendered at mercy, to be ſhot to 'death before any of them had quarter aſſured them. 'The perſons, pitched upon for this example, were, 'Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle, in whoſe 'military execution I hope your Lordſhips will not 'find cauſe to think your honour or juſtice preju-'diced (55).'

(53) See Whitelock.

(54) Page 122.

(55) Hiſt. of Colcheſter, as above, p. 69.

[*II*] *And by ſpecial order from him and the council of the army.*] Theſe are Mr. Whitelock's expreſs words; but the Lord Fairfax clears himſelf from it, in the following manner. 'To prepare a way to this 'work [the King's Trial] this agitating council did 'firſt intend to remove all out of the parliament who 'were like to oppoſe them, and carried it on with 'ſuch ſecrecy, as I had not the leaſt intimation of it 'till it was done, as ſome of the members of the 'houſe can witneſs, with whom I was, at that very 'time upon ſpecial buſineſs, when that attempt was 'made by Colonel Pride upon the parliament, which 'I proteſt I never had any knowledge of till it was 'done. The reaſon why it was ſo ſecretly carried, 'that I ſhould have no notice of it, was, becauſe I al-'ways prevented thoſe deſigns when I knew them (56).' The Lord Clarendon always confirms the ſame. 'No-'body owned this act of violence in the excluſion of 'ſo many members: there was no order made for 'it by the houſe. Fairfax, the General, knew nothing 'of it, and the guards themſelves being aſked "what 'authority they had," gave no other anſwer, but 'that

(56) Memorials, p. 119, 120.

of the Houſe of Commons were ſecluded and impriſoned, the 6th and 7th of that month (*u*); he being, as one expreſſes it, lulled in a kind of ſtupidity (*w*). He was foremoſt in the liſt of the King's Judges, but refuſed to act (*x*), probably by his Lady's perſuaſion [*KK*]. Feb. 14, 1648–9, he was voted to be one of the new Council of State (*y*). But, on the 19th he refuſed to ſubſcribe the Teſt, appointed by Parliament, for approving all that was done concerning the King and Kingſhip (*z*). March 31, he was voted General of all the forces in England and Ireland, more to his honour than intrinſic power (*a*). In May, he marched againſt the levellers, who were grown very numerous, and began to be troubleſome and formidable in Oxfordſhire, and utterly routed them at Burford (*b*). Thence, on the 22d of the ſame month, he repaired to Oxford with Oliver Cromwell, and other officers, where he was highly feaſted; and created Doctor of Laws (*c*). Next, upon apprehenſion of the like riſings in other places, he went and viewed the caſtles and fortifications in the iſle of Wight, and at Southampton, and Portſmouth; and near Guildford had a rendezvous of the army, which he exhorted to obedience (*d*). June 4, he was feaſted with other officers, &c. by the city of London, and preſented with a large and weighty baſon and ewer of beaten gold (*e*). In June 1650, upon the Scots declaring for King Charles II. the junćto of the Council of State having taken a reſolution to be beforehand, and not to ſtay to be invaded from Scotland, but to carry firſt the war into that kingdom; General Fairfax, being conſulted, ſeemed to approve of the deſign. But afterwards, by the perſuaſions of his Lady, and of the Preſbyterian Miniſters, he declared himſelf unſatisfied, that there was a juſt ground for the Parliament of England to ſend their army to invade Scotland: and reſolved to lay down his commiſſion rather than engage in that affair [*LL*]. Whereupon, on the 26th, the ordinance whereby he was appointed commander in chief of all the forces of the Parliament being repealed, that high truſt was immediately committed to Oliver Cromwell (*f*); who was glad to ſee him removed, as being no longer neceſſary, but rather an obſtacle to his farther ambitious deſigns. For a kind of compenſation, the Parliament ſettled an annual revenue of five thouſand pounds upon his Lordſhip (*g*). Being thus releaſed from all public employment, he went and lived quietly at his own houſe in Nun-Appleton in Yorkſhire; always earneſtly wiſhing and praying (as we are aſſured) for the reſtitution of the Royal Family, and fully reſolved to lay hold on the firſt good opportunity to contribute his part

(*u*) Ibid. p. 359.
(*w*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 87.
(*x*) Ibid. and LordClarendon, Vol. V. p. 254.
(*y*) Whitelock, p. 381.
(*z*) Ibid. p. 383.
(*a*) Ibid. p. 392.
(*b*) Ibid. p. 401, 402.
(*c*) Ibid. p. 403. Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 86.
(*d*) Whitelock, p. 404. Heath's Chron. p. 234.
(*e*) Whitelock, p. 406.
(*f*) Ibid. p. 460, 461, 462. Ludlow's Mem. Vol. I. p. 314, &c.
(*g*) Ludlow, ib. p. 316.

(57) Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 249. ‘ that “ they had orders” (57).’ But the ſame noble author obſerves in the foregoing page, that the committee of parliament that was appointed to confer with the General, for the better procuring a good intelligence and correſpondence between the army and the parliament, were forced to attend full three hours before they could be admitted to his preſence; and then he told them ſullenly and ſuperciliouſly, ‘ that the ‘ way to correſpond with the army was to comply ‘ with their remonſtrance;’ and the next morning a guard of muſqueteers was placed to ſeclude the members.

[*KK*] *He was foremoſt in the liſt of the King's Judges, but refuſed to act, probably by his Lady's perſuaſion.*] She exclaimed aloud againſt the proceedings of the High-court, and the irreverent uſage of the King by his ſubjects, inſomuch, that the court was interrupted (58): for, her huſband, the Lord Fairfax, being called firſt as one of the judges, and no anſwer being made, the crier called him the ſecond time, when there was a voice heard that ſaid, ‘ he had ‘ more wit than to be there,’ which put the court into ſome diſorder; and, ſomebody aſking who it was, there was no anſwer, but a little murmuring. But, preſently, when the impeachment was read, and that expreſſion uſed, of ‘ All the good people of England,’ the ſame voice, in a louder tone, anſwered, ‘ No, nor the ‘ hundredth part of them:’ upon which, one of the officers bid the ſoldiers give fire into that box whence the preſumptuous words were uttered. But it was quickly diſcerned that it was the General's wife, who had uttered both thoſe ſharp ſayings; who was preſently perſuaded or forced to leave the place, to prevent any new diſorder.—Having been bred in Holland, ſhe had not that reverence for the Church of England as ſhe ought to have had, and ſo had unhappily concurred in her huſband's entering into rebellion, never imagining what miſery it would bring upon the kingdom; and now abhorred the work in hand, as much as any body could do, and did all ſhe could to hinder her huſband from acting any part in it (59).—A. Wood relates ſome particular circumſtances of the Lord Fairfax's behaviour, at the time of the King's murder, that ſhew ſuch extreme hypocriſy, or ſo much indolence, ſtupidity, and eaſineſs in being impoſed upon, that, they are hardly credible.——— ‘ ’Tis ‘ true,’ ſays he, ‘ that before the King was beheaded, ‘ he did uſe his power and intereſt to have the execu- ‘ tion deferred for ſome days, forbearing his coming ‘ among the officers, and did fully reſolve with his ‘ own regiment to prevent the execution, or have it ‘ deferred till he could make a party in the army to ‘ ſecond his deſign: but, behold his policy! all the ‘ morning of that day on which the King was be- ‘ headed, and the time when he was beheaded, he was, ‘ with certain officers of the army, at prayer, or in ‘ diſcourſe, or both, in Major Tho. Harriſon's apart- ‘ ment in Whitehall, (being a room at the higher end ‘ of the gallery looking towards the Privy-garden) and ‘ knew nothing of it, as it doth appear by this paſſage. ‘ When his Majeſty was beheaded, and his corps ‘ thereupon immediately coffined and covered with a ‘ black velvet pall, Bp. Juxon, who attended him on ‘ the ſcaffold, and Thomas Herbert, the only groom ‘ of his bedchamber that was then left, did go with ‘ the ſaid corps to the back-ſtairs to have it embalmed; and, Mr. Herbert, after the body had been depoſited, ‘ meeting with the General Fairfax, aſked him, “ how ‘ the King did?” Whereupon Herbert looking very ‘ ſtrangely upon him, told him, that “ the King was ‘ beheaded;” at which he ſeemed much ſurprized ‘ (60).’

(58) Whitelock, p. 371.

[*LL*] *And reſolved to lay down his commiſſion rather than engage in that affair.*] A committee from the Council of State went to confer with him, upon that ſubject, in a room in Whitehall; but (tho' they went firſt to prayer, that God would direct them in this buſineſs, and Cromwell and moſt of the reſt prayed) yet the prayers of theſe hypocrites could not be countenanced with a heavenly influence, nor their reaſons and arguments prevail upon his Lordſhip.' And, if they had, very ſorry and diſappointed would many of them have been; as Mr. Whitelock, a member of this committee, obſerves in the following words— ‘ none ‘ of the Committee ſo earneſt to perſuade the General ‘ to continue his commiſſion as Cromwell and the ‘ Soldiers. Yet there was cauſe enough to believe ‘ that they did not overmuch deſire it (61).’

(59) Lord Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 254, 255.

(60) Wood, Faſt. Vol. II. col. 87.

(61) Whitelock, p. 460–462. See alſo Ludlow, ubi ſupra, p. 315.

towards

towards it; which made him always looked upon with a jealous eye by the uſurpers of that time. As ſoon as he was invited by General Monk to aſſiſt him againſt Lambert's army, he chearfully embraced the occaſion; and appeared, on the 3d of December, 1659, at the head of a body of gentlemen of Yorkſhire; and, upon the reputation and authority of his name, the Iriſh brigade, of 1200 horſe, forſook Lambert's army, and joined him. The conſequence was, the immediate breaking of all Lambert's forces, which gave General Monk an eaſy march into England (*b*). The 1ſt of January 1659-60, his Lordſhip made himſelf maſter of York (*i*); and, on the 2d of the ſame month, was choſen by the Rump Parliament one of the Council of State, as he was again on the 23d of February enſuing (*k*). March 29, he was elected one of the Knights for the County of York, in the Healing Parliament (*l*): and was at the head of the Committee appointed, May 3, by the Houſe of Commons, to go and attend King Charles II. at the Hague; to deſire him to make a ſpeedy return to his Parliament, and to the exerciſe of his kingly office (*m*). May 16, he waited upon his Majeſty with the reſt [*MM*]; and atoned in ſome meaſure for all paſt offences, by readily concurring and aſſiſting in his Reſtoration. After the diſſolution of the ſhort Healing Parliament, he retired again to his ſeat in the country; where he lived in a private manner, till his death, which happened November 12, 1671, in the 60th year of his age (*n*) [*NN*]. Several letters, remonſtrances, and other papers, ſubſcribed with his name, are preſerved in Ruſhworth and other Collections, being publiſhed during the time he was General; but he diſowns moſt of them [*OO*]. After his deceaſe, ſome 'ſhort memorials, written by himſelf,' were publiſhed; which do him no great honour [*PP*]. The Lord Fairfax, as to his perſon, was tall, but not above the juſt proportion (*o*); and of a gloomy and melancholy diſpoſition. He ſtammered a little, and was a bad orator on the moſt plauſible occaſions (*p*). As to the qualities of his mind; he was religious in the way he profeſſed, which was Preſbyterianiſm (*q*) [*QQ*]: of a good natural diſpoſition (*r*): a great lover of learning, having contributed to the edition of the Polyglott, and other large works (*s*): and a particular admirer of the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Great Britain, witneſs the encouragement he gave to Mr. Dodſworth (*t*). He was of a meek and humble carriage, and but of few words in diſcourſe and council; yet, when his judgment and reaſon were ſatisfied, he was unalterable; and often ordered things expreſſly contrary to the judgment of all his council (*u*). His valour was unqueſtionable. He was daring, and no ſelf-ſeeker (*w*). And in action, in the field, he appeared ſo highly tranſported, that ſcarcely any durſt ſpeak a word to him, and he would ſeem like a man diſtracted and furious (*x*). His being outwitted by Cromwell, or ſuffering himſelf to become the tool and property of that wicked ambitious man, was his greateſt blemiſh. Happy would it have been for the nation, happy for himſelf, if he had retired ſooner [*RR*].

(*b*) Epiſt Dedic. to his Memorials, p. viii. viii.

(*i*) Kennet, Regiſter, &c. p. 7, 13.

(*k*) Ib. p. 3, 66.

(*l*) Ib. p. 101.

(*m*) Ib. p. 133.

(*n*) Epiſt. Dedic. as above, p. ix. and Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 88.

(*o*) Sprigge, p. 322.

(*p*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 178. Sprigge, p. 323.

(*q*) Wood. Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 88. Ludlow's Mem. Vol. I. p. 314.

(*r*) Bellicoſum quidem, & ſua natura probum. Batei Elench. Motuum, p. 63.

(*s*) Wood, Faſt. Vol. II. col. 48.

(*t*) Ibid. col. 14. Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722, Vol. II. col. 886.

(*u*) Whitelock, p. 204, 205.

(*w*) Hiſt. of the Rebellions in England, &c. by Sir Roger Manley, p. 79.

(*x*) Whitelock, p. 205.

[*MM*] *May* 16, *he waited upon his Majeſty with the reſt.*] 'He drew upon him, as A. Wood relates 'the curioſity and eyes of all men, as known to them 'by name to have been Captain-General of the par-'liament-army. And, when the firſt ceremony was 'paſt, he deſired, as 'tis ſaid, to ſee the King in pri-'vate, and to aſk him pardon for the paſt offences, 'which accordingly he did with all ſubmiſſion (62).'

(62) Ubi ſupra, col. 88.

[*NN*] *Till his death, which happened November* 12, 1671, *in the* 60*th year of his age.*] He was buried in an aiſle adjoining on the ſouth ſide to the chancel of Bilburgh Church, near York. Over his grave was ſoon after put this epitaph. 'Here lye the bodies of 'the right honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax of Den-'ton, Baron of Camerone, who died Nov. the 12th, 'An. 1671, in the ſixtieth year of his age. And of 'Anne his wife, Daughter and Coheir of Horatio 'Lord Vere, Baron of Tilbury. He had iſſue, Mary 'Ducheſs of Buckingham, and Elizabeth (63).'—— His eldeſt Daughter, Mary, had the misfortune of having for huſband the witty, wicked, George Villiers Duke of Buckingham; to whom ſhe was married May 24, 1657 (64). She died in November, 1704 (65). There is no account of the other daughter.

(63) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 88.

(64) Whitelock, p. 665.

(65) Annual Liſt at the end of Boyer's Hiſt. of Queen Anne.

[*OO*] *But he diſowns moſt of them.*] In theſe words. 'One thing more requires I ſhould ſay ſome-'thing to, before I conclude; that is, concerning 'papers and declarations of the army that came out in 'my name, and the Council of Officers. I ſay, from 'the time they declared their uſurped authority at 'Triplow-heath, I never gave my free conſent to any 'thing they did: but, being yet undiſcharged of my 'place, they ſet my name in way of courſe to all their 'papers, whether I conſented or not: and to ſuch 'failings are all authorities ſubject (66).'

(66) Memorials, p. 124, 125.

[*PP*] *After his deceaſe, ſome ſhort memorials, written by himſelf, were publiſhed; which do him no great honour.*] They were publiſhed in 1699, 8vo. by Brian Fairfax, Eſq. The author never deſigned them for the preſs, only to remain for the ſatisfaction of his own relations: but they were publiſhed to prevent a ſurreptitious edition. As I ſaid, they do no great honour to the noble author: for, they are written in an odd canting ſtrain; and moreover abound with miſtakes. For inſtance, in p. 122, now accidentally open before me, he ſays.—'That the beſieged in Colcheſter after 'four months cloſe ſiege were compelled to ſurrender.' But the ſiege of that place laſted neither four months, nor three months; being only from the 13th of June to the 27th of Auguſt. And the like in other inſtances.

[*QQ*] *He was religious in the way which he profeſſed, which was Preſbyterianiſm.*] But Sir Roger Manley, on the other hand, ſays, that, though 'con-'ſtancy was attributed to his natural temper, being 'melancholy, it was notwithſtanding thought ductile 'where religion was in queſtion; and therefore Crom-'well, that famous impoſtor in godlineſs, was given 'him for a ſuperviſing Lieutenant (68).'

(68) Ubi ſupra.

[*RR*] *Happy for himſelf, if he had retired ſooner.*] For, as Mr. Addiſon elegantly repreſents it,

> When vice prevails, and impious men bear ſway,
> The poſt of honour is a private ſtation (69).

(69) Cato, Act 4, ſcene 4.

Brian Fairfax, Eſq. the editor of his Lordſhip's Memorials, concludes his character with the following encomium: 'that, ſo long as unfeigned piety towards 'God, invincible courage joyned with wonderful mo-'deſty, and exceeding good nature: juſtice and cha-'rity

' rity to all men in his private life; and an ingenuous ' acknowledgment of his public error, with hearty ' endeavours to make reparation, as ſoon as he was ' convinced of it, ſhall be eſteemed in the world: ſo ' long ſhall the name of my Lord Fairfax be honoured ' by good men, and be had in perpetual remem- ' brance (70).'—The Duke of Buckingham, his Lordſhip's ſon-in-law, compoſed alſo an Epitaph for him, wherein he beſtows the higheſt praiſes and compliments upon him. M.

(70) Epiſtle Dedicatory, p. ix. x.

*** [Of the Lord Fairfax's exploits, as a commander and a general, no farther notice is neceſſary to be taken than what is already done in the preceding article. Beſides this, they will be found related in all the hiſtories of the time. From the accounts of his military tranſactions, it is evident that his character and abilities, as a warrior, were very great; and yet they have not aſſumed, in the eye of poſterity, that ſplendour which might juſtly have been expected from them. The fact is, that his glory has been ſhaded by the ſuperior luſtre of Cromwell, with whom he acted.

Lord Fairfax's diſpatches, letters, and other papers which he had occaſion to write in the courſe of his employments, may be ſeen at large in the Parliamentary Hiſtory. To enter into a detail of them would carry us to a great length, and would not be intereſting to the generality of our readers. Thoſe who are deſirous of full information on the ſubject may have recourſe to the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th, volumes of the hiſtory now mentioned.

In a paper extracted from an original manuſcript by Dr. Bryan Fairfax, and inſerted in the Annual Regiſter, are ſome circumſtances relating to the latter part of Lord Fairfax's life. He was afflicted with the gout and ſtone, the pains of which he endured with a courage and patience, equal to what he had ſhewn in his warlike exploits. Theſe diſorders were the reſult of the wounds he had ſuffered, and the fatigues he had gone through, during the war. The gout took from him the uſe of his legs, and confined him to a chair, in which he ſat like an old Roman, his manly countenance ſtriking awe and reverence into all that beheld him; while it was mixed with as much modeſty and ſweetneſs as were ever repreſented in the figure of mortal man. Moſt of his time was ſpent in religious duties, and a great part of the remainder in reading valuable books, for which he was well qualified by his ſkill in modern languages. His death was occaſioned by a fever, which carried him off in a few days. The laſt morning of his life, he called for a bible, ſaying, "his eyes grew dim," and read the forty-ſecond pſalm (71).

(71) Annual Regiſter, for the year 1773, Vol. XVI. Second Part, p. 76, 77.

Mrs. Macaulay, ſpeaking of Lord Fairfax's reſignation of his command, as General, has the following obſervations: 'The friends of royalty have prepoſ- ' terouſly ſuppoſed that Fairfax, contrary to his ſenti- ' ments and principles, had allowed the army to offer ' violence to the parliament, and to put their ſove- ' reign to death. But ſuch ſuppoſition (though in ' ſome meaſure authorized by his own confeſſion in the ' memoirs of his military actions, publiſhed under ' the auſpices and direction of his ſon-in-law the Duke ' of Buckingham, when Fairfax had turned courtier ' to Charles the Second) is contrary to the equal tenor ' of his conduct during the whole civil contention, ' and to the following account which his contempora- ' ries give of his character: that though in debate he ' was ſlow in delivering his opinions, and patient in ' attending to thoſe of others, yet after, on mature ' deliberation, he had fixed his judgment, he adhered ' to it with an unſurmountable integrity. Fairfax, ' though a Preſbyterian, was, both in civil and reli- ' gious ſubjects, infinitely more liberal in his ſenti- ' ments than the generality of that ſect. He had no ' objection to the form of a republick, provided the ' ſpirit of it was free, and that it was adminiſtered ' with juſtice; nor to toleration in religion, provided ' the eſtabliſhed forms were Preſbyterian. At this ' time, ſomewhat diſguſted at the entire excluſion of ' that party out of the civil and religious government ' of the country, urged by the importunities of an ' impetuous imperious wife, who was a narrow- ' minded Calviniſts, and governed by Prieſts, tender ' of violating the public faith, and angry with the ' compliment, which the Parliament, at his expence, ' had paid to Cromwell, he, in a diſcontented ſullen ' mood, unfortunately diſpoſſeſſed himſelf of that ' power which, whilſt in ſuch equitable hands, muſt ' have preſerved the infant ſtate of liberty from falling ' a ſacrifice to the greedy and corrupt deſigns of its ' leſs-virtuous partizans (72).'

(72) Macaulay's Hiſtory of England, Vol. V. p. 52—55. Octavo Edition.

The character of Lord Fairfax is drawn by Mr. Hume with a conciſe but maſterly hand. 'Fairfax,' ſays this hiſtorian, 'was a perſon equally eminent for ' courage and for humanity; and, though ſtrongly ' infected with prejudices, or principles derived from ' religious and party zeal, he ſeems never, in the ' courſe of his public conduct, to have been diverted, ' by private intereſt or ambition, from adhering ſtrictly ' to theſe principles. Sincere in his profeſſions; diſ- ' intereſted in his views; open in his conduct; he had ' formed one of the moſt ſhining characters of the age, ' had not the extreme narrowneſs of his genius, in ' every thing but in war, and his embarraſſed and con- ' fuſed elocution on every occaſion but when he gave ' orders, diminiſhed the luſtre of his merit, and ' rendered the part which he acted, even when veſted ' with the ſupreme command, but ſecondary and ' ſubordinate (73).'

(73) Hume's Hiſtory of Great Britain, Vol. VII. p. 29. Octavo Edition of 1789.

Lord Fairfax has found a place, not to his advantage, in Mr. Walpole's Catalogue of noble authors. Of his Lordſhip's "Short Memorials" it is obſerved that one can eaſily believe his having been the tool of Cromwell, when one ſees by his own memoirs how little idea he had of what he had been about. 'But ' his Lordſhip,' adds Mr. Walpole, 'was not only an ' hiſtorian, but a poet. In Mr. Thoreſby's Muſeum ' were preſerved in manuſcript the following pieces; " The Pſalms of David," " The Song of Solomon," " The Canticles," and " Songs of Moſes, Exod. 15. " and Deut. 32." and other parts of Scripture verſi- ' fied." " Poem on Solitude." Beſides which, in the ' ſame collection were preſerved " Notes of Sermons ' by his Lordſhip, by his Lady, and by their daughter ' Mary;" and " A Treatiſe on the Shortneſs of ' Life." But, of all Lord Fairfax's works, by far the ' moſt remarkable were ſome verſes which he wrote ' on the horſe on which Charles the Second rode to ' his coronation, and which had been bred and pre- ' ſented to the King by his Lordſhip. How muſt ' that merry monarch, not apt to keep his counte- ' nance on more ſerious occaſions, have ſmiled at this ' awkward homage from the old victorious hero of ' republicaniſm and the covenant (74)!'

(74) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. II. p. 223-225.

If Lord Fairfax makes but an indifferent figure as an author, his memory is reſpectable as a lover and encourager of literature. This is properly taken notice of by our predeceſſor; and, in the ſame view, we have had occaſion to ſpeak of his Lordſhip, in what is ſaid concerning Roger Dodſworth, at the cloſe of our addition to the Life of Dugdale. Mr. Warton has added his teſtimony to Lord Fairfax's character in this reſpect. It is as follows: 'He gave twenty-nine ' ancient manuſcripts to the Bodleian library, one of ' which is a beautiful manuſcript of Gower's Confeſſio ' Amantis. When the Record-Tower in St. Mary's ' Abbey at York was accidentally blown up in the ' grand rebellion, he offered rewards to the ſoldiers ' who could bring him fragments of the ſcattered ' parchments. Luckily, however, the numerous ' original evidences lodged in this repoſitory had ' been juſt before tranſcribed by Roger Dodſworth; ' and the tranſcripts, which formed the ground-work ' of Dugdale's Monaſticon, conſiſting of forty-nine ' large folio volumes, were bequeathed by Fairfax to ' the ſame library. Fairfax alſo, when Oxford was ' garriſoned by the parliamentary forces, exerted his ' utmoſt diligence in preſerving the Bodleian library ' from pillage; ſo that it ſuffered much leſs than ' when that city was in poſſeſſion of the Royaliſts ' (75).' K.

(75) Emendations and Additions, prefixed to the ſecond volume of Mr. Warton's Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, p. 48, 49, note.



*** [FANSHAWE

*** [FANSHAWE * (the Right Hon. Sir RICHARD, Knt. and Bart.) a Stateſman, Negotiator, and Poet, of the laſt century, was the youngeſt ſon, and tenth child, of Sir Henry Fanſhawe [*A*], Knt. Remembrancer of the Exchequer, and brother of Lord Viſcount Fanſhawe, of Dromore, in the kingdom of Ireland, and was born at Ware-Park in Hertfordſhire, in the month of June, 1608 (*a*). Being only ſeven years of age when his father died (*b*), the care of his education devolved upon his mother, who placed him under the famous ſchoolmaſter, Thomas Farnaby. November 12, 1623, he was admitted a Fellow-Commoner of Jeſus College, Cambridge, under the tuition of Dr. Beale, where he proſecuted his ſtudies with ſucceſs, and diſcovered a genius for claſſical learning. Thence he was removed to the Inner-Temple, Jan. 22, 1626; but at his mother's death he reſolved to purſue a line of life better adapted to his genius and inclination, and accordingly he travelled to France and Spain, for the purpoſe of acquiring the languages, and ſtudying the manners of thoſe countries. On his return home, he was appointed Secretary to the Embaſſy at Madrid, under Lord Aſton, and was left reſident there from the time of Lord Aſton's reſignation to the appointment of Sir Arthur Hopton in 1638 (*d*).

Being in England at the breaking-out of the civil war, he declared early for the crown, and was employed in ſeveral important matters of ſtate. In 1644, attending the Court at Oxford, he had the degree of Doctor of Civil Law conferred upon him (*e*), and was appointed Secretary at War to the Prince of Wales, whom he attended into the weſtern parts of England, and thence into the iſlands of Scilly and Jerſey (*f*). In 1648, he was appointed Treaſurer to the Navy under Prince Rupert, which office he managed till the year 1650, when he was created a Baronet, and ſent to Madrid to repreſent the neceſſitous ſituation of his maſter, and to beg a temporary aſſiſtance from Philip the Fourth. He was then ſent for to Scotland, and ſerved there in the capacity of Secretary of State to the great ſatisfaction of all parties, although he took neither covenant nor engagement [*B*]: about this time he was recommended by the King to the York party, who received him with great kindneſs, and entruſted him with the broad ſeal and ſignet. In 1651, he was taken priſoner at the battle of Worceſter, and committed to cloſe cuſtody in London; but, having contracted a dangerous ſickneſs, he had liberty allowed him, upon giving bail, to go for the recovery of his health to any place he ſhould chuſe, provided he ſtirred not five miles thence without leave from the Parliament. In 1654, he was at Tankerſley Park in Yorkſhire, which place he hired of his friend Lord Strafford, to whom he dedicated his tranſlation of the "Luçiad of Camoëns," made during his reſidence there. In February, 1659, (under pretence of travelling abroad with the eldeſt ſon of Philip Earl of Pembroke), he obtained his bail to be returned, and repaired to King Charles II. at Breda, who knighted him in April following; and appointed him Maſter of Requeſts, and Secretary of the Latin Tongue (*g*).

Upon his Majeſty's reſtoration, he expected to be appointed Secretary of State, from a promiſe which had formerly been made him of that office [*C*]; but to his great diſappointment, it was, at the inſtance of the Duke of Albemarle, given to Sir William Morrice (*b*).

He was elected one of the Repreſentatives of the Univerſity of Cambridge [*D*] in the Parliament which met the 8th of May, 1661, and was ſoon after ſworn a Privy Counſellor of Ireland. Having by his reſidence in foreign Courts, qualified himſelf for public employments abroad, he was ſent Envoy Extraordinary to Portugal, with a

* Communicated by Edmund Turnor, jun. Eſq.

(*a*) Baptized June 12.

(*b*) 10 March, 1615.

(*c*) Regiſter, Inner Temple.

(*d*) M.S. Memoirs.

(*e*) Wood's Faſti II. p. 43.

(*f*) M.S. Memoirs.

(*g*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*b*) Clarendon's Continuation of the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, 8vo. II. 568.

[*A*] *Sir Henry Fanſhawe*] was deſcended from an ancient family of that name, ſeated at Fanſhawe-gate, in the pariſh of Dronfield, in Derbyſhire. He inherited Ware Park, co. Herts, from his father, who bought it of Catharine Counteſs of Huntingdon, temp. Eliz. Sir Henry was twice married—By Mary Bouchier, his firſt wife, he had Thomas, created Viſcount Fanſhawe, of Dromore; Sir Simon; and Sir Richard, our author. By his ſecond wife, Elizabeth Smyth, he had iſſue, Sir Thomas Fanſhawe, of Jenkins, Clerk of the Crown, temp. James I. William, of Parſlow in Eſſex, Auditor of the Dutchy of Lancaſter; Alice married to Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, and Margaret to Sir Benj. Ayloffe. The office of Remembrancer of the Exchequer was enjoyed by five ſucceſſive generations of this family, from the time of Elizabeth to Queen Anne.

[*B*] *He took neither covenant nor engagement.*] When Sir Richard Fanſhawe's ill health obliged him to apply for his enlargement after the battle of Worceſter, where he was taken priſoner, Sir Henry Vane propoſed, as one of the conditions, that he ſhould take the engagement; upon which Cromwell, who was preſent, replied, that he never knew the engagement given as medicine: his liberty was then granted on 4000*l.* bail (1).

(1) M.S. Memoirs.

[*C*] *From a promiſe which had formerly been made him of that office.*] Which Lady Fanſhaw ſtates thus: 'The King promiſed Sir Richard that he ſhould be 'one of the Secretaries of State (at the Reſtoration), 'and both the Duke of Ormond and Lord Chancellor 'Clarendon were witneſſes of it; yet that falſe man 'made the King break his word, for his own accommodation, and placed Mr. Morrice, a poor country 'gentleman of about 200*l.* a year, a fierce Preſbyterian, and one who never ſaw the King's face; 'but ſtill promiſes were made of the reverſion to Sir 'Richard (2).'

(2) Ibid.

[*D*] *He was elected one of the Repreſentatives of the Univerſity of Cambridge.*] Sir Richard had the good fortune to be the firſt choſen, and the firſt returned member in the Commons-houſe after the King came home, and this coſt him no more than a letter of thanks, two brace of bucks, and twenty broad pieces for wine (3).

(3) Ibid.

dormant commiſſion to the Ambaſſador, which he was to make uſe of as occaſion ſhould require. Shortly after, he was appointed Ambaſſador to that Court, where he negotiated the marriage between his maſter King Charles II. and the Infanta Donna Catharina, daughter of King John VI. and returned to England towards the end of the ſame year. It appears that he was again ſent Ambaſſador to that Crown in 1662, and was, upon his return to England, the following year (*i*), ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council(*k*). His integrity, abilities, and induſtry, became ſo well known in Portugal, that he was recommended and deſired by that Crown to be ſent to Spain as the fitteſt perſon to bring about an accommodation between Spain and Portugal (*l*). In the beginning of the year 1664, he was ſent Ambaſſador to Philip IV. King of Spain [*E*], and arrived, February the 29th, at Cadiz, where he was ſaluted in a manner unexampled to others, and received with ſeveral circumſtances of particular eſteem(*m*) [*F*]. During his reſidence at this Court, he experienced ſuch frequent mortifications as Miniſters uſe to meet with in Courts irreſolute and perplexed in their own affairs, and had made a journey to Liſbon upon the earneſt deſire of Spain, and returned without effect. On a ſudden, when the recovery of Philip IV. grew deſperate, a project for a treaty was ſent to the Ambaſſador, containing more advantages of trade to the nation (which are the moſt important matters in all treaties), and inſiſting upon fewer inconvenient conditions than had ever been in any of the former, and urging the *immediate* acceptation or rejection of it, on account of the King's illneſs, "which," they declared, "might make ſuch an alteration in Counſels, that, if it were not done in his life-time, "they knew not what might happen after." The Ambaſſador, ſurpriſed with this overture, compared what was offered with what he was to demand by his inſtructions, and what was defective in thoſe particulars he added to the articles preſented to him, with ſuch farther additions, as, upon his own obſervation and conference with the merchants, occurred to him; which, being agreed to, he ſigned the treaty (*n*), with a ſecret article reſpecting Portugal, and ſent it to England. The treaty was no ſooner brought to the King, and peruſed in Council, but many faults were found with it, and in the end the King concluded that he would not ſign it; and thereupon the Ambaſſador was recalled (*o*) [*G*].

(*i*) Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, folio, p. 537, 539, 560, 588.

(*k*) M.S. Memoirs.

(*l*) Clarendon's Continuation ut ſupra, III. 582.

(*m*) See his Letters, p. 32, mentioned below.

(*n*) December 6, 1665. See Arlington's Letters, II. 114.

(*o*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

Sir

[*E*] *In the beginning of the year* 1664, *he was ſent Ambaſſador to Philip IV. King of Spain.*] His correſpondence during this embaſſy was publiſhed in 1701, in one volume, 8vo. under this title. 'Original Letters 'of his Excellency Sir Richard Fanſhawe during his 'Embaſſy in Spain and Portugal; which, together 'with divers Letters and Anſwers from the chief 'Miniſters of State in England, Spain, and Portugal, 'contain the whole Negotiations of the treaty of peace 'between thoſe three crowns.' The publiſher received theſe letters from the hands of a daughter of Sir Richard, who had them in her poſſeſſion. In Sir Richard's inſtructions, the chief points recommended to him were, to demand ſeparation and puniſhment from ſome free-booters, who had taken ſhips from the Engliſh, and to endeavour to reſtore amity, trade, and commerce, and renew the alliance between England and Spain: to mediate an accommodation between Spain and Portugal: to get the exportation of blacks into the Weſt-Indies appropriated to the Engliſh; and the preſcription of Spaniſh wools, &c.

[*F*] *And received with ſeveral circumſtances of particular eſteem.*] It appears from one of Sir Richard's letters, that this extraordinary reſpect was paid him not only upon his own but alſo upon his maſter the King of England's account. His words are thus: 'I had not been three hours on ſhore (at Cadiz) 'when an extraordinary meſſenger arrived from 'Madrid, with more particular orders than formerly 'from his Catholic Majeſty, importing that our 'maſter's fleet, when arrived, and his ambaſſador, 'ſhould be pre-ſaluted from the city in a manner un-'exampled to others, and which ſhould not be drawn 'into example hereafter. Moreover (and this ſo 'likewiſe) that I and all my company muſt be totally 'defrayed, both here and all the way up to Madrid, 'upon his Catholic Majeſty's account; with ſeveral 'other circumſtances of particular eſteem for our 'royal maſter, above all the world beſide.' From a paſſage in another letter of his it is evident, that the hope the Spaniards entertained, of having Tangier and Jamaica reſtored to them by England, was, 'that 'which made his arrival impatiently longed for, and 'ſo magnificently celebrated.'

[*G*] *And thereupon the Ambaſſador was recalled.*] Lady Fanſhawe's account is as follows: 'The articles 'concluded on between England and Spain by Sir 'Richard Fanſhawe, and the articles for the adjuſt-'ment between Spain and Portugal, were cavilled at 'by Lord Chancellor Clarendon and his party, that 'they might have an opportunity to ſend the Earl of 'Sandwich out of the way from the Parliament which 'then ſat, as he and his friends feared he would be 'ſeverely puniſhed for his cowardice in the Dutch 'fight. He neither underſtood the cuſtoms of the 'Court, nor the language, nor indeed any thing but 'a vicious life; and thus was he ſhuffled into Sir 'Richard's employment, to reap the benefit of his 'five years negotiation of the peace of England, 'Spain, and Portugal, and after above thirty years 'ſtudying ſtate affairs, and many of them in the 'Spaniſh Court. So much are ambaſſadors ſlaves to 'the public miniſters at home, who often through 'ignorance or envy ruin them!' The letter which he wrote to Charles II. on this occaſion is amongſt the Harl. MSS. in the *Muſeum*, No. 7010.

*Madrid, Thurſday 3d June, 1666. St. Loci.*

'By the hands of my Lord of Sandwich, who 'arrived in this Court upon Friday laſt, was delivered 'to me a letter of revocation from your Majeſty, 'directed to the Queen Regent, and at the ſame time 'another, with which your Majeſty honoured me for 'myſelf, implying the principal (if not the only) 'motive of the former to have been, ſome exceptions 'that had been made relative to the papers which I 'ſigned with the Duke of Medinas de los Torres, 'upon the 17th of December laſt paſt; a conſidera-'tion ſufficient to have utterly caſt down a ſoul leſs 'ſenſible than hath ever been mine of your Majeſty's 'leaſt ſhow of diſpleaſure, though not accompanied 'with other puniſhments, if your Majeſty (according 'to the accuſtomed tenderneſs of your Royal diſpoſi-'tion, in which you excel all Monarchs living), to 'comfort an old ſervant, had not yourſelf broken the 'blow in the deſcent, by this gracious expreſſion in 'the ſame letter: "that I may aſſure myſelf your 'Majeſty believes I proceeded in the articles ſigned by 'me,

Sir Richard was preparing for his return to England; when, June 4, 1666, he was ſeized at Madrid with a violent fever which put an end to his life the 16th of the ſame month, the very day he had deſigned to ſet out on his return home (*p*). His body, being embalmed, was conveyed by his lady, with all his children then living, by land to Calais, and ſo to London; whence being carried to All Saints Church in Hertford, it was depoſited in the vault of his father-in-law, Sir John Harriſon, till May 18, 1671, when it was removed into a new vault, made on purpoſe for him and his family in the pariſh-church of Ware. Near the vault there is a handſome monument erected to his memory (*q*) [*H*]. He was remarkable for his meekneſs, ſincerity, humanity, and piety; and alſo was an able ſtateſman and a great ſcholar, being in particular a complete maſter of ſeveral modern languages, eſpecially Spaniſh, which was perfectly familiar to him.

(*p*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*q*) M.S. Memoirs. Chauncey's Antiq of Hertfordſhire, p. 211.

What he wrote, or publiſhed, is mentioned in the note [*I*]. By his Lady, Anne, eldeſt daughter of Sir John Harriſon of Balls [*K*], he had ſix ſons and eight daughters; whereof only one ſon and four daughters ſurvived him.

'me, as aforeſaid, with integrity and regard to your royal ſervice, and that I may be further aſſured the ſame will juſtify me towards your Majeſty, whatever exceptions may have been made to my papers."

'In obedience to your Majeſty's letter abovementioned, I make account, God willing, to be upon my way towards England ſome time next month, having in the interim performed to my Lord Sandwich (as I hope I ſhall to his full ſatisfaction) thoſe offices which your Majeſty commands me in the ſame, whoſe royal perſon, councils, and undertakings, God Almighty preſerve and proſper many years; the daily fervent prayers of

'Your Majeſty's
'Ever loyal ſubject,
'Ever faithful and
'Moſt obedient ſervant,
'RICHARD FANSHAWE.'

kerſley-Park, in Yorkſhire; which uneaſy ſituation induced him to write the following ſtanzas on this work.

Time was, when I, a pilgrim of the ſeas;
When I, 'midſt noiſe of camps and court's diſeaſe,
Purloin'd ſome hours to charm rude cares with verſe,
Which flame of faithful ſhepherd did rehearſe.

But now, reſtrain'd from ſea, from camp, from court,
And by a tempeſt blown into a port,
I raiſe my thoughts to muſe on higher things,
And echo arms and loves of Queens and Kings.

Which Queens (deſpiſing crowns and Hymen's band)
Would neither man obey, nor man command;
Great pleaſure from rough ſeas to ſee the ſhore;
Or from firm land to hear the billows roar.

He compoſed ſeveral other things, which he had not leiſure to complete: even ſome of the beforementioned printed pieces have not all the perfection which our ingenious author could have given them; but that is not the caſe with his excellent tranſlation of *Paſtor Fido*, which was publiſhed by himſelf, and hath been applauded by ſome of the beſt judges, particularly by Sir John Denham, in a poem beginning with the following celebrated diſtich (7).

(7) Denham's Poems, 8vo. 1709, page 114.

"Such is our pride, or folly, or our fate,
"That few but ſuch as cannot write, tranſlate."

After cenſuring ſervile tranſlators, he goes on to praiſe our author thus:

"Secure of fame thou juſtly doſt eſteem
"Leſs honour to create than to redeem.
"That ſervile path thou nobly doſt decline
"Of tracing word by word, and line by line."

And concludes the encomium in this maſterly deſcription of the freedom of his tranſlation:

"That maſter's hand, which to the life can trace,
"The airs, the line, the features, of the face,
"May with a free and bolder ſtroke expreſs
"A vary'd poſture, or a flatt'ring dreſs;
"He could have made thoſe like, who made the reſt,
"But that he knew his own deſign was beſt."

[*H*] *Near the vault there is a handſome monument erected to his memory.*] Sir Henry Chauncey gives a deſcription of it (4), with the epitaph: wherein the character given of Sir Richard is, that he was moſt eminent for ſweetneſs of temper, loyalty, &c. *Vir comitate morum, literarum Luce, fidei conſtantia præſtantiſſimus, &c.* The monument, and vault, where his mournful relict intended to be buried herſelf, coſt her 200*l.* (5).

(4) Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, p. 211.

(5) M.S. Memoirs.

[*I*] *What he wrote or publiſhed is mentioned in the note.*] Namely, 1. An Engliſh tranſlation, in rhyme, of the celebrated Italian paſtoral, called, "Il Paſtor "Fido, or the Faithful Shepherd," written originally by Battiſta Guarini, printed at London, 1646, 4to. and 1664, 8vo. 2. Select parts of Horace into Engliſh, 1652, 8vo. 3. A tranſlation from Engliſh into Latin verſe, of "The Faithful Shepherdeſs," a paſtoral, written originally by John Fletcher, London, 1658. 4. In the octavo edition of 'The Faithful Shep-"herdeſs," anno 1664, are inſerted the following poems of our author's, viz. 1. An ode upon occaſion of his Majeſty's proclamation in 1630, commanding the gentry to reſide upon their eſtates in the country. 2. A ſummary diſcourſe on the civil wars of Rome; extracted from the beſt Latin writers in verſe and proſe. 3. An Engliſh tranſlation of the fourth book of Virgil's Æneis, on the Loves of Dido and Æneas. 4. Two odes out of Horace, relating to the civil wars of Rome, againſt covetous rich men. 5. He tranſlated, from Portugueze into Engliſh, "The Luciad, "or Portugal's Hiſtorical Poem;" written originally by Louis de Camoëns. Lond. 1655, &c. fol. (From the many corrections in the Tranſlator's copy, now in the poſſeſſion of Edm. Turnor, Eſq. it appears to have been very negligently printed, which may in ſome degree account for the Remarks of Mr. Mickle (6) on this tranſlation of our author.) 6. After his deceaſe, namely in 1671, were publiſhed two poſthumous pieces of his in 4to. *Querer per ſolo querer:* "To Love "only for Love's ſake," a dramatic piece, repreſented before the King and Queen of Spain; and *Fieſtas de Aranjuez*: "Feſtivals at Aranjuez," both written originally in Spaniſh, by Antonio de Mendoza; upon occaſion of celebrating the birth-day of King Philip IV. in 1621, at Aranjuez. They were tranſlated by our author in 1654, during his confinement at Tan-

(6) Mickle's Luciad, 4to.

[*K*] *Anne, eldeſt daughter of Sir John Harriſon of Balls.*] She was the daughter of Sir John Harriſon by Margaret his wife, daughter of Robert Fanſhawe, of Fanſhawe-Gate, Eſq. great uncle to Sir Richard, to whom ſhe was married in Wolvercot church, near Oxford, 18 May, 1644. She compiled, for the uſe of her only ſon, "Memoirs of the Fanſhawe "Family," containing a particular account of their ſufferings in the royal cauſe, in which ſhe and her ſiſter Margaret Harriſon (who, in 1654, married Sir Edmund Turnor, of Stoke-Rochford, co. Lincoln, Knt.) bore a conſiderable ſhare, being the conſtant companions of Sir Richard in thoſe perilous times. The deſcription of her and her huſband's taking leave

of Charles I. when he was a priſoner at Hampton-Court, is very affecting, and is told with great ſimplicity. 'During the King's ſtay at Hampton-Court, I 'went three times to pay my duty to him, both as I 'was the daughter of his ſervant, and the wife of his 'ſervant; the laſt time I ever ſaw him I could not 'refrain from weeping. When I took my leave of 'the King, he ſaluted me, and I prayed God to pre-'ſerve his Majeſty with long life and happy years. 'The King ſtroked me on the cheek, and ſaid, "Child, 'if God pleaſeth it ſhall be ſo, but both you and I 'muſt ſubmit to God's will; and you know in what 'hands I am in." Then turning to my huſband he 'ſaid, "Be ſure, Dick, to tell my ſon all that I have 'ſaid, and deliver theſe letters to my wife. Pray 'God bleſs her; and I hope I ſhall do well." Then 'taking my huſband in his arms, he ſaid, "Thou 'haſt ever been an honeſt man; I hope God will 'bleſs thee, and make thee a happy ſervant to my 'ſon, whom I have charged in my letter to continue 'his love and truſt to you;" adding, "And I do 'promiſe you, if I am ever reſtored to my dignity, I 'will bountifully reward you both for your ſervices 'and ſufferings"—Thus did we part from that glori-'ous ſun, that within a few months afterwards was 'extinguiſhed, to the grief of all Chriſtians, who are 'not forſaken of their God.'

Theſe memoirs, from the variety of intereſting matter they contain, might, if they were publiſhed, prove an acceptable preſent to the public. The excellent writer of them was no leſs diſtinguiſhed for her ſtrength of mind and courage than for her piety and virtue. When the veſſel that carried her from Ireland to Spain was attacked, ſhe put on men's clothes, and fought with the ſailors (8).

(8) M.S. Memoirs, and European Magazine for 1792.

*** [FARMER (Hugh), a learned Divine among the Proteſtant Diſſenters, was born in the year 1714. The place of his birth was a village near Shrewſbury, where his parents reſided, and where they lived in much eſteem, being perſons of diſtinguiſhed piety and virtue. His deſcent was from very reſpectable and religious anceſtors in North Wales. The Reverend Hugh Owen, of Bronyclydwr, in Merionethſhire, an eminent character among the ejected Miniſters of the principality, and of whom an honourable account is given by Dr. Calamy, was our author's grandfather. Mr. Farmer, being early deſigned for the Chriſtian Miniſtry, received the firſt part of his grammatical learning in a ſchool, at that time of conſiderable reputation, in Llanegrin, near Towyn, Merionethſhire, and which had been founded by two of his progenitors. From this place he was ſent to perfect his claſſical education under the tuition of Dr. Owen, of Warrington, a gentleman whom we have had occaſion to mention with reſpect in the 309th page of our preſent volume. It was, we apprehend, in 1730, that Mr. Farmer began his academical ſtudies at Northampton, under the care of Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Philip Doddridge. He was one of the Doctor's earlieſt pupils; and we need not ſay that he muſt have rendered himſelf conſpicuous by his abilities, application, and improvements. Dr. Doddridge was ſenſible of the honour he was likely to derive from ſuch a ſtudent; and, though he did not live to ſee the eminence which he attained in the literary world, always ſpoke of him in terms of high reſpect (*a*). After Mr. Farmer had finiſhed his academical courſe, he became chaplain to William Coward, Eſq. of Waltham-Stowe, Eſſex, and preacher in a meeting-houſe which had been lately erected by that gentleman, whoſe name is of great note among the Diſſenters, on account of the large bequeſts which he made for the education of young men for the miniſtry, and for other beneficent purpoſes. Mr. Coward was remarkable for the peculiarities and oddities of his temper; and in this reſpect many pleaſant ſtories are related concerning him. Amongſt his other whimſies, his houſe was ſhut up at an uncommonly early hour, we believe at ſix in the winter, and ſeven in the ſummer; and whoever, whether a viſitant or a ſtated reſident, treſpaſſed upon the time, was denied admiſſion. Mr. Farmer having one evening been ſomewhat too late, was of courſe excluded. In this exigence he had recourſe to a neighbouring family, and it was one of the moſt fortunate circumſtances of his life. Indeed, it conſtitutes the principal epocha of his perſonal hiſtory. The houſe in which he took refuge was that of William Snell, Eſq. a Solicitor of the higheſt reputation for his abilities and integrity; and of whom no greater encomium needs to be given than that he lived in habits of intimacy and friendſhip with the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, Sir John Strange, and others of the firſt eminence, in that day, at the bar and on the bench. In this worthy family Mr. Farmer continued more than thirty years, during the lives of Mr. and Mrs. Snell, by whom he was treated more like an equal than an inferior. Here he enjoyed a long ſeries of peaceful leiſure, which he employed in collecting a large fund of ſacred and profane literature, intended to be produced in the defence and illuſtration of natural and revealed Religion (*b*). At the ſame time, he was peculiarly diligent, and peculiarly acceptable as a preacher. His congregatiou, which, when he accepted the paſtoral charge of it, was very ſmall, gradually increaſed in number and in character; ſo that it became one of the moſt wealthy diſſenting ſocieties in or near the City of London. The writer of this article well remembers its having been attended with between thirty and forty coaches.

(*a*) Urwick's funeral Sermon for Mr. Farmer, p. 29, 30.

(*b*) Gent. Mag. Vol. LVI. p. 184. Urwick, ubi ſupra, p. 33.

Mr. Farmer's firſt appearance as an author was in a diſcourſe on the ſuppreſſion of the Rebellion of 1745. It was preached on the day of public thankſgiving appointed upon that occaſion in 1746, and printed in the ſame year. This was the only ſermon that we recollect his having ever committed to the preſs. His abilities, though they might

might eminently have been displayed in that way, led him to higher exertions in literature. In 1761, he published "An Enquiry into the Nature and Design of Christ's "Temptation in the Wilderness[A];" the general intention of which is to shew, that this part of the evangelical history is not only to be understood as a recital of visionary representations, but that the whole was a divine vision, premonitory of the labours and offices of our Lord's future ministry. An interpretation, so new and singular, could not pass unnoticed. In 1762, there appeared a pamphlet against the Enquiry, entituled, "Christ's Temptations, real Facts: or, a Defence of the Evangelic History; shewing "that our Lord's Temptations may be fairly and reasonably understood as a Narrative "of what was really transacted." As we do not recollect that we ever read this performance, we cannot speak of it with precision. By the critics it was characterized as abounding more in learning than in judgment (c). A second edition of Mr. Farmer's treatise was soon called for; in which the subject received additional illustration from a considerable number of new notes. Besides this, our author published, in 1764, an appendix to the "Enquiry," containing some farther observations on the point in debate, and an answer to objections. Another tract, the publication of which was occasioned by the "Enquiry," was entituled, "The Sovereignty of the Divine Administration vindicated, or a rational Account of our blessed Saviour's remarkable Temptation in the Wilderness; the Possessed at Capernaum, the Demoniacs at Gadara, and "the Destruction of the Swine: with free Remarks on several other important Passages in the New Testament." This was a posthumous piece, which had been written before Mr. Farmer's work appeared, by Mr. Dixon, who had been a Dissenting Minister, first at Norwich, and afterwards at Bolton in Lancashire. Mr. Dixon proposes a figurative or allegorical interpretation of our Lord's temptation. His opinion is, that the devil was not at all concerned in it; but that such thoughts arose in the

(c) Monthly Review, Vol. XXVII. p. 78.

[A] *Of Christ's temptation in the wilderness.*] Before our author attempts to settle the true nature and design of our Saviour's temptation, he considers what objections lie against the several explications that have hitherto been given of this part of the New Testament history. It has commonly been understood as a narrative of real facts. The devil, it is supposed, tempted Christ in person, appeared to him in a visible form, spoke to him in an audible voice, and removed him corporeally from one place to author. But this opinion Mr. Farmer thinks to be liable to various objections. The principal objections to it are, that it is unsuitable to the sagacity and policy of the evil spirit; that it is very ill-calculated to promote either the honour of Christ or the instruction and consolation of his disciples; that it ascribes to the devil the performance of the greatest miracles, and of things not only preter-natural, but absurd and impossible; and that the text itself, instead of positively and expressly asserting, that the temptation of Christ was a real outward transaction, contains clear intimations, if not direct assertions, of the very contrary. Some writers there are, who, allowing that this part of the evangelical history is to be understood as a recital of visionary representations, contend, that these visions were framed by the devil, and that the temptations are to be ascribed to his immediate agency. This interpretation our author acknowledges to have one advantage above the former, that it does not destroy the uniformity of the history, nor represent the Evangelists as blending together, indiscriminately, ideal and real objects. But, in all other respects, he endeavours to prove, that it is liable to equal or even greater difficulties than the former. Having considered the objections that may be raised against the two different explications of our Saviour's temptations which have commonly prevailed. Mr. Farmer proceeds to enquire whether the text itself does not lead to a very different interpretation; whether it does not represent the temptation of Christ as befalling him while he was under a prophetic vision, of which the Spirit of God himself was the immediate and sole author. That the temptation is to be regarded in this light, he thinks may be fairly argued from the express letter of the text, and from several circumstances in the narrative; and in the proof of his position, whether he be finally successful or not, he certainly displays great critical skill and ingenuity. As it was in vision only that Christ was removed from place to place, so it was in the same manner, likewise, that he was tempted by the devil. But it may be asked, if he was tempted while under the power of a divine vision, why is it said that he was led up into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil? and why is the devil described as coming to him, and tempting him accordingly, and taking him from one place to another, just in the same manner as if he had been really present, and actually done these things? Mr. Farmer answers, that in a vision the *images* of things appear, and not the *objects themselves*; and, therefore, that the devil was not really and personally present with Christ, but only in mental representation; and consequently that he could act no part in the whole transaction. But, though there was no real presence or agency of Satan upon the occasion, yet was his image now placed before the imagination of Christ, and he seemed to him to say and do all that is ascribed to him in the history; which was, *in effect*, the same thing, with regard to Christ, as if this had been the very case. Hence the history affirms, that the devil did all these things; and the Evangelists, in thus expressing themselves, have used no other language than what it was to be expected they would use; no other than what was common on all such occasions.

With respect to the proper intention of this prophetic vision, our author labours to prove, that the several scenes which it contains, though presented to Christ in the form, and capable of answering the end, of a present trial, were principally designed as a symbolical prediction and representation of the future difficulties of his office and ministry. Having prepared the way for the proof of this proposition, by premising some general observations, he proceeds to examine the several scenes of the vision, in order to point out the peculiar intention of each, and to shew how well they were adapted to the purpose in view. Each scene, while it contained the proposal of a present and urgent temptation, was a symbolical prediction and representation of such trials as our Lord was to undergo in the course of his future ministry. Mr. Farmer endeavours farther to evince, that there was a peculiar propriety in *the season* at which the vision took place. The "Enquiry" is concluded with the three following observations: That the account given of Christ's temptation obviates all the objections made to the common interpretation, and justifies the wisdom of God in this dispensation; that it exalts the character of Christ, and confirms our Faith in his divine mission; and that it affords ample consolation and instruction to his disciples, under the manifold and great temptations with which they may be called out to struggle (1).

(1) Monthly Review, Vol. XXV. p. 130-141.

mind of our Saviour as would naturally have arisen in the mind of any person in the same or like circumstances with those in which Christ then was. The editor, Mr. Seddon, of Warrington, thinks that Mr. Dixon's notion of an allegorical representation of real temptations is preferable to an entire *visionary scene*; and asks, "is it not "more honourable to our Lord, and more exemplary (*d*)?" Not again to resume the present subject, we shall here take notice, that a third edition of Mr. Farmer's "Enquiry" was published in 1776. This impression contains large additions, more especially in the third section. What our author has principally in view is to confirm, by new arguments, his explication of "Christ's being brought into a Wilderness by or "in the Spirit (*e*)."

(*d*) Monthly Review, Vol. XXXII. p. 149, 150. Monthly Review, Vol. XXXIV. p. 327.

(*e*) Ibid. Vol. LVI. 314.

The "Enquiry" was only a prelude to the more important designs which Mr. Farmer had in view. In 1771, he published "A Dissertation on Miracles, designed to "shew, that they are Arguments of a divine Interposition, and absolute Proofs of the "Mission and Doctrine of a Prophet," octavo. As this is our author's prime composition, and very curious in its kind; as, likewise, it is become very scarce, and is not likely soon, if ever, to be reprinted, we shall insert below a full account of it, which was drawn up at the time by the writer of the present article [*B*]. Not long after the appearance

[*B*] *Which was drawn up at the time by the writer of the present article.*] So great a number of learned and elaborate treatises have been written upon miracles, that many of our readers will be disposed to consider the subject as entirely exhausted, or will imagine, at least, that nothing farther can be said upon it that is very necessary or important. But, the persons who form this opinion, will, we believe, upon a diligent examination of the matter, find themselves to be mistaken. Indeed, the notion, that it is scarcely possible to advance any thing which is new, is a false one, with regard almost to every object of knowledge and science. The continued cultivation of human reason, and a free and accurate discussion of nice and difficult questions, cannot fail either of producing fresh discoveries, or of setting what is already known in a clearer and more striking point of view. Even the multitude of books, that have been published on a subject, may render a farther enquiry into it extremely desirable and useful, in order to disentangle it from the errors which have been mixed with it, and to bring men back to the simplicity of truth.

This is particularly the case with respect to miracles. Were we to consult the natural dictates of the understanding, we could scarcely doubt but that miracles must proceed from God alone, and that they are decisive testimonies of the divine authority of the persons by whom they are wrought. These plain and obvious principles have, however, been strangely obscured and perverted, not only by the subtleties of scepticism, but by the false reasonings, and absurd suppositions, of Christian writers. Divines of the greatest eminence, and who in other respects have done signal service to the interests of Revelation, have fallen into considerable mistakes in relation to the true nature and design of miracles, and especially with regard to the beings who have been supposed capable of performing them. It became, therefore, highly necessary to re-examine the subject; to clear it from the embarrassments in which it has been involved; and to place it in that just and proper point of light in which it is exhibited by the genuine dictates of reason, and the concurrent representations of scripture. This hath been done, in a very satisfactory manner, in the ingenious and learned work before us, which we scruple not to pronounce to be one of those substantial and durable treatises that will always be considered as a valuable and important acquisition to the cause of sacred literature.

"What is attempted," says Mr. Farmer, "in the "following sheets, is, to refute those principles of "demonism, which have done so much discredit to "the argument drawn from miracles in favour of the "Jewish and Christian revelations. Without entering "into an examination of the peculiar nature and cir-"cumstances of the scripture miracles, I consider "only the general question, Whether miracles are, in "themselves, evidences of a divine interposition, and "consequently (when properly applied) certain "proofs of the divine original of a supernatural reve-"lation? Nor is it merely the credit of revelation "that is concerned in this question, but the honour "also of the general administration of divine pro-"vidence, and the common interests of piety and "virtue."

The performance opens with some preliminary considerations; in the first section of which the nature of miracles is explained, and shewn to consist in their contrariety to those general rules by which the visible world is governed, or to the common course of events in it.

"That the visible world," says our Author, "is "governed by stated general rules, commonly called "the laws of nature; or that there is an order of "causes and effects established in every part of the "system of nature, so far as it falls under our obser-"vation, is a point which none can controvert. "Effects produced by the regular operation of the "laws of nature, or that are conformable to its esta-"blished course, are called natural. Effects, contrary "to this settled constitution and course of things, I "esteem miraculous. Were the constant motion of "the planets to be suspended, or a dead man to return "to life, each of these would be a miracle, because "repugnant to those general rules by which this "world is governed at all other times.

"All miracles suppose an established system of "nature, within the limits of which they operate, and "with the order of which they disagree. The crea-"tion of the world at first, therefore, though an im-"mediate effect of divine omnipotence, would not "come under this denomination. It was different "from, but not contrary to, that course of nature, "which had not hitherto taken place. And miracles "may be said to disagree with, or to be contrary to, "the general rules and order of the natural system, "not only when they *change* the former qualities of "any of the constituent parts of nature (as when "water, for example, is converted into wine) or when "they *controul* their usual operation and effects, (as "when fire, without losing its properties, does not "burn combustible materials, or a river is divided in "its course, the water still preserving its gravity,) but "also when they *supersede* (as they always do) the "usual operation of natural causes. For, effects pro-"duced in the pre-established system of nature, with-"out the assistance of natural causes, are manifest "variations from, or contradictions to, the order and "usual course of things in that system. That a man "should be enabled to speak a new language, which "he never learnt in a natural way, and that his body "should be supported without food, are events evi-"dently contrary to the ordinary course of things, and "to that constitution of divine providence which ren-"ders mankind dependent upon their own study and "application for the knowledge of languages, and "upon food for sustenance. We do not affirm, that "miracles do universally and necessarily imply a pro-

appearance of the "Diſſertation," a notion was propagated, that Mr. Farmer had made

"per *ſuſpenſion* of the laws of the natural world, ſo "as that they ſhould ceaſe to produce their uſual "effects: the human mind may receive new know- "ledge in a ſupernatural manner, without any ſuſ- "penſion of its preſent powers. Nevertheleſs, the "ſupernatural communication of new knowledge to "the human mind, is contrary to the general rules by "which the human ſyſtem is governed, or to that con- "nection which God has eſtabliſhed between our ac- "quiſition of knowledge and the proper exerciſe of "our rational faculties."

After clearing this account from objections, Mr. Farmer goes on to obſerve, that moſt writers, in defining a miracle, ſeem to place it, not in *the effect produced*, but in the *cauſe*, or at leaſt include the latter in their definition.

"A *miraculous effect*, like every *common appearance*, "has its own proper ſpecific nature, diſtinguiſhing it "from all others of a different kind, ſeparate from the "conſideration of its cauſe. And it is the operation, "or effect, alone, which is affirmed to be contrary to "that eſtabliſhed order and diſpoſition of things, "commonly called the courſe of nature: the real in- "viſible agent by whom the effect is produced, though "he acts out of his uſual ſphere, exerts only his natural "powers. The contrariety or conformity of the event "itſelf to thoſe laws by which this world is governed "in the courſe of God's general providence, is that "alone which denominates and conſtitutes it a proper "miracle or not."

From the deſcription which our Author has given of the nature of miracles, he draws four concluſions; the third of which is as follows:

"Before we can pronounce with certainty any ef- "fect to be a true miracle, it is neceſſary—that the "common courſe of nature be in ſome degree firſt un- "derſtood. In all thoſe caſes in which we are *igno- "rant* of nature, it is impoſſible to determine what is "or is not a deviation from it, or to diſtinguiſh be- "tween miracles and natural effects. Even a real "miracle cannot be admitted as ſuch, or carry any con- "viction, to thoſe who are not aſſured that the event is "contradictory to the courſe of nature. On the other "hand, in all caſes in which the courſe of nature is *un- "derſtood*, it will be eaſy to determine whether any "particular event be contrary or conformable to it, "that is, whether it be a real miracle. Miracles "therefore are not, what ſome repreſent them, ap- "peals to our ignorance: they ſuppoſe ſome antece- "dent knowledge of nature, *without* which, it is "owned, no proper judgment can be formed con- "cerning them; though, *with* it, their reality may "be ſo apparent as to prevent all diſpute or heſitation. "*Every ſenſible deviation from, or contradiction to, the "known laws of nature, muſt be an evident and incon- "teſtible miracle.*"

The deſign of the ſecond ſection of the firſt chapter, is to prove, that miracles are not impoſſible to the power of God; that they are not neceſſarily repugnant to our ideas of his wiſdom and immutability; and that they do not imply any inconſiſtency in the divine conduct, or any defect or diſturbance of the laws of nature. In ſhewing that miracles are not repugnant to our ideas of the divine wiſdom the writer obſerves, that frequent miraculous interpoſitions might, indeed, argue a defect in thoſe general laws by which the world is governed; to the regular execution of which laws we owe our ideas of order and harmony, our rational expectations of ſucceſs in all our undertakings, and our ſtrongeſt convictions of wiſe counſel in the frame and government of the univerſe.

"Conſequently," ſays he, "it muſt appear highly "improbable, that variations from thoſe laws ſhould "take place, unleſs upon ſome ſpecial and urgent occa- "ſions. Yet, whoever reflects on the boundleſs extent "and duration of the divine government will eaſily "perceive that nothing can be more abſurd, as well as "arrogant, than for man, a creature whoſe faculties "are ſo limited, and who is but of yeſterday, to pre- "ſume to determine that no fit occaſion for extraordi- "nary interpoſals can ever occur in that adminiſtra- "tion, the plan of which tranſcends his comprehen- "ſion. By what principles of reaſon can it be "demonſtrated, that he, who reigns from eternity, "never formed any deſigns except ſuch as may be "accompliſhed by the preſent eſtabliſhment and "ſtructure of the univerſe?—It would be difficult to "prove that God may not, in certain circumſtances, "have *greater reaſons* for varying from his ſtated rules "of acting than for adhering to them. And, when- "ever this is the caſe, and the end propoſed is pro- "portionable to the means of accompliſhing it, the "miracles are worthy of a divine interpoſition."

In the third and laſt ſection of the preliminary conſiderations, Mr. Farmer examines into the different cauſes to which miracles have been aſcribed; and, at the concluſion of the chapter, ſets before his readers the following view of his own ſcheme, and the point he hath undertaken to eſtabliſh.

"It will now, perhaps, be enquired, "If miracles "are neither the effects of natural cauſes, nor of ſu- "perior created intelligence, acting from themſelves "alone; and if it cannot be proved that they do uni- "verſally and neceſſarily require the exertion of infi- "nite power, to what cauſe they are to be aſcribed?" "I anſwer they are always to be aſcribed to *a divine "interpoſition:* by which I mean, that they are never "wrought but either immediately by God himſelf, or "by ſuch other beings as he commiſſions and em- "powers to perform them. Miracles may not require "a degree of power abſolutely *incommunicable* to any "created agent; and yet God may never *actually "communicate* a miraculous power to any creature, or "do it only where he directly authorizes its uſe. Now "whether God works the miracles himſelf alone, or "whether he enables and commiſſions others to work "them, there is equally a divine interpoſition: and "in either caſe every purpoſe of religion will be ſe- "cured; for, whatever God authoriſes and empowers "another to do is, in effect, done by God, and is "as manifeſtly a declaration of his will as what he "does immediately himſelf. He can no more autho- "riſe another to act than he can himſelf act in op- "poſition to his own nature, or in confirmation of "impoſture.

"The point then which I ſhall undertake to eſta- "bliſh, is this, "that miracles are the peculiar "works of God, or ſuch as can never be effected "without *a divine interpoſition*, in the ſenſe of the "phraſe already explained." This point we ſhall "endeavour to eſtabliſh both by reaſon and revela- "tion. And, ſhould we ſucceed in this attempt, "there will then be no difficulty in ſhewing that mi- "racles are, in themſelves, certain proofs of the di- "vinity of the miſſion and doctrine of the performer, "and the moſt effectual methods of recommending "him to the regard of mankind."

The ſecond chapter contains the arguments that may be drawn from reaſon, to prove that miracles are never effected without a divine interpoſition; and, in the firſt ſection of this chapter, it is ſhewn that the ſame conſiderations, which manifeſt the exiſtence of ſuperior created intelligences, do much more ſtrongly conclude againſt their acting out of their proper ſphere. From the *diverſity of creatures*, and the *gradual aſcent* from the loweſt to the higheſt order of exiſtence obſervable here on earth, it has been inferred, that the ſcale of beings is continued upwards above man, and that there are numberleſs ſpecies of creatures ſuperior to him, as we know there are of ſuch as are inferior to him. This reaſoning, according to our author, has not, perhaps, all that force in it, which its having been uncontroverted might lead us to ſuppoſe. Should it, however, be granted, that the ſcale of beings in our planet is a concluſive proof, not only of a like gradation of beings elſewhere, but alſo of there being in the univerſe creatures as much ſuperior to man, as man is of the meaneſt reptile; ſtill, he obſerves, the ſame kind of reaſoning, which proves there are ſuch beings, proves, at the ſame time, that they have a certain limited ſphere of action

made conſiderable uſe of a treatiſe of Le Moine's on the ſame ſubject, without acknowledging

tion appointed them by God. For, how various ſoever the powers of different ſpecies of creatures here on earth may be, they are all under particular laws, and have bounds circumſcribed to their activity, which they are not able to tranſgreſs: and the rule of analogy teaches us to conclude the ſame concerning all other beings.

"If we may judge of the conduct of Providence in "unknown inſtances by thoſe which fall under our "obſervation, HE, *who has ſet bounds to the Sea, "which it cannot paſs, and ſays to its proud waves, "Hitherto ſhall you come, but no farther*, has bounded "the power, and fixed the ſtate of all the creatures "which he hath made, not excepting thoſe of the "nobleſt order. And therefore whatever their natu"ral powers may be, and however freely they may "be allowed to uſe them, they are limited and de"termined to ſuch purpoſes as God has appointed, "and cannot poſſibly be extended beyond the ſphere "aſſigned them by the Creator. And yet, no ſooner "is it proved (or thought to be ſo) that probably there "are, in ſome portion of the univerſe, beings ſupe"rior to man, than it ſeems to be taken for granted, "that they have the liberty of an unbounded range "over the whole creation, and their influence extends "over this earthly globe, in particular, and that they "ſtand in the ſame relation to man as man himſelf "does to inferior creatures. But, though there be a "ſtrict connexion between the different orders of "creatures on this earth, who all belong to the ſame "ſyſtem, yet none of them have any poſſible com"munication from this lower world with the inhabi"tants of different ſyſtems; none of them are able "to traverſe the univerſe, or to paſs the bounds of "their proper dwelling. And this muſt be the caſe "in other ſyſtems, ſuppoſing them to be regulated by "the ſame laws which take place in our own. Their "inhabitants may have larger capacities than man"kind, and a wider province aſſigned them, and yet "have no more power over us than we have over "them; they may have no communication with us, "nor any influence beyond the limits of their own "globe.

"If," continues Mr. Farmer, "we wave the ar"gument from what is called the ſcale of being, and "appeal to the unbounded power and goodneſs of "God, or to the aſtoniſhing magnificence of the "univerſe, in proof of the exiſtence of creatures of a "higher order than man: ſtill theſe arguments, how"ever concluſive, will not prove that they are not "under the continual government and controul of "God, or that they have not all their proper depart"ment: for, not to allege that the power and good"neſs of God, though ſtrictly infinite, and though they "have (without doubt) diſplayed themſelves in the "production of more noble orders of beings than "mankind, are not, however, exerted to the utmoſt "in every, or in *any*, ſingle effect, it is certain they "are never exercited but under the direction of un"erring wiſdom, by which all things are framed in "the moſt exact proportions: and, as to the univerſe, "it is no leſs diſtinguiſhed by its perfect order and "harmony than by its grandeur and extent. To "what purpoſe then is it to plead, that we know not "what degrees of power God may have communicated "to created beings? Can it be ſhewn that they are "ſubject to no laws, that their influence is unconfined, "and reaches to all the ſyſtems of the univerſe?"

It is the opinion of that juſtly celebrated writer, Dr. Clarke, that, to deny created ſpirits the *natural* power of working miracles, is ſaying, *they have no power naturally to do any thing at all.* But our author obſerves, that Dr. Clarke's reaſoning proceeds upon theſe two principles, that ſuperior natures have the *ſame ſphere of action* aſſigned them with thoſe inferior to them, and that they enjoy the *very ſame powers and privileges*.

"The former of theſe, ſays he, is deſtitute of "proof, and the latter is contradicted by the wiſe or"der and œconomy of Providence. Has man the "ſtrength or ſwiftneſs of brute animals? Can he fly "in the air, or dive into the ocean? How much "ſoever man may excel the brutes, he has not the "ſame organs and powers of action, and his opera"tions muſt therefore be quite differ nt from theirs. "The ſame may be true of *angels* compared with "men. Their capacities may be more noble than "ours, and they may move in a much more exalted "ſphere, without being able to do every thing which "man is capable of doing. The conſideration of "their poſſeſſing powers ſuperior to mankind, will "not create any proof, or even the loweſt degree of "preſumption, that they have any power over this "earthly globe, or are capable of diſturbing the laws "by which it is governed."

Should it be ſaid, "that allowing that ſuperior "created beings have only a li ited ſphere of action "aſſigned them; yet how does it appear that this "lower world itſelf is not their appointed ſphere, and "that they have not a power of interpoſing to work "miracles upon this earthly globe?"

To this queſtion an anſwer is given at large in the next ſection, in which it is ſhewn that there is no proper evidence of the truth of any miracles but ſuch as might have God for their author. The ſuppoſition of the power of any created agent to work miracles, in this lower world, without a divine commiſſion, is contradicted by the obſervation and experience of all ages; there being, in fact, no proper evidence of the truth of any miracles, but ſuch as may fitly be aſcribed to the Deity. All the facts appealed to, in proof of the miraculous agency of evil ſpirits, are either *not ſupernatural* or *not real*. Several general reaſons are likewiſe alleged for rejecting all miracles that could not have God for their author; after which, Mr. Farmer adds the following obſervations:

"Now," ſays he, "if there be no ſufficient rea"ſon to believe that any ſuperior ſpirits, acting "without the order of God, have ever, from the "beginning of the world to this day, performed a "ſingle miracle upon our earthly globe, how void of "all foundation muſt be the aſcribing to them a "miraculous power! Were they poſſeſſed of ſuch a "power, it is natural to ſuppoſe they would have ex"erted it *frequently*, eſpecially as it may ſo eaſily be "made ſubſervient to the purpoſes of malevolence "and impiety. What miſeries of every kind might "not wicked ſpirits, from a principle of envy and "hatred, introduce amongſt mankind! And, if good "ſpirits enjoyed an equal liberty of doing good offices "to men, what a theatre of contention would our "globe have been between ſpirits of ſuch oppoſite "diſpoſitions and deſigns! And, therefore, if, in a "long ſucceſſion of ages, there has been no appear"ance of any ſuch conteſt between virtuous and "wicked ſpirits; if no motives whatever have ex"cited the one or the other to exert a miraculous "power, ſo much as *once*, is it not a natural infe"rence that they do not poſſeſs it? With regard to "God, indeed, reaſon informs us, that he, who eſta"bliſhed the courſe of nature, can change it at plea"ſure, even whether he has already done ſo or not. "But the caſe is different as to other beings, whoſe "powers and operations are only to be known in a "natural way, by obſervation and experience. God "is manifeſt in every part of nature: but who can "point out the effects of other ſpirits, and their ope"rations on the univerſe? And, if we ſee no effects of "their agency on this earthly globe, if no ſuch "effects have ever been ſeen, there can be no ground "from reaſon to aſcribe it to them, it is as repug"nant to the obſervation and experience of all ages, "to aſcribe to evil ſpirits a miraculous power, as it is "to aſcribe life to the inanimate, or ſpeech to the "brute creation."

In the third and fourth ſections of the ſecond chapter, Mr. Farmer endeavours to prove that, as the laws of nature are ordained by God, and eſſential to the order and happineſs of the world, it is impoſſible he ſhould delegate to any of his creatures a power of working miracles, by which thoſe divine eſtabliſh-

ledging it; and it was asserted, that his book had the very same view with Mr. Le Moine's,

establishments may be superseded and controuled, and that the ascribing such a power to any superior beings besides God, and those immediately commissioned by him, subverts the foundation of natural piety, and is a fruitful source of idolatry and superstition. He concludes the fourth section as follows:

"Most melancholy is it to reflect how much the "general principle we are here opposing, viz. the "power of Satan to work miracles, and the various "superstitions grounded upon it, have contributed, "in all ages, and in all nations, to the disquiet and "corruption of the human race, and to the extinc- "tion of rational piety. This consideration alone, "were there no other, should check the zeal of Chris- "tians to maintain an opinion—so destructive to our "virtue and happiness, and which the wisest "Heathens, from principles of benevolence and "piety, earnestly wished and laboured to extir- "pate.

"In a word, if we entertain just and honourable "sentiments of the constitution of the universe, and "its all-wise and benevolent Author, can we believe "that he has subjected us to the pleasure and dispo- "sal of superior beings, many of whom are supposed "to be as capricious and malevolent as they are "powerful? Has God put our very life, and the "whole happiness of it, into such hands? This some "maintain he does; and this he must have done, if he "has granted them the power of working miracles at "pleasure: an opinion which cannot fail to rivet "Heathens in their idolatry, and Christians in the "most detestable superstitions."

The intention of the fifth section is to shew, that, if miracles were performed in favour of false doctrines, mankind would be exposed to frequent and unavoidable delusion.

"If," says our Author, after some previous remarks, "miracles, by their own natural influence, "are calculated to procure immediate credit to the "doctrine they attest; if they constitute an evidence "adapted to the common sense and feelings of man- "kind; if they make an impression which scarce any "resistance can totally prevent or efface; it is an easy "and obvious inference from hence, that, if they "were performed in favour of false doctrines, the "generality of mankind would be necessarily exposed "to frequent delusion: and those would be the least "able to resist the impression of miracles, who had "the strongest sense of God upon their minds, the "most honourable apprehensions of his natural and "moral government, and were the most fearful of "incurring his displeasure, by rejecting any revela- "tion of his will.

"Here it will be objected, 'That, if miracles were "wrought to confirm falsehood, the nature of the "*doctrine* might serve to guard us against being de- "ceived, and direct us to ascribe the works to some "evil agent, who was *permitted* to perform them for "the *trial* of mankind.' In answer to this objection, "it might perhaps be sufficient to observe, that what "some call God's *permitting* would be in reality "*empowering* and *commissioning* evil spirits to work "miracles. For, God's removal of the restraint or "disability which those spirits are under at all "other times, amounts to his giving them both a "power and a commission to work miracles on this "particular occasion. And this God cannot do in "confirmation of falsehood.

"But, much stress being laid on this objection, we "will offer some farther observations upon it. The "most arbitrary and unnatural suppositions, when "they have been long made, are thought at last to "have some foundation to support them, and require "the same notice to be taken of them as if they had. "It is not true, in fact, that any miracles have ever "been performed in support of error, on purpose to "try our faith: at least, no sufficient evidence ap- "pears of the truth of any such miracles; nor do the "ends of the divine government seem to require that "mankind should be exposed to this particular trial.

"The temptations which occur in the ordinary course "of Providence, are abundantly sufficient to exercise "our virtue; and it is quite needless that miracles "should be wrought, merely to put it to a farther "proof. Now, if reason cannot shew that mankind "*ought to be*, and experience convinces us that they "never *have been*, exposed to the delusion of false "doctrines inforced by miracles, the notion that they "may be so must be considered as a mere fiction. "Besides, how unlike would such a trial be to those "ordained by God! The latter arise from passions "planted in our natute for the most valuable purposes, "and from the most useful and necessary relations of "life. But our adversaries suppose miracles may be "atchieved with no other view than as *mere* matter of "trial to mankind, which is repugnant to all our "knowledge of the divine dispensations. Not to "observe, that errors, inforced by miracles, would, "very frequently at least, constitute a trial rather of "the understanding than of the heart; and, in this "respect likewise, it would differ from those to "which God has subjected mankind.

"To convince us more fully that no miracles can "ever accompany a false doctrine, merely for the "trial of mankind, I would observe, that they are "not capable of answering this end, upon the prin- "ciples of those by whom it is assigned. Were a false "doctrine to be attested by miracles, it must be "asserted, either that the falsehood of it was discerned, "or that it was not. If the falsehood of the doctrine "was discerned, and it was at the same time known "that the miracles attesting it might and must be "performed by some evil agent; in this case, where "would be the trial? The miracles, it would be "allowed, were no evidence of the truth or divinity "of the doctrine, and contained no recommendation "of it, or motive to embrace it; nay, they could "only serve to furnish an invincible prejudice against "it, on account of the known malevolence of their "author. If, on the other hand, the falsehood of the "doctrine was not, and could not be discerned, the "miracles attending it being considered only as proofs "of the interposition of some superior being, the "mind must be thrown into a state of perplexity and "suspence about the author of the works, and re- "main void of all inducement either to embrace or "reject the doctrine. And, consequently, here also "there would be no trial at all. We are never more "in danger of charging God foolishly than when "we judge of him, not by what he has done, but "by what we presume it becomes him to do. It "might convince us how little a way bare speculation "can carry us in all researches into the nature and "government of God, to find the strongest minds, "when trusting to speculation alone, ascribing to him "unworthy measures, and inventing designs and ends "for them, which they are not adapted to answer. "The very scheme which assigns the trial of mankind, "as the end of God's permitting miracles to be per- "formed, in confirmation of error, does itself shew it "could not be promoted by them. Now, whoever "calls upon us to believe, that miracles may be "wrought without any necessity, and even without "any use, demands our assent to what contradicts all "our ideas of divine wisdom, and the whole course "of the divine dispensations, as well as the several "reasons before urged to shew that no variations from "the established laws of Nature can take place, except "when they are indispensably necessary to promote "the most important purposes of God's adminstra- "tion."

After offering several other arguments to prove that God cannot subject mankind to the delusion they would necessarily be exposed to, if miracles were wrought in favour of false doctrines, Mr. Farmer comes to the sixth and last section of the second chapter; the business of which is to evince, that, if miracles may be performed without a divine interposition, and in support of falsehood, they cannot be authentic credentials of a divine mission, and criterions of truth. There are two cases in which

Moine's, and was a copy of his work. Mr. Farmer thought proper, therefore, to vindicate

miracles are conſidered as evidence of a divine miſſion, by ſome who plead that ſuch works may, on other occaſions, be performed without the order of God. It is urged, firſt, "That in caſe of a conteſt between two oppoſite parties, working miracles for a victory, the party which works the *moſt* and *greateſt* miracles may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to be aſſiſted by the Supreme Being;" and, ſecondly, "That ſuch miracles only are to be aſcribed to God as are performed for an end not unworthy of him." It is clearly ſhewn, by our learned writer, that theſe two ſuppoſitions by no means remove the difficulty; and we ſhall preſent our Readers with part of what he has advanced concerning the judging of miracles by the doctrine.

"It is neceſſary," ſays he, "to obſerve farther, "that the making the doctrine the teſt of the divinity "of miracles, is, to make the doctrine the rule of "judging concerning the miracle, not the miracle "the rule of judging concerning the doctrine. The "proper and immediate deſign of miracles is, to "eſtabliſh ſome truth unknown before, and ſuch as is "not demonſtrable by reaſon, or capable of other evi-"dence beſides that of miracles; to prove, for ex-"ample, the miſſion of the prophet by whom they "are performed, and the divine original of his meſ-"ſage or doctrine, and to engage them to receive and "comply with it, however contrary it may be to their "prejudices and paſſions. But, according to ſome "learned men, the doctrine muſt firſt be examined "without paſſion or prejudice, and then employed to "prove the divinity of the miracles. But is not this "repugnant to the proper uſe and intention of mira-"cles? It is making the whole force of the proof to "depend upon the doctrine to be proved. It is of "importance to add, that miracles are intended more "eſpecially for the conviction of the ignorant and "unlearned, who are eaſily impoſed upon by the "ſophiſtry of ſcience, and the ſpecious diſguiſes of "error, as well as utterly diſqualified to determine, by "abſtract reaſonings, concerning the abſolute neceſ-"ſity, or the fitneſs and propriety of ſpecial divine "interpoſitions. It is neceſſary therefore that mira-"cles, when they are offered as evidences of a divine "commiſſion, ſhould contain in their own nature a "clear demonſtrative proof of their divine original: "for, otherwiſe, their ſpecial deſign could not be an-"ſwered. It is quite unnatural to ſuppoſe, that the "doctrine muſt firſt eſtabliſh the divinity of the mira-"cles, before the miracles can atteſt the divinity of "the doctrine; and it is abſurd to expect that a new "revelation and offenſive truths (which are not re-"ceived without reluctance, even where there is a "prior conviction of the divinity of the miracles at-"teſting them) ſhould themſelves effectually engage "men to aſcribe thoſe works to God which might be "performed by numberleſs other inviſible agents.

"Now, can it be imagined that God will ever "allow ſuperior beings to work miracles in ſupport "of falſehood, if hereby he would deſtroy the proof "from theſe works of his own immediate interpoſi-"tion, and put it out of his own power to employ "them as certain credentials of a divine miſſion? "Miracles (under which term I comprehend thoſe "of *knowledge* as well as *power*) being the *only* means "whereby God can aſſure the world of the truth of a "new revelation, he muſt have reſerved the uſe of it to "himſelf alone, without ever parting with it to ſerve "the purpoſe of his rivals and oppoſers."

We come now to the principal part of Mr. Farmer's performance, the deſign of which is to ſhew that the ſcriptures, both of the Old and the New Teſtament, ſtrictly correſponding with right reaſon, always repreſent miracles as the peculiar works of God; and never attribute them to any other beings, unleſs when acting by his immediate commiſſion. This ſubject is conſidered in its full extent, and our Author is neceſſarily led by it into a variety of learned and critical enquiries, which we could not abridge, or give a ſufficient account of, without extending the preſent article to an improper length. We muſt, therefore, in many caſes, content ourſelves with barely noticing what has been done; referring our readers to the work itſelf for more ample ſatisfaction and entertaiment.

The firſt ſection of the third chapter conſiders the view which the ſcripture gives us of angels, both good and evil, and of the ſouls of departed men; and is deſigned to ſhew that this view of them is inconſiſtent with their liberty of working miracles. As to good angels, they are never repreſented as capable of performing miracles at their own pleaſure. Of whatever dignity, they are only *miniſtring ſpirits*, the ſervants of Jehovah, *doing his commandment, and hearkening to the voice of his word*, without having themſelves any power over mankind, or over thoſe laws by which the ſyſtem to which we belong is governed. Now, if this be the caſe with regard to good angels, what reaſon can there be for aſcribing ſuch dominion to evil angels, who are fallen under the divine diſpleaſure? The ſcripture never aſcribes to the devil the ability of revealing ſecrets, foretelling future events, or working miracles; never guards mankind againſt being deceived by the outward effects either of his miraculous power or inſpiration, neceſſary as ſuch a caution would have been, had he been able to inſpire prophecies and work miracles; and earneſtly as it warns us againſt a leſs danger, the pretences of men to divine miracles and inſpiration, when they were not ſent and aſſiſted by God. It has, indeed, been ſuppoſed, from Dan. x. 13, 20, and Epheſ. ii. 2, that fallen angels preſide over diſtant regions of the world, and that they have a power of changing the conſtitution of the air; but it is proved by Mr. Farmer that no ſuch doctrine can be reaſonably grounded on theſe paſſages. He has ſhewn, likewiſe, that the ſouls of deceaſed men have no intercourſe with the material creation, at leaſt, not with this lower world; that the idea entertained of them by Chriſtians, both in ancient and modern times, has been borrowed from the Pagans; and that the miracles aſcribed to departed ſaints are branded as impoſtures by St. Paul.

The next ſection contains an accurate and curious enquiry into the repreſentation which the ſcripture affords of the nature and claims of the Heathen divinities. Our author here ſhews, that the Heathens deified all the parts and powers of nature, and that they believed the exiſtence of demons, who were conſidered as the diſtributors or diſpenſers of good and evil to mankind. It was the opinion of many, that the celeſtial gods did not themſelves interpoſe in human affairs, but committed the entire adminiſtration of the government of this lower world to theſe ſubaltern deities; and hence theſe ſubaltern deities became the grand objects of the religious hopes and fears of the Pagans, of immediate dependence and divine worſhip. As it has often been ſaid, that the demons of the Heathens were ſpirits of a higher origin than the race of man, Mr. Farmer enters into an examination of the reaſons commonly aſſigned for this notion; and has endeavoured to prove, by the teſtimony of the ancient hiſtorians, poets, and philoſophers, and by uncontroverted facts, that the more direct objects of Pagan worſhip were ſuch departed human ſouls as were believed to become demons. After this he goes on to confirm the ſame point from the authority of the Old-Teſtament writers; conſiders the uſe of the word demon in the Septuagint tranſlation, in Philo, in Joſephus, and in the New Teſtament; introduces ſome remarks on the late controverſy between Dr. Sykes and his antagoniſts; and refers us to the evidence both of Heathens and Jews, to ſhew that the ſpirits of wicked men were thought to become wicked demons. The opinions of the Chriſtian Fathers upon the ſubject are alſo particularly conſidered, and then our Author proceeds to the following important obſervations.

"If

vindicate himself, in a pamphlet, published in 1772, and entituled, "An Examination of

"If the foregoing account of the Pagan gods be "just, there will be no difficulty in vindicating the "censures past upon them in the sacred writings. "With regard to the parts and powers of nature, "which the Heathen world deified, they are repre- "sented in scripture as the creatures of God's power, "and the passive instruments of his decrees. Even *the "sun, and the moon, and the stars, and all the host of "heaven*, however revered by the Pagans as the chief "deities, *the Israelites are forbidden to worship and "serve, because Jehovah, their God, placed them in the "firmament of heaven*; not for the use of any one "particular nation, but *for the common benefit of the "whole human race*. It is extraordinary that Moses, "at a time when the world was universally regarded "as animated and divine, and the elements and the "heavenly bodies were thought to possess an internal "power to exert themselves in all their admirable "effects; it is very extraordinary that Moses, at this "time, should discover, publish, and (by suitable "miracles) confirm, the opposite doctrine. His doc- "trine is perfectly agreeable to the modern philoso- "phy, which represents the whole natural world as a "merely material, inert, inactive, thing, without any "wisdom or power of its own, and resisting any "change of state, whether of rest or motion; and "which must therefore be continually upheld and "directed by the power of God, to whom the whole "train of natural causes and effects is to be ascribed. "This doctrine alone of Moses, so remote from the "sentiments and philosophy of his age, and so agree- "able to truth, creates a strong presumption of his "having received it by immediate revelation.

"As to the other gods of Paganism, whether they "were such human souls as became demons, or (as "some apprehend) created spirits of a superior order, "we have already seen that the scripture gives such a "view of them, as is inconsistent either with their in- "spiring prophecies or working miracles. And it will "be shewn in the sequel that all supernatural effects "are referred to God alone by the sacred writers. Is "it possible for them to contradict themselves, as they "must do, if they ascribe such effects to the Heathen "gods? But so far are they from doing this, that they "constantly represent those gods as utterly impotent "and insignificant; either as having no real exist- "ence, or no more power than if they did not exist. "They call them *vanities*, things of no kind of "value or efficacy. Nor is this censure confined to a "part only of the Heathen gods: it is extended to all, "without a single exception. *They are* ALL *vanity*. "ALL *the gods of the nations are idols*, or *nothings*: not "powerful evil spirits, but mere nullities. In this "manner the ancient prophets of God spoke of the "Pagan deities; and the apostles of Christ used the "same language: *we know that an idol is nothing in "the world*. This is not to be understood of the mere "images of the gods: for, the Heathens did not re- "gard those images, in themselves considered, as real "gods. They believed them to be the representatives "and the receptacles of their gods, and in this view "they spoke of them as gods, and the objects of "divine worship, and it is in reference to the divine "powers supposed to reside in them, that the scriptures "affirm, that they are nothing. On all occasions the "sacred writers deride these pretended residences of "the Heathen deities as mere earthly materials, "polished by the hand of the artificer, and the deities "themselves as equally void of understanding, or "rather as being nothing distinct from those senseless "materials, and existing only in the imagination of "their deluded worshippers. *The stock is a doctrine of "vanities. Their idols are silver and gold, or wood and "stone, the work of mens hands, which neither see nor "hear, nor eat, nor smell.* Agreeably hereto the "scripture represents the votaries of these divinities "as persons utterly lost to reason, and without a "shadow of excuse. *They are altogether brutish and "foolish*, and discover no more understanding than the "idols they make.

"Oracles, prophecies, prodigies, were ascribed by "the Heathens to their demons, and on their favour "the good or evil state of men's lives was thought to "depend. This persuasion was the ground of their "worship: and the proper point in dispute between "idolaters and the prophets of the true God was, "whether that persuasion was supported by *facts*. "We find the messengers of God challenging idola- "ters to justify the worship of idols, and the idol "gods themselves to give proof of their divinity, by "a display of knowledge, or by some exertion of "power, such as was either hurtful or beneficial to "mankind: and, even admitting that, by such a dis- "play of their power or knowledge, the Heathen "deities would have established their claim to divinity "and their title to the homage of mankind. *Produce "your cause, saith the Lord, bring forth your strong "reasons. Let them shew the former things what they "be, that we may consider them, and know the latter "end of them:* produce your ancient oracles, that we "may judge whether they were fulfilled by corre- "spondent events; *or*, now *declare to us things for to "come. Shew us things for to come hereafter, that we "may know that ye are gods; yea, do good, or do evil, "that we may be dismayed:* that it may appear ye have, "what your votaries assert, a title to the reverence "and worship of mankind. *Behold, ye are nothing, "and your work of nought*, and therefore there can be "no shadow of reason for paying you homage. How "very different is this language of the ancient pro- "phets from that of our learned moderns, who tell "us, that idolatry cannot possibly be justified by any "miracles, however numerous or splendid; and that, "whatever power over mankind the Heathen gods "might possess, they could have no right to worship. "The prophets would have allowed their title to "worship, had they admitted their power. Their "utter impotence is the only reason of the scripture's "remonstrating against paying them homage. I add, "that these remonstrances of scripture, which are "frequently repeated, are confirmed by facts, by "many striking testimonies of the utter inability of "the Heathen deities to interpose either for the con- "viction of gainsayers, or for the benefit of their "worshippers, or in vindication of their own honour. "They could not interpret Nebuchadnezzar's dream, "nor the hand-writing upon the wall of Belshazzar's "palace; nor were they able to answer by fire, in the "public trial between their own prophet and the "prophet of Jehovah, though, on these several occa- "sions, but especially the last, all their credit was "at stake. Nor did they oppose (how much soever "it might be their interest to do it) any miracles of "their own to those either of Moses or the Messiah, "as we hope to shew in the sequel."

In opposition to all this evidence, it has been asserted, that the system of Pagan idolatry was supported by prophecies and miracles, delivered and performed, not by the fictitious deities of the Heathens, but by *devils*, or wicked demons of a higher order than mankind. It has been farther asserted, that these wicked spirits were, properly speaking, the gods of the Heathens, rather than those imaginary beings, whom they seemed to themselves to worship; and, in support of these assertions, appeal is made to the writings of the Fathers, and the authority of scripture. It must be owned, that these extravagant opinions are clearly contained in the writings of the Fathers; but they are only asserted there, not proved, and perhaps were never really believed by the very persons who maintained them, and upon whose authority alone they have been received in succeeding ages. At, however, it is a matter of no great importance what sentiments the Fathers entertained on the subject, Mr. Farmer (in addition to the general reasons he had already suggested) makes it is business to prove, that the scripture never represents the Heathens as worshipping devils, and considers the meaning of the several

words

" of the late Rev. Mr. Le Moine's Treatiſe on Miracles;" in which he enters into a particular

words rendered *devils* in the Old Teſtament, and the ſignification of *demons* in the New.

Our Author examines, in the third ſection, the character and pretenſions of the magicians, diviners, and ſorcerers of antiquity; lays before his readers the ſcripture account of them; and refutes the various pleas alleged by Chriſtians in ſupport of the credit and efficacy of the ancient magic. The magicians undertook to interpret dreams, to foretel future events, and to accompliſh many wonderful things, by their ſuperior knowledge of the ſecret powers of nature, of the virtues of plants and minerals, and of the motions and influences of the ſtars. Divination was a ſcience in which they thought themſelves ſure of ſucceſs, if they proceeded according to certain eſtabliſhed rules. Nor are we hence to infer, as ſome have done, that the ancient magicians, or prieſts, were mere naturaliſts and aſtrologers. There have, indeed, been Atheiſts and Chriſtians, who have been much addicted to divination and aſtrology; but theſe arts among the Pagan nations were founded in their ſyſtem of theology. The ſcripture, however, without paying regard to the principles the magicians went upon or the different characters they aſſumed, brands them all as ſhameleſs impoſtors, and reproaches them with an utter inability of diſcovering or accompliſhing any thing ſupernatural. The prophet Iſaiah, having foretold the deſtruction of Babylon, ſo famous all over the world for divination and aſtrology, thus proceeds to inſult that proud city: *Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy ſorceries, wherein thou haſt laboured from thy youth; if ſo be thou ſhalt be able to profit, if ſo be thou mayſt prevail Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counſels. Let now the aſtrologers, the ſtar-gazers, the monthly prognoſticators, ſtand up, and ſave thee from thoſe things which ſhall come upon thee*, from that deſtruction, which, he tells them, with their various methods of divination and ſorcery, they would be unable either to foreſee or prevent.

But, notwithſtanding the clear deciſion of the point by the divine oracles, many Chriſtians have contended for the ſupernatural power and efficacy of Pagan divination and ſorcery. This point was maintained by the Fathers in particular, who aſcribed the efficacy of magic to evil demons; as ſome of the Heathen philoſophers alſo did. It was a very prevailing opinion in the primitive church, that magicians and necromancers, both among the Gentiles and heretical Chriſtians, had each their particular demons, perpetually attending on their perſons, and obſequious to their commands, by whoſe help they could call up the ſouls of the dead, foretel future events, and perform miracles. Mr. Farmer, therefore, in farther oppoſition to theſe ſentiments, proceeds to ſhew, that the ſupernatural power of magic cannot be inferred, either from the ſcripture's deſcribing diviners by their uſual appellations, or as having a *familiar ſpirit*, and a *ſpirit of divination*; nor from the laws of Moſes againſt divination and witchcraft; nor from the credit in which theſe arts were ſaid to be held. Indeed, this credit was not ſo great as hath ſometimes been repreſented; for, it appears, from many paſſages and teſtimonies of ancient writers, that magic and divination were treated with general contempt in enlightened ages.

In the fourth ſection, which relates to the falſe prophets as ſpoken of in ſcripture, are explained, 1. The celebrated warning of Moſes, Deut. xiii. 1—5. 2. The prophecy of Chriſt, Matth. xxiv. 24. 3. Several paſſages in the Epiſtles, with regard to the falſe teachers in the apoſtolic age. 4. St. Paul's prophecy concerning the Man of Sin, *whoſe coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and ſigns, and lying wonders.* And, 5. St. John's prediction concerning the perſon, *who was to do great ſigns, and make fire come down from heaven.* Part of what is ſaid upon our Saviour's prediction, *There ſhall ariſe falſe Chriſt's, and falſe prophets, and ſhall ſhew great ſigns and wonders*, cannot be unacceptable to our Readers.

" Our Lord is not here warning his diſciples " againſt admitting the divinity of unqueſtionable " miracles, but againſt haſtily crediting the *truth* of " thoſe pretences to miracles, which would be made " by the perſons of whom he is ſpeaking. This appears, as well from the natural import of this prophecy in its original language as from the hiſtory " and character of the impoſtors to whom it refers. " Chriſt does not ſay, 'Falſe prophets ſhall *ſhew*, that " is, really *exhibit* and *perform*, great ſigns,' but (as " the original word ſhould have been rendered) " they " will GIVE, that is, appeal to, promiſe, or undertake, " to produce ſuch ſigns, uſing the very language of " the Jewiſh legiſlator explained above, who repreſents a prophet as *giving* (that is, propoſing and appealing to) a ſign or wonder, whether it did or did " not come to paſs. The phraſe itſelf does not determine whether the ſign given be it the promiſe " of a miracle, or the prediction of an event, would " be confirmed or confuted, when it was expected to " be accompliſhed. It might be engaged for, and " yet never be exhibited. And every circumſtance " of the prophecy contained in this context ſerves to " prove, that the perſons here foretold would only " undertake to ſhew great ſigns, without performing " what they undertook. But I ſhall argue chiefly " from the hiſtory of thoſe perſons, in whoſe appearance and pretenſions this prophecy received its " completion, and which muſt be allowed to be the " beſt key to the interpretation of this prophetic " warning.

" Our Saviour here refers to thoſe impoſtors, who " ſprang up in Judea in the interval between the " delivery of this prophecy, and the deſtruction of " Jeruſalem. As early as the 45th or 46th year of " the Chriſtian æra, one Theudas, who called himſelf a prophet, perſuaded great numbers to follow " him to Jordan, by telling them that he would, by " his own command, divide the river: but this con- " fident boaſt ended in his own deſtruction as well " as that of many of his followers. About nine or " ten years afterwards, Judea ſwarmed with theſe deceivers, who led the people into the wilderneſs, " and *undertook to exhibit divine wonders*. One who " came out of Egypt promiſed to cauſe the walls of " Jeruſalem to fall down; but the deluded multitudes " who followed him were diſperſed or deſtroyed by " the Romans, *ſuffering* (to uſe the language of Joſephus) *the puniſhment of their folly*. The nearer the " Jews were to deſtruction, ſo much the more did " theſe impoſtors multiply, and ſo much the more " eaſy credit did they find with thoſe who were willing " to have their miſeries ſoothed by hope. Even " during the conflagration of the Temple, a falſe " prophet encouraged the people with miraculous " ſigns of deliverance: nor did the total deſtruction of " the city cure this madneſs, as appears by the conduct " of an impoſtor at Cyrene, who *promiſed to ſhew them* " *ſigns and apparitions.*"

The fifth ſection is employed in proving, that the ſcriptures repreſent the one true God as the ſole creator and ſovereign of the world, which he governs by fixed and invariable laws; and that to him they appropriate all miracles, urging them as demonſtrations of his divinity and ſole dominion over nature, in oppoſition to the claims of all other ſuperior beings.

" How very different a view of miracles is this," ſays our author, after having fully eſtabliſhed his point, " from that given us by thoſe learned " moderns who aſſert, that they argue only the interpoſition of ſome power more than human; that the " loweſt orders of ſuperior intelligences may perform " great miracles, and higher orders of beings greater " miracles ſtill; that no miracle recorded in " ſcripture can be pronounced beyond the power of " all created beings in the univerſe to produce; and " that in no caſe whatever can the immediate interpoſition

particular discussion of Le Moine's performance, in order to shew how much it is in fact

" position of God be distinguished certainly by the " works themselves? When the adversaries of revela- " tion use such language, with a view to destroy its " evidence, they speak in character. But what raises " our wonder is, its being held by some of its ablest " votaries and advocates, notwithstanding that reve- " lation strongly asserts the sole dominion of Jehovah " over Nature, and every deviation from the laws of " Nature (that is, every miracle,) to be in itself a " demonstration of his being its Creator and Lord. " Which of these two opinions is most consonant to " reason is a point discussed in the second chapter. " We only observe here, that they cannot both be " true. Can those works be the sole prerogatives of " Jehovah, and a proof of his sole and unrivalled " sovereignty, which *others* besides him, and even " when acting in opposition to him, have a power of " performing as well as he? And can we successfully " maintain the argument from miracles in favour of " revelation, if we do not adhere to the use which " revelation itself makes of miracles?"

As the most able of our modern writers seem not to have attended to the true state of the ancient controversy between the prophets of God and Idolaters, that matter is considered by Mr. Farmer; after which, he proceeds to the sixth and last section of the third chapter. The design of this section is to shew that the scriptures uniformly represent all miracles as being, in themselves, an absolute demonstration of the divinity of the mission and doctrine of the prophets at whose instance they are performed, and never direct us to regard their doctrines as a test of the miracles being the effect of a divine interposition. Besides taking some notice of the miracles of Moses and the prophets in this view, our Author here distinctly examines the miracles performed by Christ and his apostles, and refutes an objection that may be drawn from Matth. xii. 26, 27. The Pharisees did not ascribe the miracles of our Lord in general to the assistance of demons, nor did Jesus refer them to his doctrine, in order to determine the divinity of his works.

" It is to little purpose, therefore, to plead," says Mr. Farmer towards the close of the section, " as " the advocates of Christianity are apt to do, that the " nature of the doctrines which miracles are designed " to confirm will serve to point out the Author of " the works, inasmuch as this can do no service to " Christianity; for, the divinely-authorized teachers " of it did not, and, considering the prejudices of the " first converts, could not, make this use of its doctrines. " Had there been any ambiguity in the proof from " miracles, it would have been rejected by those to " whom it was at first proposed. In latter ages " learned men have adventured (such is the pre- " sumption and weakness of human reason, in many " persons endowed with the largest measure of it) to " demonstrate, *à priori*, that it became God to inter- " pose for the reformation of the world, just at the " time and in the manner related in the gospel; " and hence they infer the divinity of its miracles, and " very often even their truth. But it is certain, that " in the age, in which the gospel was published, " nothing seemed more incredible than its grand " doctrine, that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah. " And Jesus and his apostles won men to the belief " of this article by the evidence of prophecies and " miracles, without once appealing to the internal " credibility of it, or entering into any metaphysical " reasoning and disquisitions concerning the dispen- " sations of Providence.

" Indeed, setting all prejudice aside, the Messiah- " ship of Jesus of Nazareth is a doctrine which natural " reason cannot, of itself, discover to be either true " or false. It is a doctrine which admits of no other " proof than the testimonies of prophecies and mira- " cles, and can never itself serve to manifest their " divine original.

" A late celebrated writer seems to have been sen- " sible of this, when he said (2), 'that we are to " distinguish between the doctrines we prove by mi- " racles and the doctrines by which we try miracles; " and that they are not the same doctrines.' With " what a number of subtle distinctions have the " learned perplexed the evidence of the gospel, such " as render it very unfit for being (what it was, by " its gracious author, designed to be) the religion of " the poor and illiterate! If miracles are common to " all superior beings, is it evident to an ordinary " capacity, that they necessarily argue the immediate " interposition of God, when performed by a person " who teaches lessons of morality, though at the same " time he alleged his miracles in confirmation of " claims and powers quite distinct from, and superior " to, that of a teacher of morality, such as his being " the Messiah and Son of God? Besides, if the purity " of Christ's moral precepts be a necessary test of the " divinity of his works, wrought to establish his ex- " traordinary pretensions and character, how comes " it to pass that neither Christ nor his apostles have " given us any information concerning this matter? " As they have no where told us what those doctrines " are by which we are to try their miracles, if there " be such doctrines, are they not chargeable with " the most criminal omission? an omission which no " human wisdom or sagacity can supply. Nay, upon " the sole evidence of miracles, they demanded faith " in Christ as the Messiah *before* they instructed men " in any other doctrines, and therefore certainly " without submitting them to previous examination; " which would have been very unreasonable, if those " other doctrines are a necessary test of the divinity " of their miracles.

" The plain matter of fact, as it appears to me, is " this: they never taught men to try their miracles, " either by the doctrine they were immediately de- " signed to confirm, or by any other; but, on the " contrary, taught men to judge of their doctrine by " their miracles. The very *purity* of the Christian " doctrine, as well as the nature of Christ's personal " claims, rendered this conduct necessary. The Jews " in general, and the Pagans more especially, were " plunged into the deepest corruption. The latter " were not only idolaters, but worshipped their gods " by acts of uncleanness, such as were suitable to " their apprehended natures. Would not the purity " of the gospel create in such persons a prejudice " against its miracles? What could engage them to " embrace a doctrine that contradicted every senti- " ment and affection of their hearts, but such works " as were in themselves, and according to the genuine " sentiments of nature, certain and evident proofs of " a divine interposition? Those, therefore, who en- " deavour to prove, that miracles alone are not a suf- " ficient criterion of a divine mission, do not attend " to the nature of the Christian dispensation, nor to " the state of the world when it was first erected. " They likewise impeach the conduct of Christ and " his apostles, and labour to destroy (though without " designing it) the very foundation on which Chris- " tianity is built. We have shewn, in general, that, " if miracles are ever performed in support of false- " hood, they can never afford certain evidence of a " divine commission: least of all, then, can they " serve to establish the divine mission and authority " of Christ, which he requires us to acknowledge " upon the account of his miracles, as in themselves a " complete and sufficient evidence."

The design of the fourth chapter is to shew, that the scriptures have not recorded any instances of real miracles performed by the devil. Our author, in considering this part of his subject, has examined the objections that may be drawn from the case of the magicians in Egypt, and from the appearance of Samuel, after his decease, to Saul. In order to prove that the magicians did not perform works really supernatural, nor were assisted by any superior beings, the following points are discussed at large: 1. The character and pretensions of the magicians. 2. The true intention of Pharaoh in sending for them, and

(2) Sherlock's Disc. vol. I. p. 303, 304.

fact different from and even contrary to his own. This he did with great accuracy and ſucceſs, ſo as entirely to clear himſelf from the aſperſion that had been caſt upon him. Our author did not, however, ſolely confine himſelf to the point of vindicating his reputation from an injurious charge, but took occaſion ſtill farther to confirm and illuſtrate the ſentiments advanced in his diſſertation. With reſpect to the ancient magic in particular, he added a number of important remarks. As to Le Moine, "if "you chuſe to aſk me," ſays Mr. Farmer, at the concluſion of the pamphlet, "Are "you indebted to him? I anſwer, that, from all that hath been offered to ſhew that "our views of the ſubject are diſtinct and oppoſite, it appears, how impoſſible it is "that I ſhould be materially indebted to this author. Nor have I any remembrance "that I am indebted to him at all. My ſentiments upon miracles were formed, and "many of my papers upon this ſubject were ſubmitted to the inſpection of a friend, "before the publication of Mr. Le Moine's treatiſe. I read it when it firſt came out, "but do not remember that I ever reviſed it afterwards. I am certain, I did not con-"ſult it when I prepared my papers for the preſs; which being originally deſigned "for my own ſatisfaction, had lain by me untouched for many years. I could be "under little temptation to reviſe an author, whoſe peculiar ſentiments I do univer-"ſally and entirely diſapprove." The truth of theſe aſſertions could not be denied by thoſe who had diligently compared the two treatiſes in queſtion together. But, notwithſtanding ſo clear and full a vindication, the calumny continued to be repeated. The charge, againſt Mr. Farmer, of having borrowed from Le Moine, was, in particular, urged again and again, with great violence, in the London Magazine of that time. Indeed, in that Magazine, he was inceſſantly purſued (if our memory does not fail us) for the ſpace of fourteen months. It was not, however, againſt Mr. Farmer alone that the repeated attacks of the anonymous critic were directed. They were aimed, likewiſe, at the Monthly Review, by an angry author, the riſe and progreſs of whoſe reſentment, if related, would form no unpleaſant a narration. But, though the writer was blameable in the affair, we are willing to ſpare a gentleman who is far from being wanting in moral worth, and is not wholly a ſtranger to literature.

In 1775, Mr. Farmer gave to the world another important work. This was "An "Eſſay on the Demoniacs of the New Teſtament;" concerning which (independently of the queſtion whether his Hypotheſis be well founded or not) it may truly be aſſerted, that it is written with great perſpicuity of method and language, and is replete with excellent learning, good ſenſe, and maſterly criticiſm. Thoſe who have not the book (which is now becoming ſcarce), or who are indiſpoſed to read a large treatiſe on the abſurdity of the intention commonly aſcribed to him. 3. The motives which might induce the magicians to attempt an imitation of the works of Moſes. 4. The acts done by Moſes, and the principles on which he acted. 5. The language in which Moſes deſcribes the works of the magicians. And, 6. The nature of the ſeveral works done by them. The caſe of Samuel's appearance to Saul at Endor, is conſidered with equal attention, and Mr. Farmer favours the opinion, that God did either raiſe up Samuel, or preſent a likeneſs or image of him before Saul, to denounce the divine judgment againſt him for the crime he was committing, in applying to a reputed ſorcereſs. Our Saviour's temptations in the wilderneſs fall within this part of the author's plan; but he has formerly examined them in a diſtinct treatiſe (3).

(3) See Review, Vol. XXV.

The fifth and laſt chapter of the work before us is taken up in ſhewing, that miracles, conſidered as divine interpoſitions, are a certain proof of the miſſion and doctrine of a prophet; and, in pointing out the advantages and neceſſity of this proof, in confirming and propagating a new revelation. At the beginning of the chapter, Mr. Farmer ſtates the circumſtances under which miracles prove the divinity of a prophet's miſſion and doctrine; and guards his readers againſt two extremes, that of conſidering miracles as proofs only of power on the one hand, and, on the other, that of repreſenting them as proofs of the univerſal and perpetual inſpiration of the perſon who performs them. After this he goes on to evince, that the proof, from miracles, of the divine commiſſion and doctrine of a prophet, is in itſelf deciſive and abſolute; that this proof is natural, and agreeable to the common ſenſe of mankind in all ages: that it is eaſy and compendious; that miracles conſtitute a powerful method of conviction, without being violent and compulſive; that they are neceſſary to atteſt a divine commiſſion, and to confirm and propagate a new revelation, ſuch eſpecially as contradicts men's prejudices and paſſions; that they ſerve to revive and confirm the principles of natural religion, and to recover men from the two oppoſite extremes of Atheiſm and Idolatry; and that the evidence of miracles, whether of power or knowledge, is the fitteſt to accompany a ſtanding revelation, becauſe it may be conveyed to diſtant ages and nations.

We have no heſitation in pronouncing this treatiſe to be the moſt important and maſterly performance we have ever yet ſeen on the nature, origin, and deſign of miracles. The former writers upon the ſubject, who may be thought, in ſome reſpects, the moſt to coincide with our author, will be found to differ from him, and to be inferior to him in ſeveral very conſiderable points. They are miſtaken in their deſcriptions of the nature of miracles; they aſcribe an undue power to evil ſpirits; and are ſilent or defective with regard to a number of queſtions fully examined by Mr. Farmer. No one, in particular, can be compared with him, for the extenſive, learned, and judicious, manner in which he hath diſcuſſed and confuted the ſyſtem of demoniſm, or for the perſpicuity and ſtrength wherewith he hath ſtated the certain evidence that miracles afford of the divine commiſſion and doctrine of a prophet.

Were we to recommend, to a young perſon, a proper method of ſtudy, with relation to the ſubject of miracles, we ſhould adviſe him to begin with this book. Having thus laid a right foundation, he would proceed with great advantage to the valuable productions of Clarke, Douglas, Adams, Campbell, Claparede, and the other ingenious writers who have conſidered the poſitive teſtimony in favour of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian miracles, and endeavoured to remove the difficulties, and to anſwer the objections which have been raiſed againſt this teſtimony by the enemies of revelation.

the

the ſubject, may not be diſpleaſed to ſee an analyſis of it in the note [C]. Mr. Farmer's

[C] *May not be diſpleaſed to ſee an analyſis of it in the note.*] The deſign of the firſt chapter of the treatiſe before us is to explain and eſtabliſh the true meaning of the Demoniacs of the New Teſtament. In the proſecution of this deſign, our author lays down ten propoſitions, the firſt of which is, that the ſpirits, that were thought to take poſſeſſion of men's bodies, are called in the New Teſtament *Demons*, not devils. Strange as it may ſeem, it is nevertheleſs an undoubted fact, that there is not a ſingle paſſage, in which the devil or devils are ſpoken of, in reference to the preſent ſubject. Though *poſſeſſed perſons* are ſo very frequently mentioned in the Goſpels, they are not, on any occaſion whatever, ſaid *to have* or *to be poſſeſſed by the Devil*. They are uniformly and invariably deſcribed as having, or being poſſeſſed by, a *Demon* or *Demons*. Beelzebub is called the Prince of *Demons*, not of *Deviis*. An objection having been urged, that our Saviour uſed Satan and Beelzebub as names of the ſame perſon, Mr. Farmer ſhews, with much ingenuity, that it by no means follows, from the paſſage on which the objection is grounded, that the Devil is called Beelzebub.

The ſecond propoſition is, that by Demons, whenever the word occurs in reference to poſſeſſions, either in the Scriptures, or other ancient writings, we are to underſtand, not fallen angels, but the Pagan deities, ſuch as had once been men. For the proof of this point, an appeal is made to the teſtimonies of the Heathens, and eſpecially the Greeks and Romans; to the ſentiments of the Jews in general, and the Phariſees in particular; to the language of Chriſt and his Apoſtles; and to the declarations of the primitive Chriſtians. In the courſe of the argument ſome obſervations are introduced concerning Beelzebub, which are ſo curious that we cannot avoid laying them before our readers; omitting, at the ſame time, the notes and references that are ſubjoined, by our author, in ſupport of his remarks:

"In the late controverſy, ſays he, concerning Demoniacs, it was confidently aſſerted by one party, and either allowed or not diſputed by the other, 'that Beelzebub is the name which the Jews gave to the prince of fallen angels; and that it was given him by way of deriſion; Beelzebub being the ſame with Baalzebub, and ſignifying as that doth, *the lord of a fly*.' Now, were it true, that Beelzebub is a fallen angel, Demons, without doubt, are ſpirits of the ſame order. But what hath been aſſerted by ſome with regard to this matter, and too readily granted by others, hath never yet been proved. The point deſerves to be carefully conſidered.

"We learn, from the Old Teſtament, that *Ahaziah ſent meſſengers, and ſaid unto them, Go, inquire of Baalzebub, the god of Ekron, whether I ſhall recover of this diſeaſe*. From this paſſage it clearly appears, that Beelzebub was a god of the Philiſtines, and had a temple and oracle at Ekron. It likewiſe appears, that this name was not given him by way of contempt; becauſe it was uſed by Ahaziah at the very time he was acknowledging his divinity, and deſirous of conſulting him concerning his recovery. This is farther evident from the true meaning of this name, and the reaſon of its being given. Hiſtory informs us, what we may eaſily credit, that thoſe who lived in hot climates, and where the ſoil is moiſt (which was the caſe of the Ekronites, who bordered upon the ſea) were exceedingly infeſted with flies. Theſe inſects were ſometimes thought to cauſe contagious diſtempers. Pliny makes mention of a people who ſtopped a peſtilence, which they occaſioned, by ſacrificing to the *fly-hunting god*. It ſeems not improbable, that ſome imagined cure of this kind, or a general perſuaſion of his power of driving away flies from the places they frequented, might be the reaſon why the god of Ekron was called Beelzebub. For it was cuſtomary with the Heathens, to call their gods by the name of thoſe inſects, from which they were believed to deliver their worſhippers. *The god of flies*, and *the fly-hunter*, were titles aſcribed by the Greeks to Jupiter, as well as to Hercules. "Now, inaſmuch as Beelzebub is a title of honour, "and ſuch as might be, and certainly was, applied to "the god of Ekron by his worſhippers, it can hardly "be doubted, but that it was in uſe amongſt the "Philiſtines as well as amongſt the Jews. Whatever opinion the latter had formed of the moral "character of the prince of Demons, yet, even they "did not call him Beelzebub by way of deriſion, "notwithſtanding the ſeeming meaning of this term, "*the lord of flies*. For, the Jews had learned of the "Heathens, to regard a power of driving away thoſe "noxious inſects as *a divine prerogative*; endeavouring to perſuade men, that the temple of Jeruſalem, "though ſo many ſacrifices were offered there daily, "never had a fly upon it; thus *copying*, rather than "*deriding*, what the Heathens fabled concerning "ſome of their temples, into which (according to "Pliny, Solinus, and others) no fly could enter.

"Upon what grounds then it is concluded, that "by Beelzebub, we are to underſtand the devil, if "by the devil be meaned a fallen angel? Can this "be proved from the import of the name? There is "no kind of affinity between Beelzebub and devil either in the ſound or meaning. Were the Jews accuſtomed to call the devil by the name of Beelzebub? The very contrary appears from their ancient writings, in which he is called Aſmodæus. "This is a great objection againſt the common hypotheſis. The difficulty was felt and confeſſed by "Bochart, Selden, and others. But theſe learned "men did not advert, that the Phariſees were not "ſpeaking of the devil. It is indeed in the higheſt "degree improbable, that there ſhould be any reference here to the devil, for this farther reaſon, "that he is never ſpoken of in Scripture as *poſſeſſing* "men's bodies; this was deemed the peculiar office of "demons. Beelzebub was the prince of *the poſſeſſing demons*, in the eſtimation of the Phariſees; and, "therefore, in their eſtimation, was a human ſpirit; "as will be ſhewn immediately upon the expreſs teſtimony of a learned Phariſee. Laſtly, Beelzebub "was a Heathen deity: for he is ſpoken of here as a "Demon, which was the uſual appellation of the "Heathen deities; he is expreſsly called, in the Old "Teſtament, the god of Ekron, and is repreſented "by the Phariſees under the very ſame title and character as the Heathens themſelves aſcribed to their "gods. The Phariſees, therefore, under this title, "did not refer to a different perſon from what the "Heathens did. Now, if Beelzebub was a Heathen "demon, or deity, he was no other than a deified "human ſpirit: for, ſuch were all the Heathen demons, who were the more immediate objects of the "public eſtabliſhed worſhip, and thoſe in particular "to whom divination and oracles were aſcribed. "And if the prince of demons was of human extract, no doubt his ſubjects were ſo likewiſe."

In the ſection, from which the preceding extract is taken, Mr. Farmer hath learnedly explained whence it came to paſs that the fathers, after the time of Juſtin Martyr, referred poſſeſſions to celeſtial Demons; and hath conſidered the ſpirit of Python, or Apollo, with which the damſel at Philippi was thought to be poſſeſſed.

That the Demons, who were believed to take poſſeſſion of men's bodies, were probably regarded by the Jews as evil beings is ſhewn under the third propoſition. In this light were Demons conſidered by the Heathens, and by Joſephus; and yet they did not look upon them as fallen angels. But, though ſome of the epithets, given by the Evangeliſts to the ſpirits ejected by Chriſt, ſeem rather beſt to agree with the ſuppoſition of their being of an immoral nature, our author obſerves, that it is not certain, whether the epithets of *evil* and *unclean* were given them to expreſs their *perſonal diſpoſitions*, or only thoſe *effects* they were ſuppoſed to produce. The word *evil* might be applied to a demon, on account of the *pain* and *miſery* he was thought to create. And it is poſſible, that Demons might be called *unclean*, becauſe

perſons

mer's opinion concerning the Demoniacs, though far from being novel, was too remote from

persons under that melancholy and maniacal disorder, of which they were the reputed authors, avoided the society of men, and were continually defiling themselves with objects esteemed by the Jews unclean.

It is evinced, under the two next propositions, that those persons, who are spoken of as having demons, suffered real and very violent disorders, from whatever cause these disorders proceeded; and that the particular disorders which the ancients, whether Heathens or Jews, ascribed to the possession of Demons, were such only as disturbed the understanding. A distinction is here carefully to be made between diseases supernaturally *inflicted* and *possessions*. The ancient Heathens attributed diseases in general to the anger of the immortal gods. But they did not represent all persons whom the gods or Demons visited with diseases, as having those gods or Demons *within them*, which was supposed to be the case with all Demoniacs. Possession included in it the idea of madness, amongst the Latins, the Greeks, the Jews, and other Eastern people. That all the possessed were mad, is farther proved, by Mr. Farmer, from the dramatic writings of the ancients.

"Besides madness, the ancients ascribed the epi-
"lepsy to possession; esteeming this disorder *sacred*
"on account of the *entrance* of Demons into the bo-
"dies of those who suffered under it. These two,
"the epilepsy and madness, are kindred disorders.
"The former is often the consequence of the latter,
"and the fits of it are always attended with a depri-
"vation of the understanding, and with convulsive
"agitations, or a frantic and mad behaviour. Be-
"sides madness, continues our learned writer, and
"(what are so nearly allied to it) epileptic fits, I
"know of no distemper that the Ancients ascribed
"to possession; unless, perhaps, fits of apoplexy,
"which also affect the brain, the supposed residence
"of those Demons who entered the bodies of men.
"Whatever may have occurred to others, who have
"a more enlarged view of the subject: yet, with re-
"spect to myself, I must own, that, after having taken
"some pains in making enquiry into the sense of the
"Ancients upon it, I have not been able to find any
"case of (what was called) demoniacal possession, that
"was not attended with some disorder of the under-
"standing. Indeed, it seems to me very unlikely,
"that any instance from amongst the Ancients should
"ever be produced of a person said to be possessed,
"who was in his right mind; inasmuch as all the
"Ancients, in their several languages, employed
"the word, which signified possession, to express
"madness."

How far the language of Scripture corresponds with the sentiments of Pagan and Jewish antiquity is the subject of inquiry under the sixth proposition; which is, that the Demoniacs, spoken of in the New Testament, were all either madmen or epileptics. Mr. Farmer evinces the truth of this position, from the Jews reproaching Christ with having a Demon, and Beelzebub; from a similar reproach which was cast upon John the Baptist; and from a particular consideration of the description that is given of the Gadarene Demoniac. Our author proves, likewise, that the Pythoness at Philippi was a raving prophetess. Those who lived near the times of the Evangelists were under no difficulty to understand their meaning, when they spake of the Demoniacs. This appears from a passage of Celsus concerning Mary Magdalen; in which he calls her *a distracted woman*, referring to the account given of her in the Gospels, *that out of her went seven Demons*.—Upon the whole, it is evident, that the Demoniacs spoken of in the New Testament were supposed to have Demons (that is, the souls of wicked men) residing in them, and to act entirely under their malignant influence: that these Demoniacs were either madmen of one kind or other, or subject to epileptic fits, which are ever attended with a suspension of the regular exercise of the understanding: and that it was from the symptoms of these disorders that it was inferred the patients were possessed by Demons.

Dr. Lardner having contended, "that all those said to have evil spirits were not discomposed in their mind," Mr. Farmer gives a full answer to the Doctor's objections: after which, he proceeds to shew, upon what grounds possessions are distinguished from diseases in general, and from lunacies in particular; and for what reason madness and epileptic fits, rather than other disorders, are ascribed to possession. With regard to the distinction between possessions and lunacies, our ingenious writer observes, that, in order to understand this matter, it is necessary to examine the sentiments of antiquity concerning it. Now it was the general opinion of antiquity, that some diseases are owing to the influence of the celestial bodies; and that the paroxysms and periods of others are regulated by the moon in particular. This was the case more especially with respect to *epileptic diseases*, the fits of which, it was affirmed, constantly returned every new and full moon.—Hence *epileptics* were, by the Greeks and Latins, called *lunatics*. The Evangelist Matthew, therefore, without doubt, by lunatics meant epileptics. We see, then, on what grounds the Ancients in general, and the Evangelists in particular, distinguished between Demoniacs and Lunatics; the former of whom we call Maniacs, and the latter Epileptics. These two disorders are attended with very different symptoms; and they were formerly by some ascribed to different causes.—It is necessary to add, that the same person was reputed by many both a Demoniac and Lunatic; a Demoniac, because they referred the epilepsy to the possession of Demons; a Lunatic, because the fits of this disorder were supposed to keep lunar periods.—This, perhaps, was thought to be the case of the youth described in the Gospel. His father represents him both as a *lunatic* and *sore vexed* with a Demon. He was what some modern physicians call *epileptic mad*. He was not considered as being mad or vexed with a Demon at all times, but only under the paroxysms of his epileptic disorder, which returned at the changes of the moon.—Our author's account of things in this section, justifies the representation he had before made of Demoniacs, as persons that laboured under real disorders; and is confirmed by the ancient Christian writers, who describe Demoniacs as men disordered in their mind.

In the two following sections Mr. Farmer proves, in a satisfactory manner, that demoniacal possessions, and the disorders imputed to them, were not peculiar to the country of Judea, and the time of Christ, or abounded more in that country, or at that time, than any other; and that the Demoniacs of the New Testament are not different from those mentioned in other ancient writers.

His ninth proposition is, that there is no sufficient evidence from REASON for the reality of demoniacal possessions; nay, that reason strongly remonstrates against it. Upon this topic our author displays great strength of argument. There is no natural evidence of the spirits of dead men having power to enter the bodies of the living. Those who first invented this doctrine, were men unacquainted with Nature, and yet ambitious of accounting for its most mysterious phænomena.—On the other hand, those persons whose minds were not disturbed by superstitious terrors, and who gained an insight into nature, pronounced what commonly passed for demoniacal possessions, to be mere natural disorders. This was the case, not only with the Sadducees and the Epicureans, but also with the Peripatetics. This was the case with Aristotle, the founder of their sect, and who is justly styled the Prince of Philosophers; with the divine Hippocrates, equally eminent for his piety and judgment; with Celsus, Plotinus, Posidonius, and others. And it is known to every one, that, since the improvements of Science in later times, the most able and judicious physicians have confirmed by their suffrages the opinion of the most learned and judicious, amongst the Ancients, upon the subject before us.

In

from the general apprehenſions of the Chriſtian world to give univerſal ſatisfaction. Accord-

In the proſecution of his argument, Mr. Farmer ſhews, not only that the diſorders imputed to poſſeſſion *may* proceed from natural cauſes, but that they *actually do ſo*, and are cured by natural remedies. He repreſents, likewiſe, the inconſiſtency of real poſſeſſions with the order of the natural world, and the wiſdom and goodneſs of God; and exhibits, in a clear and ſtriking light, the abſurdity and danger of allowing, that men are in the power of ſuperior malevolent ſpirits.

The tenth ſection of the firſt chapter brings us to our author's laſt propoſition; which is, that the doctrine of demoniacal poſſeſſions, inſtead of being ſupported by the Jewiſh or Chriſtian revelation, is utterly ſubverted by both. This ſection conſtitutes a very important, and highly laboured part of the preſent treatiſe. The doctrine of demoniacal poſſeſſions was not originally founded on revelation; neither was it taught, or referred to, by the ancient prophets. There were ſeveral occaſions on which the mention of it might have been expected in the Old Teſtament, had it been revealed under that diſpenſation. But the Old Teſtament is *ſilent* on the ſubject, and cannot be employed in favour of poſſeſſions. With regard to the prophets of the New Teſtament, they were not the original authors of this doctrine. It was generally entertained before the age of the Goſpel, and it was common, both among Jews and Gentiles, in our Saviour's time; but it never received the ſanction of Chriſt or his Apoſtles.—Nay, it is inconſiſtent with the fundamental principle of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian diſpenſations: with the evidence of miracles in general, on which they reſt; and with the nature of that miracle in particular, which was performed upon Demoniacs. This laſt circumſtance is ingeniouſly diſcuſſed by our author; who then comes to another part of his argument, which is, that all the prophets of God, in every age, when profeſſedly delivering their divine meſſages to mankind, have with one voice proclaimed the utter impotence of Demons; and hereby entirely ſubverted the doctrine of demoniacal poſſeſſions.

To avoid repeating what had occurred in his Diſſertation upon Miracles, Mr. Farmer enters into a long and curious examination of a paſſage of St. Paul, in the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians: *We know that an idol is nothing in the world; and that there is none other God but one.* As our limits will not permit us to lay this maſterly criticiſm before our readers, we muſt content ourſelves with giving an extract from what, in the courſe of the enquiry, is advanced concerning St. James's aſſertion, that *the Devils* (in the original, *the Demons*) *believe and tremble*; though without the notes by which the writer's remarks are accompanied:

"I do not remember," ſays our author, "to have "ſeen it obſerved by any writer (and therefore I ſub-"mit the obſervation entirely to the judgment of "others) that this paſſage is taken from one in the "book of Job, which we unhappily render, *Dead "things are formed from under the waters, and the in-"habitants thereof*; but which may more properly "be tranſlated, *The giants tremble under the waters "(or in the abyſs) together with their hoſt*, or *fellow-"inhabitants*. Job is here celebrating the dominion "of God over the manſions of the dead; and he af-"firms, that the *giants*, the ſouls of thoſe mighty "men, who were ſuch a terror to the old world, and "periſhed by the deluge, do now tremble in the in-"fernal regions, together with thoſe who were once "their contemporaries on earth, or that now inhabit "the ſame manſions. That the Jews thought that "Job here referred to wicked ghoſts, to the ghoſts "eſpecially of the ancient giants, clearly appears "from the Chaldee Paraphraſe, and from the Sep-"tuagint. The words, however, may be underſtood "in a more general ſenſe to the following effect: "'The departed ſouls of the wicked tremble in *the "loweſt ſheol*, even all the inhabitants of thoſe gloomy "manſions.' Now the demons of St. James anſwer "to theſe departed ſouls in Job, whether you under-"ſtand thereby the ghoſts of the wicked in general, "or thoſe of the antediluvian giants in particular. "For, demons denoted the ghoſts of wicked men, of "ſuch eſpecially as ſuffered a violent death, and par-"ticularly thoſe deſtroyed by the flood, who were "conſidered as the worſt kind of demons. So that "the Apoſtle ſeems only to have tranſlated this paſ-"ſage of Job, when he ſaid, *The demons tremble.* As "to the additional circumſtance of their *believing*, "mentioned in the tranſlation, it is clearly implied "in the original; a dread of God's juſtice being in-"conſiſtent with a diſbelief of his exiſtence. I add, "that St. James doth not appear to be delivering any "new doctrine concerning demons in this place, but "rather to be arguing with the perſons to whom he "writes, upon their own principles, or appealing to "a fact that they would not diſpute, becauſe eſta-"bliſhed upon the authority of the Old Teſtament. "*Thou believeſt there is one God*, and ſo far *thou doſt "well*: but this faith alone is not ſufficient; for, *the "demons alſo believe and tremble.* In reaſoning with "Jews, or with Jewiſh converts, what was more na-"tural than to employ a principle allowed by them-"ſelves, and contained in their own Scriptures? It "is the more reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the text in "queſtion is borrowed from theſe writings, as the "immediately-ſucceeding arguments, from the caſe "of Abraham and of Rahab, are certainly drawn "from thence. If the foregoing obſervations are juſt, "this paſſage is a clear proof that, by demons in the "New Teſtament, we are ſometimes to underſtand "the ghoſts of dead men."

The ſecond chapter of this work is employed in ſolving the ſeveral objections which have been urged againſt the foregoing explication of the Goſpel Demoniacs; and is divided into three ſections. The buſineſs of the firſt ſection is to anſwer the objection which is drawn from what was ſaid and done by the Demoniacs themſelves, whence ſome have concluded, that they were inſpired and aſſiſted by ſuperior agents, ſuch as Demons are commonly ſuppoſed to be. As, however, it muſt, be allowed, that the New Teſtament never repreſents the language and behaviour of the Demoniacs as the effect and evidence of a ſupernatural agency, it is only to be examined whether ſuch agency can be juſtly and certainly inferred from the facts themſelves.

It is pleaded, *that the Demoniacs knew and proclaimed Jeſus to be the Meſſiah.* But this may be accounted for, by conſidering the extraordinary circumſtances which, at that time, rendered Jeſus the object of univerſal attention; propagated his fame throughout all Judea, and the countries bordering upon it; and created in the Jewiſh people a ſtrong perſuaſion that he was the Meſſiah. Might not the Demoniacs, therefore, long before they were ſeized with their diſorder, learn in common with others, the high character of the Meſſiah, then univerſally expected? And, in their intervals of ſanity, ſo very common to perſons of a diſordered underſtanding, might they not hear of the fame of Jeſus as the expected Meſſiah, which was ſpread in all places before they made any acknowledgment of his character? It is, indeed, ſcarcely poſſible that they could be ignorant of him, becauſe, in general, they were under no confinement.

"If I might be allowed to propoſe a conjecture," ſays Mr. Farmer, "I would obſerve, that perhaps "the Demoniacs would run into the common opinion "concerning Jeſus as the promiſed Meſſiah more "eagerly than perſons of a cooler judgment; the lat-"ter being ſtruck with ſome contrary appearances in "his character (ſuch as the poverty of his condition, "and the ſpiritual nature of his doctrine) which "eſcaped the attention of the former, who, for this "reaſon, with greater confidence, ſaluted him under "his high character, agreeably to the firſt impreſſion "which his miracles made on the minds of all men. "This ſeems to me much more probable, than that "infernal ſpirits ſhould freely and zealouſly aſſert the "divine claims, and ſpread the glory, of Jeſus as

Accordingly, it was ſoon attacked by Dr. Worthington, a reſpectable and learned clergy-

" the Meſſiah."—The caſe of the Pythoneſs is explained by the ſame train of reaſoning.

It is urged farther, that Chriſt commanded the *Devils (Demons) not to diſcover him.* In order to ſolve this difficulty, our author has recourſe to the idea which the Ancients entertained concerning Demoniacs; from which it appears, that, as Chriſt, in conformity to the accuſtomed modes of ſpeech, commanded Demons to *come out*, he might, upon the ſame principle, command them to *be ſilent*. Nor was any thing more likely to awe the Demoniac himſelf into immediate ſilence than his hearing ſuch a command delivered to the ſpirits, that (in his opinion) actuated him, by one ſo famed as Jeſus was for his power of controling them. The language was adapted to his apprehenſions and the diſturbed ſtate of his mind.—With regard to our Lord's prohibiting the Demoniacs from declaring him openly to be the Meſſiah, this prohibition was as properly given to them as it was to his own diſciples, and alſo to many others. Or, if Jeſus had any *peculiar* reaſon for checking the zeal of the Demoniacs, it probably was the deſire of leaving no room for the ſpecious pretence, that there was a ſecret agreement between him and thoſe evil ſpirits, who were judged to be ſo eager in applauding him.

Again, ſome have ſaid, that Demoniacs could not be mere madmen, becauſe *they argue with Chriſt in a very rational manner, and ſpeak to better purpoſe than the bulk of thoſe who were in their ſenſes.* As this aſſertion is chiefly founded upon the behaviour of the Gadarene Demoniac, Mr. Farmer makes a full inquiry into the circumſtances related concerning him, in order to ſee how far they agree with the ſuppoſition of his being directed and aſſiſted by ſuperior intelligences in all that he ſaid and did. The reſult of the inquiry is, that there are not, in any part of his conduct, the ſigns of extraordinary ſagacity, ſuch as mark the agency of a ſpirit of celeſtial origin. On the contrary, the behaviour of the Demoniac appears to be that of a madman, agreeably to the expreſs repreſentation of him in the hiſtory. Nor is any one circumſtance mentioned concerning him inconſiſtent with this repreſentation.

It hath, alſo, been alleged, that Demoniacs diſcovered more than human ſtrength. But it is ſhewn, in anſwer to this allegation, that neither the Gadarene Demoniac, nor the demoniac at Epheſus, exerted any greater ſtrength than what mere madmen diſcover, from an extraordinary flow of animal ſpirits, or from ſome other cauſe, eſpecially in the moſt violent paroxyſms of their diſorder.

In the next ſection, our author examines the argument in favour of real poſſeſſions taken from the deſtruction of the herd of ſwine, which the Demons are ſaid to have entered, and ſtimulated to inſtantaneous madneſs. This caſe is conſidered by ſome as a deciſive proof of the power of Demons, both over the human and brutal race, and is thought even to have been purpoſely deſigned by Providence to convince us of this principle, and to refute the oppoſite opinion.

To enervate this argument, Dr. Sykes ſuggeſted, and Dr. Lardner ſtrenuouſly contended, that *the ſwine were frighted by the two madmen, and ſo driven down the precipice into the ſea.* On the other hand, the advocates for the common hypotheſis inſiſt upon it (and with great reaſon) that it was impoſſible for two men, however fierce, to put ſo vaſt a herd of ſwine as two thouſand into motion in an inſtant, and to cauſe them all to ruſh with violence down a precipice into the ſea: ſwine, contrary to the nature of moſt other animals, running different ways when they are driven. But it doth not appear from the hiſtory, that the men ever fell upon the herd, or made any attempt to drive them into the ſea. When, it is ſaid, that the Demons *went out* of the madmen, and *entered* the ſwine, the Evangeliſts, if their language be interpreted agreeably to the popular opinion on which it is founded, muſt mean, that the madmen, in conſequence of the departure of the Demons, were cured, and reſtored to their right mind; and that they were cured *before* the ſwine were diſordered. It is evident likewiſe from the hiſtory, that at the time the Demoniacs were cured, they were preſent with Chriſt; and the herd of ſwine *at ſome diſtance from them.* The deſtruction of the ſwine is expreſsly aſcribed, not to their being *driven by the Demoniacs*, but to the *entrance of Demons* into them, or to their being ſeized with the ſame diſorder from which the men were relieved. All that can be inferred from the Evangeliſts ſaying that *the Demons came out of the men, and entered into the herd of ſwine*, is, that the madneſs of the former was transferred to the latter, in the ſame ſenſe as *the leproſy of Naaman was to cleave to Gehazi, and to his ſeed for ever.* So great a miracle as that wrought upon the ſwine can be aſcribed to no other agency than that of God. Accordingly, we are told, that it was performed at the word or command of Chriſt: *forthwith Jeſus gave them* (the Demons, the reputed cauſes of madneſs) *leave, and ſaid unto them, Go.* Should an enquiry be made into the reaſons of this divine diſpenſation, it might be anſwered, that He who gave life to all hath a right to reſume it, and doth often reſume it, both from men and beaſts, and viſit their bodies with diſorders, for reaſons unſearchable by the human underſtanding. However, Mr. Farmer points out ſeveral wiſe and important purpoſes that were anſwered by the miraculous deſtruction of the ſwine. 1. It was a juſt puniſhment of the owners. 2. It ſerved to aſcertain the *reality* and to ſpread the *fame* of the miracles performed upon the Demoniacs. 3. It was calculated to correct the falſe notions, concerning the power of Demons, which were entertained in that age, as well by Jews as Gentiles, by both of whom Gadara was inhabited. 4. This miracle prevented ſeveral great inconveniences that would otherwiſe have attended the miniſtry of Chriſt. And, laſtly, though the Goſpel, conſidered as a diſpenſation of mercy, was, with great propriety, confirmed chiefly by miracles of mercy; yet it was neceſſary there ſhould be ſome examples of ſeverity to check the preſumption of mankind in all ages, and to warn them of the danger of rejecting a divine prophet, who, though he eminently appeared as the meſſenger of God's love, was alſo the appointed miniſter of his juſtice.

The third and laſt ſection of the ſecond chapter, is in anſwer to the moſt popular argument in favour of real poſſeſſions; that which is drawn from the language of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, in performing and recording the cure of the Demoniacs, or in deſcribing the caſe of theſe unhappy perſons. This part of the work before us is much laboured, and contains a variety of important and judicious obſervations. But we can only lay down the general poſitions that are illuſtrated at large by our author: 1. It is cuſtomary with all ſorts of perſons, with the ſacred writers in particular, and our Saviour himſelf, to ſpeak on many ſubjects in the language of the vulgar, though known and admitted to have been originally grounded on a falſe philoſophy. 2. The foregoing obſervation holds true in the caſe before us; for, all ſorts of perſons, and particularly the divinely-commiſſioned inſtructors of mankind, ſpeak in the ſame manner, on the very ſubject in queſtion. They adopt the popular language, without deſigning to countenance the opinion on which that language was originally founded. 3. Chriſt and his Apoſtles had ſufficient reaſon for adopting the common phraſeology with reſpect to Demoniacs (even ſuppoſing them not to approve the hypotheſis on which it was grounded;) becauſe it was employed to deſcribe the real caſe of theſe perſons, both the ſymptoms of their diſorder, and their cure. 4. It doth not appear, that our Lord and his Diſciples had any *divine warrant* to change the vulgar language in deſcribing the cauſe of the Demoniacs; or that they were immediately and expreſsly commiſſioned by God, to inſtruct mankind in the ſecret cauſes of any of thoſe diſtempers which they were empowered to cure, and to rectify any phyſical miſtakes concerning them. 5. As the firſt publiſhers of the Goſpel *were not*, ſo they *could not*, be commiſſioned by

clergyman, who had already favoured the public with ſome pious and valuable writings. His anſwer to Mr. Farmer was entituled, "An impartial Inquiry into the Caſe "of the Goſpel Demoniacs. With an Appendix, conſiſting of an Eſſay on Scripture "Demonology, 1777." It is to be lamented, that the good Doctor did not preſerve his temper in the controverſy: nor did he, perhaps, altogether ſuſtain the reputation which he had acquired by his former productions. His notion of the Scripture Demonology is ſo curious, and indeed has ſuch a tincture of a modulated Manichæiſm, that we ſhall inſert a ſummary of it below [*D*]. There were ſome things advanced in this work, which, in Mr. Farmer's opinion, deſerved to be conſidered; and he thought that certain parts of the ſubject were capable of farther and fuller illuſtration. He printed, therefore, in 1778, "Letters to the Rev. Dr. Worthington, in anſwer to his "late publication, intituled, "An impartial Enquiry into the Caſe of the Goſpel De-"moniacs." Of theſe letters we ſhall content ourſelves with ſaying, that they contain much more additional matter than could have been expected upon a ſubject which the author had before ſo amply conſidered; and that they exhibit a perſpicuous and judicious epitome of what had already been advanced in the courſe of the controverſy. Another of Mr. Farmer's antagoniſts was the Rev. Mr. Fell, a diſſenting Miniſter, at that time of Thaxted in Eſſex, and now one of the tutors of the independent academy at Homerton, Hackney. This gentleman publiſhed, in 1779, a treatiſe, entituled, "Dæmoniacs. An Enquiry into the Heathen and the Scripture Doctrine of Dæmons: "in which the Hypotheſes of the Rev. Mr. Farmer, and others, on this Subject, are "particularly conſidered." We deny not to Mr. Fell the praiſe of ability, acuteneſs, and learning; but we cannot ſpeak with equal commendation of the ſpirit with which his book is written. In particular, we by no means agree with him in his deduction of the injurious conſequences to natural and revealed Religion which he apprehends to reſult from the doctrines advanced in the "Diſſertation on Miracles," and the "Eſſay on "the Demoniacs." It gave us pleaſure, however, to find Mr. Fell, in one place, expreſſing himſelf in the following manner: "Far be it from us to impute any evil de-"ſign to this writer. We doubt not, he really meant to ſerve the cauſe of virtue, "which he thought could not be more effectually done than by removing every thing "which appeared to him in the light of ſuperſtition (*f*)."

(*f*) Dæmoniacs, P. 337.

Mr. Farmer's laſt work appeared in 1783, and was entituled, "The general Preva-"lence of the Worſhip of Human Spirits in the ancient Heathen Nations aſſerted and "proved [*E*]." This work reflects great honour upon the author's abilities and learning;

by God to inſtruct mankind in the phyſical cauſes of thoſe diſeaſes which they healed. At leaſt, the reality of poſſeſſions could not be directly and immediately determined by the authority of Chriſt and his Apoſtles without great impropriety.

The concluding chapter, which is, comparatively, a ſhort one, diſplays the inconveniences attending the common explication of the Goſpel Demoniacs, and the advantages that reſult from the account given of them in the two preceding chapters.

[*D*] *That we ſhall inſert it below.*] 'Upon the retroſpect of the whole, we find, that there is a being, 'known by the name of the Devil, who is the author 'of all moral evil; whence all natural evils likewiſe 'originate: and who therefore is juſtly to be reckoned 'the evil principle. He introduced evil firſt into the 'world, and ever ſince hath been the great ſupport, 'promoter, and fomenter, of it:—That he hath a 'numerous and formidable band of other apoſtate 'ſpirits, called his angels; who, together with him, 'fell from their firſt eſtate, and are united in con-'federacy with him; working together in ſeducing 'and withdrawing mankind from their duty to, and 'dependance upon, God; inſtigating to, and pro-'moting, all manner of ſin and wickedneſs in the 'world; darkening and perverting the reaſon and 'underſtanding of men; corrupting their wills and 'affections, and deſtroying their ſouls—That God, 'who brings good out of evil, makes uſe of the devil 'and his angels in the government of the world—'That, for this end, he thinks fit ſometimes to give 'him great power over the elements of air and fire, 'and other parts of nature; over the brute creation; 'and likewiſe over the perſons of men; ſo far as to 'permit him to take poſſeſſion of, and act in, their 'bodies; but that his power is under controul; and 'ſubject to certain laws of reſtraint, which he dares 'not tranſgreſs, nor can reſiſt—That the conſum-'mate malignancy of this inveterate enemy of man-'kind is ever prompting him to do all the miſchief, of 'all kinds, that he can, in the world; but that he is 'checked and overruled, by the ſupreme power of 'his and our Almighty Creator; and ſuffers them not 'to be tempted by him, any farther than they are able 'to bear—That the good are tempted and haraſſed by 'him; but that wicked men are too often led away 'captive by him at his will—That he is employed for 'judgment; for correction; and even for mercy in 'the end—for the gradual reformation of a corrupt 'and wicked world; as we have reaſon to hope; and 'that the evil, which, by his inſtrumentality, is per-'mitted to reign, and prevail in the world, will at 'length terminate in the univerſal good.'

[*E*] *The general prevalence, &c. aſſerted and proved.*] In a long Introduction, it is ſhewn, that a critical knowledge of the ſubject may anſwer many valuable purpoſes; and that ſuch a knowledge, in particular, hath a tendency to impreſs us with a due ſenſe of the high importance of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian diſpenſations; and of the pecular propriety of thoſe extraordinary means which were employed to accompliſh our deliverance from Idolatry, and to introduce and eſtabliſh the religions of Moſes and of the Meſſiah. By theſe, and a variety of other introductory remarks, Mr. Farmer juſtifies his attempt to bring forward to the reader a general view of Pagan worſhip, from thoſe records of antiquity, which few have the leiſure or ability to conſult in their original ſtate. In the firſt chapter, he endeavours to prove, by the teſtimonies of the Heathens themſelves, that in the nations ſtyled barbarous, or that were in an uncivilized ſtate, religious honours were paid to dead men. The ſecond chapter carries the enquiry ſtill farther, and abounds with authorities, to ſhew that the caſe was the ſame among the moſt poliſhed nations. Our author, amongſt the nations which anſwer to this deſcription, enumerates the Chaldæans, Babylonians, Syrians, Phœnicians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans,

learning; but, not being of so interesting a nature to many readers as his former publications, it did not meet with that rapid sale which he expected. There are in it a number of notes referring to Mr. Fell, and which shew Mr. Farmer's sensibility to the attack that had been made upon him by that writer. Indeed, we cannot approve of the oblique manner in which some of these notes are composed. It would have been far preferable in our author, either not to have taken any notice of Mr. Fell at all, or to have done it in a more open and manly way. Mr. Fell was not backward in his own vindication. This appeared, in 1785, in a publication, entituled, "The Idolatry of "Greece and Rome distinguished from that of other Heathen Nations: in a Letter to "the Reverend Hugh Farmer." At the same time that in this tract ample retaliation is made upon Mr. Farmer for his personal severities, it appears to us to contain many things, which, if he had continued to publish on the subject, would have been found deserving of consideration and reply. Here closes our account of Mr. Farmer as an author from the press: for, though he pursued his literary enquiries, and employed himself in composition, nothing produced by him ever did or (from a circumstance hereafter to be related) ever can make its public appearance.

We now advert to the remainder of his private life. As a Minister he was singularly useful and successful, and he received every mark of honour from the Dissenters which it was in their power to bestow. For a great number of years he preached twice a day at Walthamstow: but a very ingenious and able associate being, at length, provided for him at that place, he acceded after a short interval, to a proposal that was made to him of becoming afternoon-preacher to the congregation of Salters-hall. This was in the year 1761. At Salters-hall, his labours were as acceptable as they were at Walthamstow; and indeed his auditory constituted the most capital afternoon-society that existed amongst the Presbyterians in the City of London. Some time after this, he was chosen one of the Tuesday-Lecturers at Salters-hall; a tribute of respect which is only paid to Ministers of considerable standing in or near the metropolis.

Amidst Mr. Farmer's employments as a scholar, a preacher, and a pastor, he found leisure to engage in some matters of public business among the Dissenters. He was a trustee of the Rev. Dr. Daniel Williams's various bequests; and he was, likewise, one of Mr. Coward's trustees; in which capacity he became a dispenser of the large charities that had been left by the gentleman with whom he had been connected in early life. As Mr. Farmer advanced in years, he gradually remitted of his employments as a divine. He resigned first, in 1772, the being afternoon-preacher at Salters-hall; after which, in 1780, he gave up the Tuesday Lectureship of the same place. In his pastoral relation at Walthamstow he continued a few years longer, when he quitted the pulpit entirely. In these several cases his resignations were accepted with peculiar regret. After he had ceased to be a preacher, it was his general custom to spend part of the winter at Bath. Early in 1785, Mr. Farmer was afflicted with almost a total failure of sight; a circumstance perhaps the more alarming, as his father had been wholly blind six years before his death. In this exigence it was necessary that our author should submit to a chirurgical operation, which he underwent with great readiness and fortitude; and by the happy skill, first of Baron Wenzel, and afterwards of his friend Mr. Wathen, his eyes were restored, and he was enabled to pursue his wonted course of study (*g*). Infirmities growing upon him, he departed this life on the sixth of February (*b*), 1787, in the seventy-third year of his age; and, agreeably to the directions of his will, was buried in Walthamstow church-yard, in the same grave with his honourable and beloved friends, Mr. and Mrs. Snell. On Sunday, the eighteenth, his funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Urwick, of Clapham, whose discourse was printed. In his last will, besides providing handsomely for his relations, and remembering his servants, he left a

(*g*) Gentleman's Magazine, ubi supra, p. 186.

(*b*) Mr. Urwick, in the title page of his Sermon, says, that Mr. Farmer died on the fifth of February; but, from the probate of his will at Doctors Commons, it appears that his decease was on the sixth.

mans, and such of the Arabians as bordered on Judea and Egypt. It is to the gods of these nations, and especially of such of them as bordered on Canaan, that the Scriptures refer when they speak of the heathen deities. Mr. Farmer, therefore, justly infers, that the knowledge of the gods of these nations must be highly useful to the lovers of sacred literature. This leads him into a very ample discussion of the subject, in order to confirm his grand position, that, in all the forementioned nations, divine honours were paid to dead men and women. The proofs hitherto produced having chiefly respected particular nations, our Author, in the third chapter, offers reasons of a more general nature in evidence of his main point; reasons, as he observes, which almost equally regard the far greater part of the ancient world. These he classes under two heads; first, those which are drawn from the *testimonies* of the ancients; and, secondly, those which are illustrated and confirmed by certain uncontroverted *facts*. The testimonies are drawn from the heathen poets—the philosophers—the historians—and the Christian fathers. The proofs from facts are the monuments and institutions which were designed to perpetuate the heroes who became the objects of Pagan worship. These monuments and institutions were the heathen sepulchres, temples, altars, pyramids, caves, statues, images, sacrifices, libations, games, festivals, mysteries, and many other appendages and ceremonies of ancient superstition and idolatry. On the whole, Mr. Farmer's arguments go to prove, not only that human spirits were generally worshipped amongst the heathens, but that such spirits *alone*, or *with few exceptions*, were, in the nations with which we are best acquainted, the direct and immediate objects of the established worship.

In the course of the work, our Author has considered the systems of Dr. Blackwell, and Mr. Jacob Bryant; whom he treats with great respect, though he differs from them in opinion (4).

(4) Monthly Review, Vol. LXIX. p. 177-182.

hundred

hundred pounds to the fund for the widows of Diſſenting Miniſters, and forty pounds to the poor of Walthamſtow pariſh. His regard to the family with which he had ſo long been connected, and to which he had been ſo peculiarly obliged, was teſtified by his bequeathing pecuniary legacies to every member of that family. Smaller legacies were left by him to others of his friends. His executors were William Snell, Eſq. of Clapham, and William Hood, Eſq. of Chancery-lane, barriſter; the firſt the ſon, and the ſecond one of the grandſons, of Mr. Farmer's great patron. To another grandſon, the Rev. Robert Jacomb, our author bequeathed his library, with the exception of ſuch claſſic books as Mr. Snell might ſelect; who alſo was a reſiduary legatee, in conjunction with his ſiſter, Mrs. Hood.

There was one thing in Mr. Farmer's will which requires to be particularly noticed. He makes it his *requeſt* (for that is the term uſed), that his executors would burn his ſermons and manuſcripts, unleſs he ſhould direct otherwiſe by a ſeparate paper; and, in caſe they ſhould not do it, the legacies of a hundred pounds each, which he had left them, were to be null and void. He had nearly completed a ſecond volume on the demonology of the Ancients, which undoubtedly deſerved to ſee the light. His executors, however, might juſtly eſteem themſelves obliged to comply with his requeſt, with relation to whatever writings had the appearance of not having received his finiſhing hand. But there are two inſtances in which it may be queſtioned whether they did not carry their apprehenſion of what they believed to be their duty to a blameable exceſs, and to what could never rationally be conſidered as part of the intention of the teſtator. He had compoſed a curious diſſertation on the ſtory of Balaam, which he had tranſcribed for the preſs, and for the printing of which he had given his directions. It is not eaſy to conceive that this could be among the papers meant to be deſtroyed. I ſpeak from particular knowledge of the ſubject; the author not only having acquainted Michael Dodſon, Eſq. and myſelf with his purpoſe, but permitted us to read the diſſertation; and that its not having publicly appeared was a loſs to the literary world both of us are highly ſenſible.

The other inſtance is of greater importance, and more to be lamented. Mr. Farmer had made preparations for a ſecond edition of his Treatiſe on Miracles, by which it would have been conſiderably enlarged, and highly improved. Objections would have been anſwered, farther elucidations produced, and the general doctrine of the diſſertation more ſtrongly confirmed. It is ſtill leſs to be ſuppoſed in this caſe than in the former, that it could have been the author's view to have thoſe papers burnt which were intended to give additional perfection to a work that was already before the public. Nor can it be doubted but that theſe papers had a title on the outſide, which would mark the purpoſe they were deſigned to anſwer. We know that the executors were actuated by a ſcrupulous regard to what they believed to be the will of the deceaſed; but it muſt be permitted us to think that they carried their ſcrupuloſity to exceſs. As to the forfeiture that might have been incurred by them, it is not to be mentioned; becauſe the gentlemen, both from their fortunes and characters, were far above paying any regard to ſuch a trifling conſideration.

In an account of Mr. Farmer, his abilities as a preacher muſt not paſs unnoticed. He was particularly excellent in the pulpit. His ſermons were rational, ſpiritual, evangelical, and not unfrequently pathetic. It is juſtly obſerved by Mr. Urwick, that "his "diſcourſes were peculiarly ornamented and enriched with criticiſms for the explana- "tion of different paſſages of ſcripture, or the farther illuſtration of others. Theſe "criticiſms," adds the ſame writer, "were always manly; had evident importance in "them; and, inſtead of being dry and tedious, they much enlivened his ſermons (*i*)." Mr. Farmer had an admirable talent, without trimming, of pleaſing perſons of very different ſentiments. When he was ſpeaking of the doctrines of the Goſpel, there was a ſwell in his language that looked as if he was riſing to a greater degree of orthodoxy in expreſſion than ſome perſons might approve; but it never came to that point. What he ſaid was always conſiſtent with the moſt liberal ſentiments in matters of Religion. The writer of this article can ſay, from frequent hearing of him, that he was one of the beſt preachers that have appeared among the Proteſtant Diſſenters. "Through all "his public ſervices," ſays Mr. Urwick, "there was a moſt happy variety of thought "and expreſſion, as well as a conſtant flow of lively and humble devotion (*k*)."

(*i*) Funeral Sermon for Mr. Farmer, p. 35.

(*k*) Ibid.

The real excellence of Mr. Farmer's diſcourſes was recommended by the mode in which they were delivered. His voice was clear, ſtrong, flexible, and harmonious. His addreſs was handſome, inſinuating, and diſtinguiſhed by its animation. "Every "one ſaw that he felt the ſentiments which he uttered; and his attentive hearers hap- "pily experienced that he conveyed his own feelings to them (*l*)." When he had raiſed his voice to a certain pitch, he would happily drop it, in a manner that gave great variety to his elocution, and which had a powerful effect. In converſation he was lively and brilliant to an uncommon degree. Mr. Urwick obſerves, that in this reſpect he bore a ſtrong reſemblance to his amiable tutor. "They both poſſeſſed a ſtrength

(*l*) Ibid.

" of understanding that sustained the labour of close study and difficult investigation; " and yet retained that liveliness and flexibility of mind, which rendered them highly " entertaining in the most gay and exhilarating conversation, where the mirth was in- " nocent (*m*)." To this account it may be added, that, like Doddridge, Mr. Farmer sometimes went far enough in his complimentary language to persons present. He was, likewise, very backward in readily declaring his sentiments, when asked them, concerning particular topics, living writers, or recent publications. Any question of this kind not unfrequently produced from him, what has been ascribed to the Quakers, another question in return. He had great sensibility of temper. It was probably some feeling of his last work's not having met with the attention he expected, which dictated the order concerning the burning of his manuscripts. If the natural warmth of his spirit occasionally led him into any little impropriety of speech or behaviour, he was afterwards solicitous to make every proper concession, and was not easy till the offence was quite cleared away. In his regular deportment he was in the highest degree kind and obliging (*n*). It is scarcely necessary to say of Mr. Farmer that he was free from religious bigotry. His temper was too liberal, his understanding too enlarged, and his acquaintance with the world too extensive, to permit him to be the slave of so base a principle. In the freest conversation with regard to sects and parties of Christians, he was never heard to utter a severe or uncandid thing of any set of men or opinions whatsoever (*o*).

(*m*) Funeral Sermon for Mr. Farmer, p. 32.

(*n*) Ibid.

(*o*) Ibid, p. 34.

The piety of our author was unquestionable. It was sincere and ardent; and his love to God was accompanied with love to man. He had great generosity of disposition, and in his distributions to charitable designs and objects went to the utmost extent of his circumstances. To the poor and distrest he was a constant and bountiful benefactor. On the whole, viewing Mr. Farmer in his private character and public endowments; considering him as a man, a minister, a scholar, and an author, it may justly be asserted, that he sustained a high rank among the Dissenting Clergy of his time, and supported an honourable station in the literature of the age.] K.

*** [FARNABIE, or FARNABY (Thomas), a learned Grammarian, who has found a place in Bayle's Dictionary, and Niceron's Memoirs of illustrious men, ought not to be omitted in the Biographia Britannica. He was born in London about the year 1575. His father was a carpenter in that city; his grandfather had been Mayor of Truro in Cornwall; and his great-grandfather was an Italian musician, who had settled in England. After having received a proper grammatical education, he was admitted of Merton-College, Oxford, in the beginning of the year 1590, where he became Servitor to Mr. Thomas French, Fellow of that College, and soon distinguished himself as a youth of lively parts and great hopes. Being, however, of an unsettled disposition, he abruptly quitted the University, and, abandoning both his religion and his country, passed over to Spain, and was for some time educated there in a certain college belonging to the Jesuits. At length, growing weary of the severe discipline of the institution, he found a way to leave it, and went with Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins in their last voyage, in 1595. By the former of these great naval commanders he is said to have been held in some esteem. Mr. Farnaby is afterwards reported to have served as a soldier in the Low Countries. No advantage was gained by him in these expeditions; for, having been reduced to much distress, he landed in Cornwall, and from the urgency of his necessities was obliged to descend to the humble employment of teaching children their horn-book. Whilst he was in this low situation he did not chuse to go by his own name, but changed it to Thomas Bainrafe, the anagram of Farnabie. By degrees he rose to those higher occupations of a school-master for which he was so well qualified. After some time, he fixed at Martock in Somersetshire, where he taught a grammar-school with great success. In 1646, when Mr. Charles Darby was called to teach the same school, he found in that town, and the neighbourhood, many persons who had been Mr. Farnaby's scholars, and who, in their grey hairs, were ingenious men and good grammarians. From Martock Mr. Farnaby removed to London, and opened a school in Goldsmiths-Rents, behind Red-Cross-street, near Cripplegate, where were large gardens and handsome houses, together with all the accommodations proper for the young noblemen and gentlemen committed to his care. So established was his reputation, that at one time the number of his scholars amounted to more than three hundred. Whilst he was at the head of this school, he was created Master of Arts in the University of Cambridge, and on the twenty-fourth of April, 1616, was incorporated to the same degree at Oxford (*a*).

(*a*) Great General Dictionary, Vol. V. p. 189, 190. Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, Vol. II. p. 104. Ibid, Vol. I. Fasti, p. 202.

After a course of years, on account of some differences with his landlords, and the frequent sicknesses which occurred in the city, Mr. Farnaby determined to quit London. This was in 1636. The place which he chose for his residence was Sevenock in Kent, in the neighbourhood of which town (at Otford) he had purchased an estate. Here he renewed his former occupation, and, from the number of Noblemen's and

Gentlemen's ſons who boarded with him, grew ſo rich as to add conſiderably to his landed property. One of the eſtates purchaſed by him was near Horſham in Suſſex. His works, an account of which will be given below, have tranſmitted his name with honour to poſterity [*A*]. They were not only well received at home but abroad, and have been applauded by ſeveral eminent foreign ſcholars. Bayle obſerves, that Mr. Farnaby's notes upon moſt of the eminent Latin poets have been of very great uſe to young beginners; and that they are ſhort, learned, and deſigned chiefly to clear up the text. A French Dominican Frier, in a paſſage in which he undertakes to prove that the Jeſuits are much below a great many other writers, who have illuſtrated the Belles Lettres, hath thus commended the works of our author. "I am ſorry, that in "my time, when I ſtudied polite literature, we wanted this great aſſiſtance to improve "ourſelves in it, which, ſince a few years, Farnaby and others have afforded. For "they have explained all the poets in ſo clear a manner by their marginal notes, that "a man but indifferently ſkilled in the grammar can go eaſily through the moſt dif-"ficult paſſages. Theſe helps towards underſtanding the ancient authors cannot be "expected from, nor procured by, them that teach polite literature only for three or "four years, and then are promoted to a Profeſſorſhip of Divinity or Philoſophy, but "only by thoſe who ſpend all their life-time, and even die in a grammar-ſchool. "Such were, I am ſure, thoſe who by their marginal commentaries have afforded "ſuch an uſeful and neceſſary aſſiſtance for the ſtudy of polite literature (*b*)." The

(*b*) Great General Dictionary, ubi ſupra, p. 189.

[*A*] *His works——have tranſmitted his name with honour to poſterity.*] The catalogue of them is as follows: I. "Notæ ad Juvenalis et Perſii Satyras:" Lond. 1612, in octavo. The third edition was printed at London, in 1620, under the following title: "Junii Juvenalis et Auli Perſii Flacci Satyræ: "cum Annotationibus ad Marginem, quæ obſcuriſ-"ſima quæque dilucidare poſſint. Tertia Editio, "prioribus multo emendatior et auctior." The book is dedicated to Henry Prince of Wales, who received the author very kindly, and in ſome meaſure commanded him to write ſuch comments on all the Latin poets. 'But he was ſo vexed,' ſays Bayle, 'at the 'cenſures of ſeveral critics, that out of ſpite, and 'againſt his own inclination, he was reſolved to diſ-'continue that kind of labour.' He was perſuaded, however, to alter his reſolution (*a*). Ben Jonſon wrote the following epigram upon his notes on Juvenal:

(*a*) Great General Dictionary, Vol. V. p. 189.

'Temporibus Lux magna fuit Juvenalis avitis,
'Moribus, Ingeniis, Divitiis, Vitiis.
'Tu Lux es Luci, Farnabi; Operiſque fugaſti
'Temporis et Tenebras Ingenii Radiis.
'Lux tua parva quidem mole eſt, ſed magna Vigore,
'Senſibus et docti Pondere Judicii.
'Macte, tuo Scriptores, Lectoreſque Labore
'Per te alii vigeant, per te alii videant."

II. "Notæ ad Senecæ Tragædias." Lond. 1613, in octavo. The third edition was printed at the ſame place, in 1634, under the following title: "L. et "M. Annæi Senecæ Tragædiæ. Poſt omnes omnium "Editiones Recenſioneſque Editio tertia auctior et "emendatior, Operâ et Studio Thomæ Farnabii." To this edition is prefixed a privilege granted him from the King, dated October, 1634, for the ſole printing of that, and ſeveral other of his works, for one-and-twenty years. The book is accompanied with commendatory verſes, by Daniel Heinſius, Richard Andrews, M. D. Hugh Holland, Laurence Whitaker, and Na. Tomkins. III. "Notæ ad Mar-"tialis Epigrammata." Lond. 1615, in octavo. Other editions, in 12mo. were afterwards printed, both at London and Geneva. Theſe notes were dedicated to Sir Robert Killegrew. IV. "Lucani "Pharſalia, ſive de Bello Civili Cæſaris et Pompei "Libri X. Adjectis ad Marginem Notis T. Farnabii, "quæ Loca obſcurioria illuſtrent." London, 1618, in octavo. Dedicated to Sir Francis Stuart. To this edition are prefixed commendatory verſes by R. A. M. D. and Mr. Selden. The latter gentleman, among others, has the following lines upon our Author:

'Haut eſt Ingenio repertus alter,
'Farnabi, potior ſcientiovre,
'Aut priſcæ Hiſtoriæ Poeticeſve,
'Cui mandetur Hono, vices gerendi,
'Tutorum, et Tenebris Faces parandi
'Quam tu, cui veteres reconditique
'Ritus ex Adytis patent; et omnes
'Theſauro Sophiæ nimis reducti.'

V. "Index Rhetoricus Scholis et Inſtitutioni tene-"rioris Ætatis accommodatus." Lond. 1625, in octavo. To an edition publiſhed in the ſame city, in 1646, were added, "Formulæ Oratoriæ et Index "Poeticus." The fifth edition was printed at London, in 1654, under the following title. "Index "Rhetoricus et Oratorius, Scholis et Inſtitutioni "tenerioris Ætatis accommodatus. Cui adjiciuntur "Formulæ Oratoriæ et Index Poeticus. Operâ et "Studio Thomæ Farnabii. Editio quinta, prioribus "emendatior." This book is dedicated to Dominico Molino, Senator of Venice. The Index Poeticus, annexed to this, was firſt printed at London, in 1634. In the Preface to the "Index Rhetoricus," Mr. Farnaby informs his Readers, that he had publiſhed, about twenty years before, his Scheme of Tropes, in verſe, without his name; which, meeting with ſucceſs, was claimed by a certain plagiary; upon which our Author compoſed his "Index Rhe-"toricus." Monſ. Gibert ſpeaks of this work with commendation, and obſerves that Monſ. Baillet has paſſed a favourable judgment upon it. Father Vavaſſeur, though he affirms that Mr. Farnaby's Latin is ſometimes exceptionable, allows him, nevertheleſs to have been a diligent and learned writer. VI. "Florilegium Epigrammatum Græcorum, eorum-"que Latino Verſu a variis redditorum." London, 1629, in octavo, &c. VII. "Notæ ad Virgilium." London, 1634, in octavo. VIII. "Syſtema Gram-"maticum." London, 1641, in octavo. King Charles the Firſt ordered Mr. Farnaby to write a Latin Grammar, for the uſe of all the ſchools, when that which had been eſtabliſhed by law, and againſt which many complaints had been made, was to be reformed. IX. "Notæ in Ovidii Metamorphoſes." Paris, 1637, in folio; and London, in 12mo. 1677, &c. X. "Phraſiologia Anglo-Latina." London, in octavo. XI. "Tabulæ Græcæ Linguæ." London, in Quarto. XII. "Syntaxis." London, in octavo. XIII. "Notæ in Terentium." Our Author had finiſhed his notes upon Terence only as far as the fourth Comedy, when he was cut off by death. But Dr. Meric Caſaubon completed the two laſt comedies, and publiſhed the whole, in 12mo. at London, in 1651 (2). Anthony Wood hath added to the catalogue, "Epiſtolæ variæ ad doctiſſimos Viros." But this article does not refer to a diſtinct publication, but to the letters occaſionally written by Farnaby to learned men, and particularly to Voſſius.

(2) Great General Dictionary, ubi ſupra, p. 189, 190. Athenæ Oxonienſes, Vol. II. p. 105.

teſtimonies

teſtimonies of other writers to Mr. Farnaby's merit may be ſeen in the note. When the civil commotions broke out, in 1641, our author was eſteemed to be ill-affected to the Parliament, becauſe, on occaſion of the proteſtation's being urged that year, he had ſaid, that "it was better to have one King than five hundred." Being afterwards ſuſpected of having favoured the riſing of the county for the King about Tunbridge, in 1643, he was impriſoned in Newgate, and thence carried on ſhipboard. It was even debated in the Houſe of Commons whether he ſhould be ſent to America; but this motion being rejected, he was removed to Ely-Houſe in Holborn, where he remained for a conſiderable time. It is inſinuated by Anthony Wood, that ſome of the members of both houſes, who had been his ſcholars, were amongſt thoſe who urged his being treated with ſeverity. But, if this was the caſe, they either were guilty of the moſt ſhameful ingratitude, or our ſchool-maſter muſt have been very deficient in the art of attaching the affections of his pupils. Mr. Farnaby departed this life on the twelfth of June, 1647, aged ſeventy-two, and was interred in the Chancel of the Church at Sevenock. Over his grave an epitaph was inſcribed, which is as follows: "P. M. Viri ornatiſſimi Thomæ Farnabii Armigeri, olim Regiæ Reique "publicæ, ſed literariæ, Vindicis acerrimi.

"Vatibus hic ſacris qui Lux, Farnabius, olim
"Vate carens, Saxo nunc ſine Luce jacet."

Our author was twice married. His firſt wife was Suſanna, daughter of John Pierce, of Launcells, in Cornwall, Gent. By her he had a ſon named John, who became a Captain in King Charles's army, and inherited his father's eſtate in Suſſex, where he lived in good eſteem, and died about the beginning of the year 1673. Mr. Farnaby's ſecond wife was Anne, the daughter of Dr. John Howſon, Biſhop of Durham, by whom he had ſeveral children. One of them, Francis, ſucceeded to his father's eſtate at Kippington, in the pariſh of Sevenock. From this gentleman Anthony Wood derived his information concerning the particulars of our famous ſchool-maſter's life. According to the Oxford Antiquary, Farnaby was the chief Grammarian, Rhetorician, Poet, Latiniſt, and Grecian, of his time. This muſt be confeſſed to be the language of exaggeration. Wood adds, that his ſchool was ſo much frequented, that more Churchmen and Stateſmen iſſued from it, than from any ſchool taught by one man in England (*c*).] K.

(*c*) Great General Dictionary, and Athenæ Oxonienſes, ubi ſupra.

FARQUHAR (GEORGE), an ingenious comic Poet, in the latter end of King William's reign, and part of Queen Anne's, was deſcended of a good family in the North of Ireland, where, it is ſaid, his parents held no mean rank (*a*). We have been informed, by a gentleman of that country, that his father was Dean of Armagh, but have not met with it confirmed: however, it is atteſted by another of his countrymen, that he was the ſon of a clergyman, and born at Londonderry, in that kingdom; which was in the year 1678, as may be computed from his account of him (*b*). There he received his more juvenile inſtruction; and there he diſcovered a genius, ſo nearly devoted to the Muſes, that unleſs he is complimented, as he intimates Poets often by themſelves are, with being the authors of ripe fruits in their greeneſt years, he gave ſeveral ſpecimens of his poetry before he was ten years old, in which he manifeſted a depth of thinking, as well as an elegancy of expreſſion, far beyond his years; one example whereof, being preſerved by the writer of his memoirs above quoted, may alſo, in this account of ours, be thought not unworthy of preſervation [*A*]. We receive it from the ſame hand, that his parents, having a numerous iſſue, could beſtow on him no fortune farther than a genteel education; therefore, when he was qualified for the Univerſity, he was ſent to Trinity-College in Dublin; which, as we are elſewhere informed, was in 1694, he being then in the ſeventeenth year of his age (*c*). Here, by the progreſs he made in his ſtudies, he acquired a conſiderable reputation (*d*); but we find it not conſented to, that he there took his degree of Bachelor of Arts (*e*);

(*a*) Memoirs of Mr. George Farquhar, before his Works, edit. 1728; and the account of him in Giles Jacob, &c.

(*b*) The Works of Sir James Ware, edit. Dublin, fol. Vol. III. 1746, among the additional writers of Ireland, by the editor Walter Harris, Eſq. p. 263.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

(*d*) Memoirs of Mr. Farquhar, as above, p. 4.

(*e*) See Authentic Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Robert Wilks, by Daniel O'Brian, Eſq 8vo. 1732, p. 13.

[*A*] *May in this account be thought not unworthy of preſervation.*] This early production of our author's, which has indeed in it ſomething beyond the years in which it is ſaid to be written, is as follows:

The pliant *ſoul* of erring youth
Is like ſoft wax or moiſten'd clay;
Apt to receive all heav'nly *truth*,
Or yield to tyrant *Ill* the ſway.

*Slight folly* in your *early* years
At *manhood* may to *virtue* riſe;
But he, who in his *youth* appears
A *fool*, in *age* will ne'er be *wiſe* (1).

However, our author himſelf reflects upon the aſcribing ſome compoſitions to ingenious men in their green years, or their pretending to have written them before they did; as if it were not only neceſſary, but might be diſadvantageous, through the extraordinary expectations it might raiſe of proportionable improvements in their riper productions: ſo extenuate the character it was intended to magnify; where he brings in Poet Lyric, ſaying to his correſpondent, 'Now, Sir, here's a poem, which, according to the 'way of us Poets, I ſay, was written at fifteen; but, 'between you and I, it was made at five and 'twenty (2).'

(1) Memoirs of Mr. George Farquhar, p. 4.

(2) Farquhar's Love and a Bottle, towards the end of the 4th act.

for, indeed, his gay and volatile diſpoſition, could not long reliſh the grave and regular courſe of a collegiate life; and his own opinion of it, to that ſenſe, he afterwards freely enough diſplayed in ſeveral parts of his comedies, and other writings: beſides, the expence of it, without any immediate proſpect of ſome profitable returns, might be inconſiſtent with his circumſtances. The more polite and popular entertainments of the town moſt attracted him, eſpecially thoſe of the ſtage; and he does not ſeem to have been in that college much above a year, or two at moſt, before he perceived ſome hopeful temptation of tranſplanting himſelf thither, from the encouragement he ſaw others receive. For, when Mr. Joſeph Aſhbury, the maſter of Dublin Theatre, had carried thither from England, among others, to recruit his company of players, Mr. Robert Wilks, who had been, from the latter end of the year 1690, till his ſaid return into Ireland (*f*), under Mr. Chriſtopher Rich, at Drury-lane houſe, though very little to his advantage; but was now, at Dublin, much advanced in his ſalary, and much more careſſed by his own countrymen than he had been at London, as we have it in another life of Mr. Wilks, different from that laſt quoted (*g*); Mr. Farquhar ſoon found alſo his own perſon, and his parts, being already known by ſome of his poetical performances, ſo recommend him to that maſter, or this player, that, by the voluntary choice of the one, or cordial intereſt of the other, he was readily admitted into the ſaid theatre; but his ſervices there were of no long continuance. It is indeed reported, that his genteel figure, proper geſture, ready memory, and juſt elocution, rendered him very acceptable there; only his voice, which, either in ſpeaking or ſinging, among private company, made him alſo, as we have been informed by thoſe who knew him, very engaging, was too mild, too low, in thoſe public and numerous aſſemblies. In ſhort, he could not rant and rave, and tear a paſſion to tatters, as Shakeſpeare phraſes it (*h*); or captivate the commonalty of an audience, which is raviſhed more with ſound than ſenſe: and might poſſibly want, like Thomas Otway and Nat. Lee (*i*), that front or aſſurance, that conceit or ſelf-ſufficiency, which diſguiſes defects and improprieties, both in ſpeech and action; overbears the generality of ſpectators; and carries many veteran ſtagers plauſibly through thoſe parts, which they are unqualified naturally to perſonate. His more excellent talents, however, might have preſerved the Player at Dublin, and loſt the Poet at London, but for an accident, whereby he was near turning a feigned tragedy into a real one [*B*]; which, being ſo repugnant to his inherent humanity, added to his other diſcouragement; and this happening at the time when Mr. Wilks received a more profitable propoſal than he expected, from Mr. Rich aforeſaid, of four pounds a week, if he would return, with his wife, to the Engliſh ſtage, it was with the leſs difficulty that Mr. Farquhar was perſuaded to bear them company (*k*). After their arrival at London, which might be in the year 1696 (*l*), Mr. Wilks, who was well acquainted with his abilities, ceaſed not his importunities, till he had prevailed with him to write a play (*m*); aſſuring him, that he was beheld, by all who knew him, in a much brighter light than he had opportunity hitherto of ſhewing himſelf, and was fitter to exhibit entertaining compoſitions *for the ſtage* than to echo thoſe of other Poets *upon it*. But he was more ſubſtantially invited yet by a genteel and decent accommodation, which would enable him, both with means and leiſure, to exerciſe his genius at eaſe in the ſtudy of dramatic poetry; for, we are told, it was not very long after that accident at the Playhouſe in Dublin, before the Earl of Orrery, who was a patron as a well as maſter of learning, in regard to his ſingular merits, which he ſaw hitherto unrewarded, gave him a Lieutenant's commiſſion in his own regiment, then in Ireland, which he held ſeveral years (*n*). From the former of which authorities, here referred to, we alſo learn, that, as an officer of the ſaid rank in the army, he behaved himſelf very commendably, and gave ſeveral proofs both of his courage and conduct. Whether this commiſſion was conferred upon him before or after he obliged the town with his firſt comedy, we are not particularly informed; and authors differ in their nomination of the firſt play that Mr. Wilks performed in upon his return to the Engliſh ſtage. Whether he acted the part of Palamede (*o*), as it had been affirmed by one of our dramatic hiſtorians (*p*), or that of Armuſia (*q*), according to the aſſertion of another (*r*), is not here very material: but we have, among Mr. Farquhar's Miſcellanies, an Epilogue of his writing, which was ſpoken by Mr. Wilks at his firſt appearance, as it is ſaid, *upon* the Engliſh ſtage (*s*); which we take to be rather this his firſt appearance upon his *return* thither, unleſs

(*f*) An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber, Comedian, &c. By himſelf, 4to, 1740, p. 59, 137.

(*g*) The Life of that eminent Comedian Robert Wilks, Eſq. 8vo, 1733. p. 4. &c. See alſo The Hiſt. of the Engliſh Stage, from the Reſtoration to the preſent Time; including The Lives, Characters, and Amours of the moſt eminent Actors and Actreſſes, &c. 8vo, 1741, p. 130, &c

(*h*) In Hamlet.

(*i*) See *Roſcius Anglicanus, &c.* by John Downes, 8vo, 1708, p. 34. alſo Gilden's Dramatic Poets, in Otway; and the Compl. Liſt of Dramatic Poets, 8vo, 1747, in Lee.

(*k*) Hiſt. of the Engliſh Stage, p. 131.

(*l*) Cibber's Apology, &c. p. 136, 137.

(*m*) The Life of Mr. Wilks, 8vo. 1733, p. 5; and The Hiſtory of the Engliſh Stage, p. 131.

(*n*) Memoirs of Mr. Farquhar, before his Works; and O'Bryan's Life of Mr. Wilks, as before, p. 23.

(*o*) In Dryden's Marriage à la Mode.

(*p*) Cibber's Apology, p. 137.

(*q*) In Fletcher's Iſland Princeſs.

(*r*) In the Life of Mr. Wilks, 8vo. 1733, p. 6.

(*s*) See Farquhar's Poems, Letters, and Eſſays, before his Plays, Vol. I. p. 35.

[*B*] *He was near turning a feigned tragedy into a real one.*] This ſtory we find related after this manner: 'Mr. Farquhar was extremely beloved in Ireland, and had indeed the advantage of a very good perſon, though his voice was weak; but as he never met with the leaſt repulſe from the audience, in any of his performances, he was reſolved to continue on the ſtage till ſomething better ſhould offer; but his reſolution was ſoon broke by an accident. For, Mr. Farquhar being to play the part of Guyomar (3), who kills Vaſquez, one of the Spaniſh Generals, and forgetting to exchange his ſword for a foil, in the engagement he wounded his brother-tragedian, who repreſented Vaſquez, very dangerouſly; and, though it proved not mortal, yet it ſo ſhocked the natural tenderneſs of Mr. Farquhar's temper, that it put a period to his acting ever after (4).'

(3) In Mr. Dryden's Indian Emperor.

(4) Memoirs of Mr. Farquhar, as before. Life of Mr. Wilks, 8vo, 1733, p. 5.

leſs it may be urged, that our author, who wrote ſuch verſes as are before quoted, at ten years of age, might very well write theſe at twelve or thirteen. In the year 1698, his firſt comedy, called "Love and a Bottle," appeared on the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, and it was, as well for the ſprightly dialogue as that lively turn of incidents in it which fill the ſtage with buſineſs and keep up the ſpirit of ſuch compoſitions, very well received, though Mr. Wilks had no part in it. In 1699, the late celebrated Mrs. Anne Oldfield, was, upon his judgment and recommendation, firſt admitted into the ſaid theatre [C], ſhe then being ſixteen years of age (t): and, in the former part of the year 1700, he brought his "Conſtant Couple or Trip to the Jubilee," upon that ſtage, it being then the Jubilee year at Rome, when ſome Popiſh zealots, of all countries made their *trip* thither, to buy pardons and other trinkets or fairings, for the convenience of ſoul and body. But our author drew ſuch a gay airy figure in Sir Harry Wildair, the part was ſo perfectly adapted to Mr. Wilks's genius, and it was ſo animated by his geſture and vivacity of ſpirit, that it is not determinable whether the Poet or the Player received more reputation by it. Towards the latter end of this year we meet with Mr. Farquhar in Holland, probably upon his military duty; whence he has given a deſcription, in two of his letters, dated in Auguſt and October that year, from the Brill and from Leyden, no leſs equitable than facetious, as well of thoſe places, as the people (u); and, in a third, dated from the Hague, in the ſame month laſt mentioned, he very humouroufly relates how merry he was there, at a treat made by the Earl of Weſtmoreland; while, not only himſelf, but King William, and others of his ſubjects, were detained there by a violent ſtorm, which he has no leſs comically deſcribed (w); and has, among his poems, written alſo an ingenious copy of verſes to his miſtreſs upon the ſame ſubject. Whether this miſtreſs was the ſame perſon whom he calls his charming Penelope, in ſeveral of his love-letters addreſſed to her, and ſome others probably in which ſhe is not ſo called, we know not; but have been informed, by an old officer of the army, who very well knew Mr. Farquhar, and ſome of his youthful gallantries, that by that name we are to underſtand Miſs Oldfield, above mentioned; and that the perſon meant by Mrs. V————, in one of them, ſaid to be her bedfellow (x), was Mrs. Verbruggen the actreſs, the ſame who was ſome years before Mrs. Mountfort (y), from whom Mrs. Oldfield received her firſt theatrical inſtructions, and ſucceeded, when ſhe died three or four years after in childbed, in her principal parts, with ſingular commendation: and we ſhall ſee preſently, how comfortably Mr. Farquhar could warm his fancy, and chafe up his inclinations, at this bright ſparkling flame of his: whence we need not doubt what another perſon, who was acquainted alſo with her, has ſaid in theſe words: "I have often heard Mrs. Oldfield mention the many agreeable hours ſhe had ſpent in Mr. Farquhar's company (z)." But here Chronology calls upon us, for the ſpace of a few lines, to order. In the beginning of the following year, he was a ſpectator of, if not a mourner at, Mr. Dryden's funeral; but the deſcription he has made of it is indeed no mournful one (a). And now his laſt comedy having met with almoſt unparalleled ſucceſs, and ſo charmed the whole town that nothing could reliſh like a continuation of it, he accordingly, in that year, 1701, brought out his comedy called "Sir Harry Wildair, &c." and, when Mrs. Oldfield came to ſhine out, equal with Wilks, in thoſe two plays, there was none at that time which more attracted the gay company at leaſt, which frequented the Theatre, or more engaged their approbation. Of theſe three comedies, hitherto ſpoken of, we ſhall ſay ſomething more hereafter, with his others, in a note together.

(t) Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Oldfield, p. 1, 2.

(u) See the Works of the late ingenious, Mr. George Farquhar, &c. edit. 1718, Vol. I. p. 21, 26.

(w) Id. p. 73.

(x) Ibid. p 64.

(y) Whoſe huſband, Mr. W. Mountfort, was killed by Capt. Ric. Hill, Dec. 9, 1692; for which murder Charles Lord Mohun was tried and acquitted by his Peers in Feb. following. Vide State Trials, &c.

(z) Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Oldfield, p. 50.

(a) Farquhar's Letters, in his Works, as above, p. 71, where the great confuſion at the funeral is very viſible.

[C] *Mrs. Oldfield was, by his recommendation, &c. admitted into the ſaid theatre.*] The particulars of this aſſertion we have from a perſon who was then ſervant to Mr. Rich, maſter of that theatre, in a letter which he wrote to the editor of Mrs. Oldfield's life, in which it is printed, in theſe words.

SIR,

'In your Memoirs of Mrs. Oldfield it may not be 'amiſs to inſert the following facts, on the truth of 'which you may depend. Her father, Capt. *Oldfield*, 'not only ran out all the military but likewiſe the 'paternal bounds of his fortune, having a pretty eſtate 'in houſes in Pall-Mall. It was wholly owing to Capt. 'Farquhar that ever Mrs. *Oldfield* became an actreſs, 'from the following incident. Dining one day at her 'aunt's, who kept the Mitre Tavern in St. James's, 'Market (*), he heard Miſs Nanny read a play be'hind the bar, with ſo proper an emphaſis, and ſuch 'agreeable turns, ſuitable to each character, that he 'ſwore the girl was cut out for the ſtage, to which ſhe 'had before always expreſſed an inclination, being 'very deſirous to try her fortune that way. Her mo'ther, the next time ſhe ſaw Capt. Vanbrugh, who 'had a great reſpect for the family, told him what 'was Capt. Farquhar's advice; upon which, he deſired 'to know whether, in the plays ſhe read, her fancy 'was moſt pleaſed with tragedy or comedy? Miſs being 'called in, ſaid comedy; ſhe having, at that time, 'gone through all Beaumont and Fletcher's comedies; 'and the play ſhe was reading, when Capt. Farquhar 'dined there, was, "The Scornful Lady." Capt. 'Vanbrugh, ſhortly after, recommended her to Mr. 'Chriſtopher Rich, who took her into the houſe, at 'the allowance of but fifteen ſhillings *per* week. How'ever, her agreeable figure, and the ſweetneſs of her 'voice, ſoon gave her the preference, in the opinion 'of the whole town, to all our young actreſſes; and 'his Grace the late Duke of Bedford being pleaſed 'to ſpeak to Mr. Rich in her favour, he inſtantly 'raiſed her allowance to twenty ſhillings *per* week: 'her fame and ſalary, at length, roſe to her juſt 'merit.

(*) It was then kept by Mrs. Voſs.

Nov. 25, 1730.

'Your humble ſervant,

'CHARLES TAYLOR (5).'

(5) Memoirs of Mrs. Anne Oldfield, 8vo, 1741, p. 55 &c.

In

In the next year, he publiſhed thoſe Miſcellanies, as ſome call them, or Collection of Poems, Letters, and Eſſays, which we have before cited; though perhaps ſtyled, in this firſt edition, as we find them in ſome catalogues of books, by a title ſomewhat different (*b*), of which it may not be improper here to be ſomewhat more particular [*D*]. Some of thoſe letters were publiſhed, from the copies returned him, at his requeſt,

(*b*) Love and Buſineſs, &c. by Mr. Farquhar 8vo. 1702.

[*D*] *Of which it may not be improper here to be ſomewhat more particular.*] In this collection of our Author's poems, letters, and eſſays, reprinted with the the ſucceeding editions of his comedies, ſeveral of the poems ſeem, by their titles or ſubjects, to have been ſome of the earlieſt of his productions; as his "Pindaric Ode on the Death of General Schomberg," who was killed at the battle of the Boyne, in Ireland, anno 1690. "An Epigram on the Riding-Houſe at "Dublin." "On the Death of Queen Mary." An "Epilogue, ſpoken by Mr. Wilks at his firſt "appearance on the Engliſh Stage," as before mentioned. His "Prologue on the propoſed Union of "the Two Houſes." His "Verſes written in Otinda's "Poems, in Imitation of Ovid." Thoſe "To the "ingenious Lady, who wrote 'The Fatal Friend-"ſhip' (6)." "To a Lady, being detained from "her by Storms." And ſome others.

(6) Mrs. Cath. Trotter, printed 4to, 1698; which Gildon thinks deſerves the Applauſe it met with. His Dramatic Poets, in Append. p. 179.

His letters, as we obſerved, were written in 1700 and 1701. Some, when he was in Holland; and the reſt, when he was returned to England; of which we have mentioned ſome chief parts relating to his perſonal hiſtory, but the greateſt number contains his courtſhip and amours with one or two of the fair ſex; ſome, dated from Gray's-Inn; others, from the Inner-Temple, and ſome part of Eſſex, when he was in the country. In one of his amorous letters, containing a 'conteſt between his head and his heart,' in which the latter, by the help of ſome other members, gets the better in the concluſion, which is ſtily witty and waggiſh, there runs, throughout, ſuch a ſingular vein of humour and drollery, that we may take it for a comedy in miniature (7). In another, his diſtinctions upon thoſe female maxims of amorous policy, aſſerting, that, 'if the women will fly, the men will 'purſue;' and that 'enjoyment quenches love;' with his arguments againſt 'the inconſiſtence of love 'with reaſon,' he has, like an honourable lover, ingeniouſly defeated thoſe tyrannical and heterodox principles in the fair ſex, and attempted to introduce a reformed ſyſtem in their doctrine of love; by diſtinguiſhing, like a man of ſenſe, what only is the paſſion of fools (8). But among his letters to his dear Penelope, or Mrs. Oldfield, as it is reported, that above referred to, in which Mrs. Verbruggen is affirmed to be mentioned, concludes with his verſes upon Roſamond's Pond in St. James's Park, and the Water-rat which had frighted his charmer aforeſaid, away from the banks of it, in theſe words:

(7) Farquhar's Letters, &c. p. 49.

(8) Id. p. 51.

Fair Roſamond did little think
Her cryſtal *pond* ſhall turn a *ſink*;
To harbour *vermin* that might ſwim,
And frighten *beauties* from the brim.

Henceforth, deteſted pond, no more
Shall *beauties* crown your verdant *ſhore*;
Your *waves*, ſo fam'd for *am'rous* league,
Are now turn'd *Ratſbane* to *Intrigue*.

But his letter and dialogue, written to the ſame perſon, as it is ſaid, from Gray's-Inn, 'upon her 'wearing her maſk' the evening before; which was a female faſhion in thoſe days, as well in public walks as among the ſpectators at the playhouſe, becauſe they ſo naturally diſplay his pleaſant temper and talents, and will afford an idea of them as clear as moſt of the reſt, therefore may not be thought tedious to repeat, eſpecially as they are all that we ſhall revive out of this collection, are as follow:

'The arguments you made uſe of laſt night for 'keeping on your maſk, I endeavoured to defeat with 'reaſon; but, that proving ineffectual, I'll try the force 'of rhyme, and ſend you the heads of our chat in a 'Poetical Dialogue between *You and I*.'

You.

Thus *Images* are *veil'd* which you *adore*;
Your *Ignorance* does raiſe your *zeal* the more.

I.

All *Image-worſhip* for *falſe zeal* is held;
*Falſe idols* ought indeed to be *conceal'd*.

You.

Thus *Oracles* of old were ſtill receiv'd;
The more *ambiguous*, ſtill the more *believ'd*.

I.

But *Oracles* of old were ſeldom *true*;
The *Devil* was in 'em—ſure he's not in *you!*

You.

Thus maſk'd in *Myſteries* does the *God-head ſtand*;
The more *obſcure*, the greater his *command*.

I.

The *God-head's* hidden *pow'r* wou'd ſoon be paſt,
Did we not hope to *ſee* his *face* at laſt.

You.

You are my *Slave* already, Sir, you know;
To ſhew more *charms*, wou'd but increaſe your *woe*:
I ſcorn an *inſult* to a *conquer'd* foe.

I.

I am your *Slave*, 'tis true; but ſtill you ſee,
All *ſlaves*, by nature, ſtruggle to be *free*:
But if you would *ſecure* the ſtubborn *prize*,
Add, to your *wit*, the *fetters* of you *eyes*;
Then, pleas'd with *thraldom*, would I *kiſs my chain*,
And ne'er think more of *liberty* again (9).

(9) Mr. Farquhar's Letters, as before, p. 46, &c. Farther on this ſubject of women in diſguiſe, ſee Leanthe's ſong, in the firſt ſcene of the third act; and Lucinda's exit, in the firſt of the fourth, in our author's Love and a Bottle.

This collection of Poems, Letters, &c. is dedicated by our Author to Edmund Chaloner, Eſq. an ingenious admirer of the Muſes, eſpecially that of Mr. Farquhar; and a deſcendent of the famous Sir Thomas Chaloner, who was himſelf a man of diſtinguiſhed wit and learning in his time; alſo a ſoldier as well as a poet, like Mr. Farquhar; who has therein not only celebrated the virtuous qualities and accompliſhments of his patron, in a very polite manner, but ſhewed, in the example of that anceſtor, how harmoniouſly *Mars* and *Minerva* may combine, or make a moſt illuſtrious union in one perſon. How dangerouſly that brave anceſtor eſcaped death, when ſhipwrecked by the ſtorm that defeated the expedition of Charles the Emperor againſt the Algerines; when he caught, and held faſt in his mouth, the cable that ſaved his life, with the loſs of his teeth: how bravely he purchaſed the honour of being made Knight-Banneret in the field: How diſcreetly he diſcharged his embaſſy to Philip II. of Spain: how learnedly he wrote ſeveral books in proſe and verſe, ſome of which made even the grave Lord Burghley, a Latin Poet as well as himſelf, in his commendation, may not only be ſeen partly in this dedication, but more largely elſewhere (10); while here we proceed to obſerve that our Author, among other agreeable addreſſes to his Reader, in the Preface of this Collection, ſays very jocoſely of himſelf, as to his equipments, or ſtock and change of apparel or furniture for his underſtanding, that truly 'this gentleman is of ſome circumſtance and 'condition, and has not been engaged in the *ſhifts* 'that ſome late *ſparks* were put to for their habili-'ments, who *ferret* all the *wit-brokers* in town; *ta-'ken up* from *ſeveral* places, and *ſtrut* in a *ſecond-'hand finery*, patched up of the *ſcraps* and *remnants* of 'the

(10) In Hakluyt's Voyages, Camden's Annals of Queen Eliz. Wood's Ath. Oxon. and others.

(c) Mr. Farquhar's Letters, as before, p. 42. Alſo towards the end of the Pref. p. 13.

requeſt, by one of his female correſpondents, as appears therein (*c*), who was, as it is reported, the ſaid Mrs. Oldfield; and ſhe often delighted to read them, many years after they were printed; as ſhe alſo did, that Eſſay at the end of them, which is called "A Diſcourſe upon Comedy, in reference to the Engliſh Stage; which, as it is both very entertaining and expreſſive of our author's ſentiments upon this ſubject, a few extracts thereof may not, in this article, be unwelcome [*E*]. But what may give a more

'the *eminent* men of the age; for, I muſt tell you, Sir, 'though his cloaths be but *plain*, yet they are his 'own, *taken* up handſomely at one *place*, where he 'may have *credit* for as much more when theſe are 'worn out.' It were eaſy, by many inſtances, in theſe letters, &c. to point out the great ſpirit of vivacity and volubility in his thoughts; his droll and ſportive, his lepid and ludicrous, vein: and, in his ſtyle, ſometimes quaint, ſometimes florid, often comprehenſive and compact, ſome turns both of period and expreſſion, inclining to the elegant and ſententious, but commonly, through a humour naturally chearful, free and debonnair, not only pithy and poignant, but pleaſing and perſuaſive. Had the ſun-ſhine of his wit not been clouded ſo ſoon, but ſuffered by Death to have run a longer courſe, it would probably have brought to maturity ſuch richer fruits of more ſolid and ſerious ſubjects as would have preferred themſelves to the nicer and more exquiſite taſte of the moſt mature, ſerious, and ſolid, readers. But, in leſs than two years after the ſaid intercourſe of amorous epiſtles, Mr. Farquhar was diverted from the publication of any more by another fair lady, who fell in love with him; and, fearing no other impediment to her deſires of ſecuring him to herſelf than the ſlenderneſs of her circumſtances, ſo contrived, that they were repreſented to him much more conſiderable than he at laſt found them. So he thought, before this diſcovery, that, if Cupid's fire-arms would ſo effectually wound, when but ſingly loaden with the charming image of the fair, wherewith he had before been ſo deeply ſmitten, it were in vain now to think of eſcaping them when doubly charged, with beauty and fortune too. In ſhort, it ſeems his own inclination, as well as the proſpect of advantage, led him chearfully into the bands of matrimony; and we hear nothing to the contrary but they made a *Conſtant Couple:* nor is it otherwiſe objected to him by the Poet who gave this unneceſſary caution,

(11) Memoirs relating to the late famous Mr. Thomas Brown; with a Catalogue of his Library, 4to, 1704; in the Poem at the end, p. 19.

Bid Farquhar, though bit, to his conſort be juſt (11).

For, her affection ſo engaged his good nature, that he forgot the thoughts of that diſappointment; till afterwards another, from a noble, or rather titled, courtier, left him to increaſe the number of thoſe examples, which may convince the credulous, without the expence of a trial, that there may be ſome deluſions in friendſhip more fatal than thoſe in love.

[*E*] *A few extracts thereof may not, in this article, be unwelcome.*] This "Diſcourſe upon Comedy," in reference to the "Engliſh Stage," which is the laſt, printed in his collection of Letters beforementioned, conſiſting of about twenty-ſix pages, ſeems, by his mentioning at the entrance his three firſt plays, to have been written in 1701. The uncommon ſucceſs which thoſe plays met with having nettled ſome of the waſpiſh critics, and provoked them to exert their little ſtings, he wrote it in juſtification of thoſe moderate irregularities, and other tolerable or compenſing liberties he had taken in them; but his allegations for them are ſo agreeably or plauſibly rational, that it is no wonder Mrs. Oldfield ſhould prefer ſome parts thereof, as the moſt humourous of all other apologies for licence in this ſpecies (12) of the drama, equal to what is granted in all other branches of poetry, even though ſhe had no previous impreſſion, from his engaging converſation, of partiality in his favour. For, in ſome places, his ſtyle and ſentiments are ſo adapted to his ſubject, and, againſt the auſterity of critical rules for the compoſition of comedy, are ſo comically diſplayed, that he has left even thoſe pleaſed, whom he might not leave perſuaded; and, in other parts, his ironical praiſe of ancient rules, for all ſyſtems of advice or reprehenſion, in our modern modes of corruption and vanity, contains ſome of the moſt delicate and refined ſpirit of antient ſatire. Indeed, he had briefly and blithly enough given us an abſtract of the uſual ſubject-matter both in Tragedy and Comedy before, in a parly between *Lovewell* and *Lyric*, the Poet, after this manner:

(12) Life of Mrs. Oldfield, p. 49.

*Love.* What reliſh have you for Comedy?

*Lyric.* No ſatisfactory one—My curioſity is foreſtalled by a fore-knowledge of what ſhall happen: for, as the *Hero* in *Tragedy* is either a whining, cringing fool, that's always a ſtabbing himſelf; or a ranting hectoring bully, that's for killing every body elſe; ſo the *Hero* in *Comedy* is always the *Poet's* own *Character* (13).

*Love.* What's that?

*Lyric.* A compound of practical rake and ſpeculative gentleman, who always bears off the great fortune in the play, and ſhams off the Beau and Squire with a whore or chambermaid: and, as the cataſtrophe of all Tragedies is *Death*, ſo the end of Comedies is *Marriage*.

*Love.* And ſome think that the moſt tragical concluſion of the two, &c. (14).

(13) Which, by the way, is allowed to have been his own practice in this very play, and others; and, indeed, in divers places, when any thing in another is to undergo the diſcipline of ridicule, he very generouſly makes free with ſomething of his own to partake of it.

(14) See Farquhar's Love and a bottle, Act 4, ſcene 2.

But here, in this profeſſed diſcourſe upon comedy before us, our author ſaw reaſon to be more copious and explicit upon the topic; though, after all, when he comes to its definition, he makes no formal myſtery or frightful intricacy in it, but very freely and ſimply explains it to be no more at preſent than 'a well-'framed tale, handſomely told, as an agreeable vehicle 'for cenſure or reproof:' which for ſenſible men, qualified to uſe it, may be an explanation particular enough, and, for ſtupid ones, any other which is more particular would be only more puzzling. Among the points of doctrine laid down in this comic creed, or plan of his dramatic principles, we find not that he would have any other Poet, more than himſelf, ignorant of the criticks rules, or is againſt their being read; but, after that, he would have an able genius follow his own, or conform himſelf occaſionally to thoſe which are moſt ſuitable to his preſent ſubject, and ſuch perſons, as are to be inſtructed or entertained by it. He laments, that poetry alone, of all other profeſſions, and chiefly the Drama, lies open to the inſults of all pretenders, and that this kind, of all others, muſt ſubmit to ſuch a variety of unequal judges. He allows, without diſpute, that an author muſt endeavour to pleaſure that part of the audience who can lay the beſt claim to a judicious and impartial reflection; but deſires he would firſt conſider, to what diviſion that claim does moſt properly belong, though he foreſees that ſcholars will be angry with him for making this the ſubject of a queſtion; yet will not allow that ſuch meer readers of ancient authors in their antient languages are the better ſort of judges in this caſe. However, he allows one of theſe profound ſcholaſtics, after having turned through Ariſtotle, and all the old criticks, to have formed a regular play, with a ſingle plot, without ſong or dance, circumſcribed to three hours, and unity of place, with the allowance of an hundred and fifty pounds to dreſs; then, after all, the meager empty thing, blown up indeed with windy words, is found by the player to have no more operative matter for him to ſhew his art upon than a carpenter can find in a piece of ſteel: 'Here is the lamp and the ſcho-'lar in every line, but not a ſyllable of the Poet: 'here is elaborate language, ſounding epithets, flights 'of words that ſtrike the clouds, while the poor ſenſe 'lags after, like the lantern in the tail of a kite, 'which appears only like a ſtar, while the breath of 'the players' lungs has ſtrength to bear it up in the 'air.'——So that, 'the audience, not meeting the 'diverſion they expected on the ſtage, ſhift for them-'ſelves in the pit; every one turns about to his neigh-'bour in a maſk, and, for default of entertainment 'now, they ſtrike up for more diverting ſcenes when 'the play is done: and, though the play be regular as

more natural and lively repreſentation of him, ſtill, in one among thoſe letters, which he calls "The Picture," containing a deſcription and character of himſelf; which we ſhould

Ariſtotle, and modeſt as Mr. Collier could wiſh, yet 'it promotes more lewdneſs in the conſequence, and 'procures more effectually for intrigue, than any Ro-'ver, Libertine, or Old Bachelor, whatſoever. At 'laſt comes the Epilogue, which pleaſes the audience 'very well, becauſe it ſends them away, and termi-'nates the fate of the Poet; the Patentees rail at him, 'the town damns him, and he may bury his copy in 'Paul's, for not a bookſeller about it will put it in 'print.' Hence he farther proceeds to obſerve, how the town has been often diſappointed in theſe critical plays, and how authors who have been admired in their ſpeculative remarks, have been ridiculed in the practice: ſo adviſes his friend to lay aſide his ſuperſtitious veneration for antiquity, and the uſual objections that the preſent age is illiterate, or their taſte vitiated; that we live in the decay of time, and the dotage of the world; which he contradicts, and aſks him, why we ſhould be ſo hampered in our opinions, as if all the ruins of antiquity lay ſo heavily on the bones of us, that we could not ſtir hand or foot?

'Why ſhould the Poets be hoodwinked at this rate, 'and by what authority ſhould Ariſtotle's rules of 'poetry ſtand ſo fixed and immutable? Why?—By 'the authority of two thouſand years ſtanding—be-'cauſe, through this long revolution of time, the world 'has ſtill continued the ſame—by the authority of 'their being received at Athens, a city, the very 'ſame with London in every particular; their habits 'the ſame, their humours alike; their public tranſ-'actions and private ſocieties *à la mode de France*;—'in ſhort, ſo very much the ſame in every circum-'ſtance, that Ariſtotle's criticiſms may give rules to 'Drury-Lane; the Areopagus give judgment upon a 'caſe in the King's Bench; and old Solon ſhall give 'laws to the Houſe of Commons!'

Then he proceeds by farther illuſtrations to ſhew, that we are not to form theſe modern and domeſtic entertainments, if we hope for ſucceſs, upon antient or foreign plans; with ſpecifying how eaſy it were, out of Dr. Tillotſon's Sermons, to trump up a pamphlet upon the *art of preaching*, whence concluſions ſhall be drawn as from Ariſtotle in Poetry, that any ſermon whatſoever, either by a Preſbyter in Geneva, or a Jeſuit in Spain, that deviates from theſe rules, deſerves to be hiſſed, and the Prieſt kicked out of the pulpit.

Then he gives another inſtance—'I go down to 'Woolwich, and there upon a piece of paper I take 'the dimenſions of the Royal Sovereign, and from 'hence I frame a Model of a Man of War: I divide 'the ſhip into three principal parts, the Keel, the 'Hull, and the Rigging: I ſubdivide theſe into their 'proper denominations, and, by the help of a ſailor, 'give you all the terms belonging to every rope, and 'every office in the whole ſhip: will you from hence, 'infer that I am an excellent ſhipwright, and that 'this model is proper for a trading junk upon the 'Volga, or a Venetian galley in the Adriatic Sea?'

It is farther from his arguments to be gathered, that, if Homer had ſubmitted to the rules of criticiſm, he had been more regular, but more enervate; more formally circumſcribed, but leſs copious and ſublime; more crude, contracted, barren, and debaſed, than he any where is; in a word, had finiſhed every thing off with the niceſt and moſt artful declenſion of grandeur and magnificence; whence and from other parts, it is inferred, that a Homer cannot want the leading-ſtrings of an Ariſtotle, and that poets derived not their art from books of criticiſm, but criticks theirs from thoſe of poetry. And he thinks, that, 'If Prince Arthur 'had been in the place of the Iliad, we ſhould have 'had other rules for Epic Poetry; and Doctor Black-'more, had carried the bays from Homer, in ſpight of 'all the critics in Chriſtendom.' In like manner, as the "Paradiſe Loſt" is not wholly confined to the dictates of that Philoſopher, other laws of Epic Poetry may be drawn out of Milton hereafter by another Ariſtotle. Then, as for his rules of Dramatic Poetry, 'If they had been drawn from certain and immutable 'principles, and fixed on the baſis of nature, (more 'convincing than in thoſe generalities wherein it is 'the ſame in all nations) why ſhould not his Ars 'Poetica be as efficacious now as it was two thou-'ſand years ago? And a ſingle Plot, with perfect 'Utility of Time and Place, do as well as Lincoln's 'Inn Fields, as at the play-houſe in Athens?'

He farther looked upon Homer as a man of too great a knowledge in the immaterialities of his art, to preſcribe it materially and pedantically by grammar-rules, or in mood and figure, to the varieties of genius among mankind. 'He was too much a poet to 'give rules to that, whoſe excellence he knew con-'ſiſted in a free and unlimited flight of imagination; 'and to deſcribe the Spirit of Poetry, which alone is 'the Art of Poetry, he knew to be as impoſſible as 'for human reaſon to teach the Gift of Prophecy by 'a definition.'

He is for making Æſop the father of comedy, and thinks, 'we cannot now better ſeek for its founda-'tion than in his ſymbolical way of moralizing upon 'tales and fables, with this difference, that his ſtories 'were ſhorter than ours. He had his tyrant Lyon, 'his ſtateſman Fox, his beau Magpie, his coward 'Hare, his bravo Aſs, and his buffoon Ape, with all 'the characters that crowd our ſtages every day; with 'this diſtinction, nevertheleſs, that Æſop made his 'beaſts ſpeak good Greek, and our heroes ſometimes 'cannot talk good Engliſh.' He goes on to ſhew, how, by ſuch antient and modern practice, in Scripture Parables and Alluſions, with other indirect, inſinuating, and moſt palatable, as well as expedient, arts of ſchooling mankind into better manners, what was the primary End of Comedy, and would afford the juſteſt Rules for it. Thus, having diſplayed the principal threads of his diſcourſe, he winds himſelf up in his concluſions:

'That our buſineſs lies not with a French or Spa-'niſh audience; that our deſign is not to hold forth to 'antient Greece, not to moralize upon the vices and 'defaults of the Roman commonwealth: No, no: '*An Engliſh play is intended for the uſe and inſtruction 'of an Engliſh audience*; a people, not only ſeparated 'from the reſt of the world by ſituation, but different 'alſo from other nations, as well in the complexion 'and temperament of the natural body as in the con-'ſtitution of our body politic: as we are a *mixture of 'many nations*, ſo we have the moſt unaccountable 'medley of humours among us, of any people upon 'earth: theſe humours produce variety of follies, 'ſome of them unknown to former ages; theſe new 'diſtempers muſt have new remedies, which are no-'thing but new counſels and inſtructions; ſo begs, if 'our *utile*, which is the end, be different from the 'antients, that our *dulce*, which is the means, be ſo 'too; for, to different towns there muſt be different 'ways, &c.

'Then, what ſort of *dulce*, which he takes for the 'pleaſantry of the tale, or the plot of the play, muſt 'a man make uſe of to engage the attention of ſo 'many different humours and inclinations? Will a 'ſingle plot ſatisfy every body? Will the turns and 'ſurpriſes that may reſult naturally from the antient 'limits of time, be ſufficient to rip open the ſpleen 'of ſome, and phyſic the melancholy of others; 'ſcrew up the attention of a rover, and fix him to 'the ſtage, in ſpight of his volatile temper, and the 'temptation of a maſk? To make the moral inſtruc-'tive you muſt make the ſtory diverting: the ſplene-'tic Wit, the beau Courtier, the heavy Citizen, the 'fine Lady, and her fine Footman, come all to be in-'ſtructed, and therefore muſt be all diverted; and he 'that can do this beſt, and with moſt applauſe, writes 'the beſt Comedy, let him do it by what rules he 'pleaſes, ſo they be not offenſive to religion and 'good manners.' Thus his grand and general rule for our ſtage is, to be as generally inſtructive as he can, which cannot be without making his works delightful to the generality. This ſecret of pleaſing ſo generally ſuch different taſtes in a modern audience muſt be attained by ſtudying the humours of the moderns: ſo he prefers the models of Shakeſpeare, Fletcher, and others of our own poets, who made them-

ſhould not refrain from tranſcribing entirely, as what might contribute ſo properly and directly to the illuſtration of his life, if his works were a ſcarcity; but, as they are not, we ſhall only here ſketch out a few of the ſtrongeſt or moſt diſtinguiſhing and obſervable lineaments; that he may not be wholly unknown to thoſe who have not ſeen them, nor wholly forgotten by thoſe who have [*F*]. In 1703, came forth another diverting comedy of his, intituled, "The Inconſtant, or the Way to win Him," which had merit enough to have been equally ſucceſsful with the reſt, but for the inundation of Italian, French, and other farcical, interruptions; which, through the intereſt of ſome and the depravity of others, broke in upon the ſtage, to the ſcandal, in being ſubmitted to, of our more refined taſte, which had preferred its own genuine, weighty ſterling, our true Engliſh humour, wit, and ſenſe, to ſuch coin as was baſe, light, and counterfeit. Theſe foreigners made partizans among our treacherous countrymen to depreciate our dramatic and other poetical writers, eſpecially ſeveral whoſe compoſitions had been well received, and conſequently our author, whom we meet with, in a ſatire of that kind, publiſhed the next year, thus ſpoken of [*G*]. It ſeems to have been ſo early as 1704, that the farce called

themſelves no ſlaves to the patterns or precepts of antiquity, before thoſe of Plautus and Menander. Not that he rejects or deſpiſes all rules or decorum: he is not for having the Engliſh Stage a State of Anarchy: "No, Sir,—For, there are extremes in irregularity, "as dangerous to an author as too ſcrupulous a de-"ference to criticiſm." And hereof, as he had given an inſtance of the one, ſo he alſo gives an example of the other. Concluding, that he is as little a friend to theſe rambling plays as any body; and that he has never eſpouſed their party by his own practice; yet cannot forbear ſome farther vindication of the great Shakeſpeare upon this head (*); and then, thus begs the critical carpers to let our old Engliſh authors alone.

(*) With a view to the rigid cenſures of Mr. Rymer.

'If they have left vice unpuniſhed, virtue unrewarded, folly unexpoſed, or prudence unſucceſsful, the contrary of which is the *utile* of the comedy, let them be laſhed to ſome purpoſe: if any part of their plots have been independent of the reſt, or any of their characters forced or unnatural, which deſtroys the *dulce* of plays, let them be hiſſed off the ſtage: but if, by a true decorum in theſe material points, they have writ ſucceſsfully, and anſwered the end of Dramatic Poetry, in every reſpect, let them reſt in peace, and their memories enjoy the encomiums due to their merit, without any reflection for waving thoſe niceties, which are neither inſtructive to the world nor diverting to mankind; but are, like all the reſt of the critical learning, fit only to ſet people together by the ears, in ridiculous controverſies, that are not one jot material to the good of the public, whether they be true or falſe.'

[*F*] *That he may not be wholly unknown to thoſe who have not ſeen them, nor wholly forgotten by thoſe who have.*] Our author tells the lady to whom this reſemblance of himſelf was ſent, (when he was aged about twenty-three years,) that he would challenge Vandyck or Kneller to draw it more to the life; and, if he had not ſome thoughts that the ſubſtance would fall to her ſhare, he would not part with the likeneſs; which he thus colours forth, in ſome of the principal features, under the title of

'THE PICTURE.

'My *Outſide* is neither better nor worſe than my *Creator* made it; and, the *Piece* being drawn by ſo great an *Artiſt*, it were preſumption to ſay there were many *Strokes* amiſs. I have a body qualified to anſwer all the ends of its creation, and that's ſufficient.

'As to the *Mind*, which in moſt men wears as many changes as their body, ſo, in me, it is generally dreſſed, like my perſon, in black.——In ſhort, my conſtitution is very *ſplenetic*, and very *amorous*; both which I endeavour to *hide*, leſt the former ſhould offend *others*, and that the latter might incommode *myſelf*: and my reaſon is ſo vigilant in reſtraining theſe two failings, that I am taken for an eaſy-natured man by my own ſex, and an ill-natured clown by your's.

'It is true, I am very ſparing in my *praiſes* and *compliments* to a *Lady*, out of a fear that they may affect myſelf more than her: for, the idols, which we worſhip, are generally of our own making; and though at firſt men may not ſpeak what they think, yet truth may catch them on the other hand, and make them think what they ſpeak.

'But, moſt of all, I am cautious of *promiſing*, eſpecially upon that weighty article of *conſtancy*; becauſe, in the firſt place, I have never tried the ſtrength of it in my own experience; and, ſecondly, I ſuppoſe a man can no more engage for his *conſtancy*, than his health; ſince I believe they both equally depend upon a certain conſtitution of body: how far, and how frequently that may be liable to alteration, eſpecially in affairs of love, let the more judicious determine.

'I am ſeldom troubled with what the world calls *airs* and *caprices*; and I think it an idiot's excuſe for a fooliſh action, to ſay, *'twas my humour.—I can't reliſh the jeſt that vexes another in earneſt.*—I think it the worſt office in my nature to make *myſelf uneaſy* for what *another* ſhould be *puniſhed*.—I have ſo naturally a propenſity to *eaſe*, that I cannot cheerfully fix to any ſtudy that bears not a pleaſure in the application, which makes me inclinable to *Poetry* above any thing elſe.

'I have very little *eſtate*, but what lies under the circumference of my *hat*; and ſhould I, by misfortune, come to loſe my *head*, I ſhould not be worth a *groat*: but I ought to thank Providence, that I can, by *three hours ſtudy*, live *one and twenty*, with ſatisfaction to myſelf, and contribute to the *maintenance* of more *families* than ſome who have *thouſands* a *year*.

'I have many *acquaintance*, very few *intimates*, but no *friends*, I mean in the old romantic way.—Nor can I *love* after the old romantic diſcipline: I would have my *paſſion*, if not led, yet, at leaſt, waited on, by my *reaſon*; and the greateſt proof of my affection, that a lady muſt expect, is this: I would run any hazard to make us both *happy*, but would not, for any tranſitory pleaſure, make either of us *miſerable*, &c.'

[*G*] *Whom we meet with, in a ſatire of that kind, publiſhed the next year, thus ſpoken of.*] In this ſatire, among ſome other poets, whoſe endeavours to pleaſe the town had made them objects of the author's conſideration, the omiſſion of Mr. Farquhar's would have made him appear too inconſiderable; but, as they had met with a reception more ſingularly ſucceſsful, it may expoſe a ſingular deficiency as well in the author's genius as juſtice, to ſummon our Poet into the Court of Apollo upon ſuch inſolid and ungrounded matter of accuſation, how natural ſoever and unavoidable it may be, for a general eſteem, to be ſure of propagating ſome particular envy.

Therefore, after the ſaid ſatiriſt has ſet Mr. Francis Manning's claim to the bays aſide, for the defects of

called "The Stage Coach," in the compoſition whereof he was jointly concerned, made its firſt appearance in print: and it has always given ſatisfaction, both in England and Ireland; unleſs to ſome ungrateful fault-finders, and thoſe who will ſeek matter to diſpleaſe themſelves in ſuch things as might yield them pleaſure. At this time Mr. Farquhar had been about a twelve-month married, and, it was at firſt reported, to a great fortune; which might not a little exaſperate the invidious temper of thoſe who grudged his proſperity. His next comedy, named "The Twin Rivals," which he dates, at the bottom of the dedication, in December, two years before that farce, might therefore be acted, and publiſhed, a year before it, as ſome have intimated it was; but, in ſeveral other accounts, it is ſpoken of as if it was neither played nor printed before 1705 (*d*). Our poet was poſſeſſed of his commiſſion in the army, when the Spaniſh expedition was made under the conduct of the Earl of Peterborough, though it ſeems he kept it not long after; and, though Mr. Farquhar was not embarked in that ſervice, or preſent at the defeat of the French forces, and the conqueſt of Barcelona, yet, from ſome military friends in that engagement, he received ſuch diſtinct and complete relations of it, in their epiſtolary correſpondence, and more particular information upon the return of ſome others, that he wrote a copious poem upon the ſubject, wherein he has made the ſaid Earl his hero. But, it not being publiſhed till after our poet's death, it is ſomewhat wanting in thoſe corrections wherewith it would have been improved and ornamented had his health allowed him a deliberate review (*e*). Some two or three years after it was written (*), the impreſſion of it was addreſſed, by the author's widow, to the ſaid Nobleman: and, becauſe it was never reprinted with his other works, and is therefore now ſcarce, the epiſtle before it not being prolix, is here below preſerved [*H*]. This poem is enough to prove that Mr. Farquhar did not burn all his unprinted writings before his death, as the author of his Memoirs has intimated he did. There are two more of his plays to be ſpoken of, which have no leſs attracted the town, and been received with no leſs approbation, than any before mentioned; the one, his comedy called "The Recruiting Officer;" which, as we compute, was firſt acted in 1706; though, in the printed regiſters of our dramatic writings, the firſt edition of it is dated in the following year: and the firſt impreſſion of his laſt comedy, intituled "The Beaux Stratagem," is mentioned in thoſe regiſters to have been no earlier than three years after our author was dead: whence they have alſo, very

(*d*) The Life of Mr. Wilks, 8vo. 1733, p. 17; and Mr Harris in his Additions to Sir James Ware's Writers of Ireland, as before.

(*e*) See the Preface to Mr. Farquhar's Barcellona; a Poem, &c.

(*) In a MS of this Poem now before us, there is no date; nor could we find any in the printed copy we have ſeen of the ſaid Poem, conſiſting of ſix cantos, and 48 pages in 4to, the bottom of its title-page being cut off.

his own writings, but allowed him to adopt thoſe of the Honourable Mr. Charles Boyle, afterwards Earl of Orrery, he goes on thus:

Is it ſo, then? ſaid Farquhar; my matters are ſafe;
By Saint Patrick, my buſineſs is done;
For 'tis known, I have made Pit and Gallery laugh,
Without any one's help but my own.

My Jubilee Dicky, and airy Sir Harry,
Will vindicate what I have ſaid;
And none, but myſelf, has a title to carry
The laurels away on my head.

(†) Tho. Shadwell.

By your leave, brother Teague, reply'd Mac Freckno's ghoſt (†),
Our countrymen are better known;
The *Beauties* are borrow'd, of which you thus boaſt,
But the *Faults*, I dare ſwear, are your own.

Though the town may allow, what you'd have 'em all take
For granted, with no one you join;
Since none, but a man of your judgment, could make
Such language to ſuch a deſign.

And I can't but applaud the reſolve you have ta'en,
In the preſent employ which you chuſe;
For, it's nobler in red to make a Campaign
Than to butcher an innocent Muſe (15).

(15) The Trial of Skill: or a New Seſſion of the Poets; calculated for the Meridian of Parnaſſus, &c. Printed fol. 1704, p. 8.

[*H*] *The Epiſtle—is here below preſerved.*] This Epiſtle is as follows.

To the *Right Honourable* CHARLES *Earl of* PETERBOROUGH and MONMOUTH.

'My LORD,

'MY preſumption, in dedicating to your Lordſhip this poem, found among my dear deceaſed huſband's writings, will I hope obtain, not only your Lordſhip's pardon, but favourable acceptance. For, to whom ſhould this addreſs be made, but to that hero, who is the glorious ſubject of the ſong. Happy! could it by art repreſent what was really done by your Lordſhip in that expedition, ſo ſurpriſing, as not only ſurpaſſes all *poetic* deſcription, but makes even *truth* itſelf romantic. The difficulties your Lordſhip had to encounter, in the different intereſts and opinions of your confederates, was not the leaſt part of that undertaking. You were to convince, before you engaged; and your invincible reaſon was to confirm the aſſured conqueſt of your ſword. Monjuich, beyond obeliſks and pyramids, will be the eternal monument of your fame; where, upon the fall of that great though unhappy Prince of Darmſtad, your Lordſhip heroically interpoſed, turned, and aſſured the fate of the Auſtrian monarchy. Barcelona, became the rival of Madrid, and Madrid itſelf had received its natural Lord; and, had not envy itſelf blaſted the ſure-laid deſign, my Lord Mordaunt had rivalled the glory of the Black Prince himſelf, on the theatre of Spain.

'Accept, great Sir, theſe laurels, planted by your tranſcendent valour, and reaped by your victorious arm. Accept that tribute, which is here offered, by an humble but ſincere hand, to that magnificent virtue, which hath reſtored the foundation of the Auſtrian Spaniſh monarchy, and which none but our great Queen can eſtabliſh and confirm.

'That your Lordſhip may live, to ſee the effects of ſo glorious an undertaking ratified, in a ſure and laſting peace; the Weſt-India trade flowing into the Britiſh channel; and the good wiſhes of all good men, derived into laſting bleſſings upon your Lordſhip and noble family, is the hearty prayer of, my Lord,

'Your Lordſhip's moſt devoted,

'humble ſervant,

'MARGARET FARQUHAR (16).

(16) Barcelona, a Poem: or The Spaniſh Expedition under the command of Charles Earl of Peterborough, until the Reduction of the City of Barcelona to the Obedience of Charles III. By Geo. Farquhar, Gent. 4to. In Epiſt. Dedic.

incon-

inconsequently, inclined some to fix the date of his death so many years later than it really happened (*f*). Of these Plays, and the rest before named, we shall refer to some few farther remarks, here proper to be remembered [*I*]. But of our comic author's

(*f*) See Giles Jacob, of him, in his Account of the Poets; and The Compl. List of all our Engl. Dramatic Poets, and of all the Plays, &c. annexed to The Tragedy of Scanderbeg, 8vo, 1747, p. 250. And the Life of Mr. Wilks, 8vo. 1733, p. 19.

[*I*] *Of these Plays we shall refer to some few further remarks, here proper to be remembered.*] It has been with some difficulty, and not without some doubt, that we have settled the first appearance and publication of these plays, through the usual blindness in all latter editions, and blunders of our poetical registers in those particulars, as we have in this article above done; to supply the text with those necessary links of chronology, which, as the writings of a poet are generally the main actions of his life, would have been wanting in that principal chain, or capital part thereof, had we reserved the said dates to be shrunk into this, or any other limb of it. The general character, that has been given of these Comedies, is that, 'the 'success of most of them far exceeded the author's ex-'pectations; that he was particularly happy in the 'choice of his subjects, which he took care to adorn 'with variety of characters and incidents; his style 'is pure and unaffected; his wit, natural and flow-'ing; and his *plots* generally well contrived. He 'lashed the vices of the age, though with a merciful 'hand; for, his Muse was good-natured, not abounding 'over-much with gall, though he has been blamed for 'it by the critics. It has been objected to him, that 'he was too hasty in his productions; but, I believe, 'by such only, who are chiefly admirers of stiff and 'elaborate performances; since, with a person of a 'sprightly fancy, those things are often best, which 'are struck off in a heat (17).' It has been also observed that his humour, being truly natural, makes all his plays very entertaining, and that, his principal characters, in several of them, were generally copies of himself (18); which are gay, brisk, and vigorous; courtly, amorous and gallant, or intriguing parts: particularly it is said, that, in his character of George Roebuck, a wild young rover, in his first play (19), newly come from Ireland, because he would not, in obedience to his father, marry a woman, by whom he had twins at a birth there, who therefore follows him here to London, &c. it was thought, that the author has therein, or at least in other incidents, sketched out, in some part or some measure, his own story. This is partly hinted at by a writer of that time, who, speaking of Mr. Thomas Browne, says of him, and some other contemporary poets, that, 'had he been as hap-'py in his temper as in his genius, he had certainly 'been hoisted up among the first-rate wits of his time: 'his lewdness had been no blot on his scutcheon there: 'it was not Tate's seeming sanctity that preferred him 'to the bays; nor Congreve's chastity to the opi-'nion of the quality: Shadwell had never been Lau-'reat in his latter days but by being an early rake, 'and fixing his reputation with Dorset, Sidley, and 'the rest: it was not Vanbrugh's modest plays that 'raised his esteem among the ladies, nor Motteux's 'pretence of being a persecuted brother, that exalted 'him, from a solitary garret, to the reputation of a 'current credit upon the exchange, and a place in 'the Post-office: Rowe had shewn more wit in keep-'ing his estate than he has shewn in all the plays he 'ever writ, especialy the last: and certainly Mr. 'Farquhar knew how necessary lewdness was to esta-'blish his reputation, when he exposed Roebuck, in 'the first play he writ, for his own character (20).' And yet his writings are not so disagreeable in this respect, or corruptingly loose, as several of some other poets here mentioned: his genteel gallants and slighty rakes have such an airy volatile manner of carrying off any liberties in their ludicrous or jocular discourse, that they are not so deeply affecting, nor leave such pernicious impressions upon the imagination, as other figures of the like kind, more strongly stampt by more indelicate and heavier hands, have an untoward faculty of doing. In this our author's first play, Poet Lyric makes free with burlesquing some of Nat Lee's Heroics, in his Sophonisba, &c. It is dedicated to Peregrine Marquis of Carmarthen, and the prologue and epilogue were written by Joe Hains, a noted player and prologue-writer, of merry memory in those times, who played Pamphlet the bookseller, and Rigadoon the dancing-master, in this comedy; and various other parts, not only on the smaller but the larger stage of the world itself, in many other countries as well as England; diverting both Princes and people, wherever he went, Proteus and Camelion like, in all shapes and colours: whether, as Mr. Joseph Hains, Seignor Giusippe Hains, or Monsieur Hains; whether, as Secretary Hains, Preceptor Hains, Doctor Hains, Count Hains; or any other dignity whereto he was advanced, or title he assumed (21).

(17) Memoirs of Mr. George Farquhar, p. 5.

(18) Giles Jacob, &c.

(19) Love and a Bottle.

(20) Memoirs relating to the late Mr. Thomas Browne, &c. Printed, &c. by B. Bragg, 4to, 1704, p. 1, 2.

Mr. Farquhar's next comedy (22) is dedicated to Sir Roger Mostyn, of Mostyn-Hall, in Flintshire. The author's friend, who wrote the Prologue, says the ladies may safely smile; for, there is neither scandal, smut, lewd-tongued beau, or *double entendre*, in it; to which sense, our author asserts in his preface, that 'he has not displeased the ladies, nor offended the 'clergy; both which were now pleased to say, that 'a comedy may be diverting without smut or pro-'faneness.' The epilogue was spoken by Mr. Wilks, who acted so excellently the chief part, that our author, in that preface, says of him; 'Mr. Wilks's 'performance has set him so far above competition, 'in the part of Wildair, that none can pretend to envy 'the praise due to his merit: that *he made the part*, will 'appear,' says he, 'from hence, that, whenever the 'stage has the misfortune to lose him, Sir Harry Wild-'air may go to the Jubilee.' But the Poet may be happily mistaken in his prophecy, tho source of theatrical merit may change its channel, and the part, in time, may make the player, if it has not as yet altogether done so, equal to the original actor of it; seeing it has been always well received as often as it has been played, since death, for many years past, has denied us his masterly performance in it. And it were to be wished, that this generous applause of that sprightly and graceful actor's abilities, may not have tended to affect the character of our author's own; since it may seem, that, such grateful encomiums upon the perfections of the comedian, have promoted some ingratitude towards those of the comedy; for, it is believed, that such praises, by our author of his actors, have hinted, to some rivals for preheminence in the Muses favour on the drama, who were jealous of any growing monopolies in that sphere, some attempts to make a plausible transfer of his praise, by attributing that, which was due to the success of Mr. Farquhar's comedies, more to the merits of the players than the poet; more to the enlivening gaiety and gallantry of those, by whom his characters were personated, than the intermixtures of that wit and humour, which usually prepossess us in favour of such characters in other plays (23); which illiberal artifice of poets and other ingenious men, towards one another, is no novelty; for just so, not to mention other instances, Mr. Shadwell before had endeavoured the like alienation, by imputing the deserved esteem and laudable reception of Mr. Otway's most approved plays, not to any thing in the acts, but the actors of them (24). A later critick, who has also been a candidate for theatrical approbation, having in a useful work, which deserves it, among others, drawn out the plot of this play, and called it a celebrated comedy, full of contrivance; yet thinks, the plot not regular, or consisting of certain means, to compass a certain end; because the catastrophe appears as it were involuntary, and owing to the chance of incidents more than to measures concerted with design (25); which, whether defective or commendable, we have not now leisure to examine, since, in some cases, the greatest art is artfully to conceal a design under the appearance of chance. But here we are reminded of a little dialogue, which happened upon the great success of this play, between *Jubilee Dicky*, a noted part in it, and *Thomas Durfey*, the poet, or poetaster, which you please; as we received it, from a late living magazine of merry tales, jests, and other conceits of the noted wits and authors of his time. It seems Durfey wanted to bring a play

(21) See Athen. Oxon, Vol. II. col. 879; and T. Thomas's Life of the late famous Comedian Jo. Hains: containing his comical Exploits and Adventures at-home and Abroad, 8vo. 1701. But especially The Reasons of Mr. Jo. Hains his Conversion and Reconversion, in a Dialogue between Mr. Bayes and Mr. Hains: by Tho. Browne, in his Dialogues, 8vo. 1704, p. 205.

(22) The Constant Couple, &c.

(23) See The Tatler, edit. 8vo. 1713, p. 167. And Cibber's Apology, in 4to, as before, p. 336.

(24) See The Tory Poets: a Satire, 4to, 1682, p. 5.

(25) A Companion for the Theatre: or, a View of our most celebrated Dramatic Piece: in which the Plan, Characters, and Incidents, of each are particularly explained, &c. 8vo. Vol. I. 1747, p. 70.

thor's untimely end, which was so much regretted, in a person who had been so generally delightful, both in his writings and conversation, we can give but a melancholy,

a play upon the Theatre Royal, and meeting little *Dicky* in the height of spirits, at the great resort to Farquhar's comedy, asked him, 'When they should 'have some breathing-time to get up a play of his?' 'What is it?' said Dicky. 'Why don't you know 'the story of Massianello, the Prince of Fishermen?' 'Ay, ay, but I fear his fish will grow stale upon his 'hands, or make but insipid entertainment at our 'house during this Carnival there. 'Why, will the 'humour in your *Constant Couple* last for ever?' No, 'no, the Trip that is making in it to this Jubilee 'will surely be at an end by the Revolution of the 'next.' But it scarcely was; for we are told, in one place, that it had run for fifty-two nights (26), and may learn from our author himself, that it so much filled the stage, for the greater part of that season, that it brought the play-house some fifty audiences in five months (27): and, immediately after, he was encouraged to bring on a continuation of it in another comedy for the next season. In short, the fancy of the town was so engrossed even by the former of these comedies, that Durfey soon carried his play to Mr. Betterton's company in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and the tripping humour, in both of them, endured so long, that little *Jubilee Dicky*, in all common discourse, either with or of him, lost his Christian name ever after; and hundreds called him Dicky, as long as he lived, to one who called him Henry Norris.

(26) Memoirs of Mrs. Oldfield, as before, p. 2.

(27) Preface to Mr. Farquhar's Inconstant: or the Way to Win Him.

This second part (28) is dedicated by the author to the Earl of Albemarle. His prologue to it is founded upon the same sentiments he soon after published, more at large, in his *Discourse on Comedy*, as we have before shewn; and we see here in verse, as there in prose, that his general deduction is to make his dramatic entertainments generally delightful, that they may be alike instructive, which could not be done without making them engaging to the generality, by taking greater licence than the antients have confined us to, and drawing the several new shapes and habits in modern life, for an English stage, not from the patterns of old Greece or Rome, but rather to make the living audience his rule than the dead letter of Aristotle. He found, by successful experience, the best comic sport to consist in springing and flushing the fresh wild game that lay before or about him, and taking his aim there, at the fashionable gallantries, and modish extravagances in real life; the new-fledged humours and manners, the full-plumed vanities and affectations of the times; the ridiculous follies, seducing fallacies, the novel disguises and deceits of the town: this was the fat-fed game he was for catching as it rose, or shooting on the wing; as Mr. Pope professedly prescribed and enjoined himself to pursue afterwards (29): which was only to be done by more enlarged schemes in respect to the drama than were antiently limited, or are now descended to us. As for any formal and regular revival of the trite and thread-bare figures or characters of antiquity, he leaves them in possession of the antients, and to the rumination of the grave and critical antiquaries; as he says, in that prologue himself:

(28) Sir Harry Wildair: being The Sequel of The Trip to the Jubilee.

(29) In his Essay on Man.

He leaves to learned pens such labour'd lays,
You are the Rules by which he writes his plays:
From musty books let others take their view;
He hates dull reading, but he *studies you*.
Thus then the *Pit* and *Boxes* are his *Schools*,
Your *Air*, your *Humour*, his *dramatic* rules, &c.

The fourth of these plays (30) he dedicates to his countryman and fellow collegiate, Richard Tighe, Esq. from whom he partly copied the character of young Mirabell, so well acted by Mr. Wilks. It drew a splendid and crowded audience for six nights successively, till Lent intervened, though the tumblers, rope-dancers, French dancing-masters, dancing dogs, French strollers, and Italian squallers, had now so much engrossed the town, that our author has, with no less good sense than good humour, very genteely rallied our depraved taste and extravagance at that time therein; as well he might, when that beardless songster, Sigismondo Fideli, had twenty pounds a night for singing (31): Also in dancing, as Mr. Farquhar observes, the charms of Gallic heels were too hard for an English head, and that no instruction in the moral of a play could come in competition with that of a minuet. He owns that he took the hint of this comedy from "Fletcher's Wild-Goose Chase;" and that admired turn of the plot in the last act, which has drawn tears of joy from many bright eyes, was built upon a real adventure of the Chevalier de Chastillon, well known at Paris. There is an ingenious epilogue to this play, composed by Nicholas Rowe, Esq. and in the humorous prologue, written by Mr. Motteaux, the farce, above named, which was written by him in conjunction with our author, being mentioned, seems to have been composed the same year by them, if not before, though it might not be printed till the next.

(30) The Inconstant: or The Way to Win Him, 1703.

(31) Hist. of the English Stage, as before, p. 135.

And that same year also, soon after the comedy last mentioned, his fifth seems to have been brought on the stage (32). It is dedicated to Henry Brett, Esq. in December 1702, therefore printed the next year, as we presume, from the date of that satire next quoted in the margin; though some writers know not of its appearance till two years later. Our poet having, in the preface, ingeniously obviated such objections as had been made to it, owns himself obliged to Mr. Longueville (*) for some expressions in the part of Teague; something in that of the lawyer, and for his hint of the *Twins*, upon which the author formed his plot. After this acknowledgment, he adds, that few of our modern writers have been less beholden to foreign assistance in their plays than he in the scenes of this. But, how slender soever the assistance was that he had, it was enough to be snarled at by the little cynical satyrists, who, envying the success of his plays, had pronounced the beauties in them to be borrowed, but the blemishes to be his own; as was before related. Another of these satirists says of Mr. Farquhar, with intent, perhaps, of fathering this play wholly upon the said Mr. Longueville, and one of our famous poets, from whom it is there said to be drawn, in these words,

(32) The Twin Rivals, 1703, 1705, &c.

(*) Who was, as we are told, our author's countryman, and a fencing-master, as was also his son James; and that he long laboured to produce a Comedy, but without success.

His fame he built on mighty D'avenant's wit,
And lately own'd a play, that he ne'er writ (33):

So names this, called the Twin-Rivals, in the margin. The reason why we have fixt the publication of the farce before-mentioned in the next year after the last play is grounded on the authority of that author, who quotes two impressions of it in that year (34), though several others mention it, as if it was not published before our author had been three years in his grave.

(33) Religio Poetæ: or a Satire on the Poets, fol. 1703, p. 9.

Between the publication of this and his next dramatic performance, our poet had been in Shrewsbury, and other parts of Shropshire to recruit soldiers for his regiment or company. There he gathered matter for the plot and characters of his diverting comedy upon that subject (35); and this, as we compute, was acted in 1706, though it is not mentioned to have been printed before the next year. He dedicates it, for the hospitable reception he had there received, *to his friends round the Wrekin*, a noted hill in that county, which this play has made more so, by promoting a health in drinking to our friends so situated; 'a health 'that has the advantage over other celebrated toasts, 'of being a lasting beauty; old without age, and com-'mon without scandal:' and in this dedication excuses Mr. Rich for acting his play upon Durfey's third night, for his "Wonders of the Sun, or Kingdom of "Birds," though it is not said, in our erroneous registers of plays, to have been acted till three or four years after this time; and then, that it was at the Theatre in the Hay-Market. Our author tells us, 'that the Duke of Ormond encouraged him, and the 'Earl of Orrery approved the play: my recruits were 'reviewed by my General and my Colonel, and 'could

(34) The Stage-Coach, a Farce: Lond. 4to, 1704. Dublin, 4to, 1704. Mr. Harris's Addit. to Sir James Ware's Writers of Ireland, as before.

(35) The Recruiting Officer.

choly, if not tragical, account. For, ſome debts, it ſeems, preſſing him to make his application to a certain noble courtier, who had beſtowed upon him moſt bountiful profeſſions of ſolid friendſhip, he was, by that plauſible patron, perſuaded to turn his commiſſion into the money he wanted, and this man of honour, by his intereſt, would get him another; but, when the *profitable* friend in his purſe was gone, he could not find the *honourable* one, truly, in court, nor in the courtier himſelf! which diſappointment, in this dependance of his courtly friend, with the other he had undergone in the fortune of that lady whom he had eſpouſed for her love of him, now uniting to prey more eagerly on his mind, and tormenting it with the corroding reflections of ſome domeſtic difficulties in the neceſſary accommodation of his family, made way to his heart, and, by a ſure, though no ſudden declenſion of nature, carried him off this worldly theatre, while his laſt play was acting, in the height of its ſucceſs, at that in Drury-Lane: and, though the audience all beſtowed their *plaudits* upon the performance, ſome could not conceal their tears for the approaching loſs of its author; which happened, in the latter end of April, in the year 1707, before he was thirty years of

(*) Farquhar's Dedic. of the Recruiting Officer.

'could not fail to paſs muſter; and ſtill to add to my 'ſucceſs, they were raiſed among my friends round 'the Wrekin (*).' Mr. Wilks played Captain Plume, and Mr. Cibber, Captain Brazen, the two Recruiting Officers; Richard Eſtcourt, a celebrated comedian and mimic, played Serjeant Kite; and Sylvia the juſtice's daughter was performed by Mrs. Oldfield, whoſe name appears not in the *dramatis perſonæ* before any other comedy of our author's earlier than this. Here again, as in the "Trip to the Jubilee," we have been led to believe, that what ſupports the ſucceſs of the play in one of thoſe parts is, the proper ſenſe and obſervation of the player; that the humour is not conceived to be hit in Serjeant Kite, but is admirably ſupplyed by the action of Mr. Eſtcourt (36). But a later writer who ſeems to have more particularly examined this play, and given us diſtinctly the plan, characters and incidents of it, has been more regardful of its merits; and, from its connected parts, concludes with this general character of the whole, where it is ſaid,—'there are, beſides the two grand deſigns, 'ſome leſſer ones, tending to gain recruits; yet, at 'the ſame time, are alſo conducive ſome way or other 'to the better carrying on the main buſineſs; ſuch as 'Serjeant Kite's pretending to tell fortunes;—Sylvia, 'in the habit of a man, making love to Roſe, a pretty 'country girl;—Captain Plume, cajoling Bullock, 'Coſtar Pearmain, and Thomas Appletree, with 'ſeveral other little incidents, which are extremely 'diverting in the repreſentation, and altogether ſerve 'to render this comedy as entertaining as any I know 'of, that the ſtage for many years has had to boaſt 'of; and I believe will always continue to be ſo; at 'leaſt while there are any military gentlemen in the 'kingdom; ladies who delight in a red coat and 'feather; or, in fine, while there remain any lovers 'of true nature in a dramatic performance (37).' This comedy has lately been tranſlated into French, under the title of "L'Officier en Recruë," and it was acted (*), to a full audience, at the little theatre in the Hay-market, by the Engliſh company of Antigallic players, with great applauſe: whence it may be concluded, this comedy, as would probably be found in others of this author, were they put to the ſame trial, has in it ſuch intrinſic merits, that its ſucceſs neither depends on any particular actors, nor will relinquiſh it even in a foreign language.

(36) Tatlers, Vol. I. No. 20.

(37) See A Companion to the Theatre, &c. Vol. II. p. 206.

(*) Feb. 1749-50.

The ſeventh and laſt of our author's comedies (38) was certainly written in or towards the end of the ſame year with that laſt mentioned; however an edition of it, which might be printed four years later (*), may have miſled ſome writers of him to think it was then firſt acted; and the author's adverтiſement at the beginning, expreſſing his illneſs, as the epilogue at the end, his being ready to expire while the play was in action, might ſtrengthen their opinion to an aſſertion that the comedy was not played, and the poet did not die, before the year in which that edition was dated. But, by looking only into the ſecond page of the comedy, we may ſee reaſon to judge, from what Boniface the innkeeper ſays to Aimwell, of his ale, when he bade the tapſter broach him ſome of his *Anno Domini*, marked 1706, after having pretended to be ſtored with ſome that was ſmooth as oil, &c. and juſt fourteen years old, on the fifth of next March, it is very apparent that the play was finiſhed before this day of that month in the ſaid year: and this is explained by the ſame humour which Boniface uſes three leaves farther, where his ſaid gueſt talks with him about eatables. He had all dainties in the houſe, that might be got ready for ſupper; but the gueſt could have nothing that he names, therefore bade the landlord bring what he would, that is, what he had. So we may conclude from this as from other authorities hereafter mentioned, that the play, though rehearſed ſome months before, was acted in April following, and till the author made his exit, before the actors in it. Archer, a good ſociable character, and Mrs. Sullen, who was ſociable to him, were very engagingly played by Mr. Wilks and Mrs. Oldfield (*). It has been looked upon as an extraordinary teſtimony of the author's vigorous genius, that, though he was ſo crampt in time as to have begun and ended this play in ſix weeks, and ſo depreſſed in ſpirits by a ſettled ſickneſs upon him all the time, he has yet gained the reputation of having ſung herein like the ſwan, ſweeteſt when dying; the ſaid comedy having been, as we may read, univerſally allowed to be his maſter-piece (39).

(38) The Beaux Stratagem.

(*) In 1710. See Giles Jacob; and The Life of Mr. Wilks; 8vo, 1733, p. 19.

(*) The Plot, Characters, and Incidents, of the Beaux Stratagem, are drawn out in The Companion to the Theatre, Vol. I. p. 24, 32.

(39) Life of Mr. Wilks, 8vo, 1733, p. 19.

Many other particulars of theſe ſeven comedies, &c. no leſs, or perhaps more, material, muſt now be ſubmitted to the prohibition of time: therefore we ſhall only here obſerve, that the firſt edition we have read of them, printed with his Poems and Letters together, was in 1711 (40), and the firſt that we have ſeen of them was printed for Bernard Lintot, &c. in octavo, 1714, which is adorned with a ſculpture before it of Mr. Farquhar, introduced, or led up, by Ben. Jonſon to Apollo. They have ſo well maintained their credit ever ſince as to arrive at eight (41) or nine editions at leaſt. But we cannot part with them without obſerving one general defect in theſe as well as almoſt all other modern editions of books; that all the dates, which would, were they faithfully preſerved, inform us when the ſeveral pieces in them were firſt ſeparately printed, are deſignedly ſuppreſſed, to give place in the title-page for that ſingle date of the year in which they were all printed laſt together. This crippling uſage has been complained of as a mercenary deceit in the proprietors of ſuch copies; tending to the obſcurity of their authors, the confuſion of thoſe editors, and other writers, who are covetous of doing hiſtorical honour and juſtice to their memory, by a regular revival or diſtinction of their performances; and, conſequently, to the diſſatisfaction of all curious readers; and this only, it ſeems, to make ſuch books more vendible and taking, with ignorant and ſuperficial novices, by the greater air that is thus given them of novelty; leſt ſuch ſhallow purchaſers ſhould diſreliſh them for that which ſhould recommend them, by their having received the approbation or encouragement of more judges than by ſuch ſuppreſſion of all chronological directions, as ſo many furrows in the face even of unwrinkled maturity, their cunning owners would have it thought they had ſtood the teſt of.

(40) Mr. Harris's Additions to Sir James Ware's Writers of Ireland, as before.

(41) The Works of the late ingenious Mr George Farquhar. Containing all his Poems, Letters, Eſſays, and Comedies, publiſhed in his lifetime. The eighth edition. Printed for J. and P. Knapton, H. Lintot, &c. in 2 Vols. 12mo, 1742.

age; as may, by the authorities annexed, more convincingly appear [*K*]. Thus, having attended our entertaining dramatiſt over the contracted ſtage of his ſhort life, yet through the various characters, in ſome degree, which he acted on it, of the Player, the Lover, and the Huſband; the Soldier, the Critic, and the Poet, to his final cataſtrophe; it is here time to cloſe the ſcenes, and drop the curtain.

[*K*] *As may, by the authorities annexed, more convincingly appear.*] The particulars, relating to thoſe unhappy diſappointments which are ſaid to have haſtened the end of this ingenious poet, and the time when he died, being drawn from the teſtimonies of ſuch as were acquainted with him, and atteſted by other authentic vouchers, are therefore the more credible, and leſs liable to doubt. We find, he had once the opinion, wherewith men of experience have ſometimes kindly appriſed many raw and credulous dependants upon their counterfeit patrons: and had ſome deſign, as we have heard, of diſplaying thoſe characters in their lively colours; of which more hereafter may poſſibly be ſaid in another place. So long ſince, as in ſome of his early publications, he thus intreats his reader to admit him, with the uſual forms of civility — 'If you be a courtier, you will ſhew your breeding; receive him with a ſincere ſmile; ſwear to do him all the ſervice you can; and you will certainly keep your word—as you uſed to do (42).' But now, it ſeems, he was more ſtrengthened in his faith of the ſincerity that there might be, without any guile or colluſion, in a courtier's generous profeſſions; till his own fatal experience reſtored him to his former judgment, as we ſhall preſently ſee. Upon this part of our ſubject, one of thoſe writers before-mentioned, who knew him, thus expreſſes himſelf.

(42) Pref. to his Poems and Letters.

'His laſt comedy, the "Stratagem," he began and ended in ſix weeks, with a ſettled ſickneſs upon him all the time; nay, he even perceived the approaches of death ere he had finiſhed the ſecond act, and, as he had often foretold, died before the run of his play was over. His other plays were dedicated to perſons of diſtinction, and he deſigned a dedication of his laſt to my Lord Cadogan; but his Lordſhip, for reaſons unknown, evaded it, though he made him a handſome preſent, with promiſes of his future favour; which, probably, would have been fulfilled if our author had ſurvived; though he had but little reaſon to rely on the promiſes of great men; a certain great courtier having prevailed on him to ſell his commiſſion, with ſolemn aſſurances of providing for him better, which he forgot to keep (43).' Here this author tells us, that Mr. Farquhar, in one of his ſongs, ſeems to have pointed at that perſon, in the third ſtanza below recited; and this is all he quotes of that famous ſong; which conſiſts of thirteen ſtanzas: but becauſe the very firſt of them, and the two others, being upon the ſame topic, may partly as well concern or reſemble, and help to diſtinguiſh the ſaid great courtier, as others of like features and complexion, they are here ſelected from the reſt, in the

(43) Memoirs Mr. George Farquhar, as above.

SONG *of a* TRIFLE.

A *Trifling Song* you ſhall hear,
Begun with a *Trifle*, and ended:
All *Trifling People* draw near
And I ſhall be *nobly* attended.

The Court is from Trifles ſecure,
*Gold Keys* are no Trifles, we ſee;
*White Rods* are no Trifles I'm ſure,
Whatever their *Bearers* may be.

But, if you will go to the place
Where Trifles abundantly breed,
The Levee will ſhew you his Grace,
Makes *Promiſes* Trifles indeed.

A Coach, with ſix footmen behind,
I count neither Trifle, nor ſin:
But, ye Gods! how oft do we find
A *ſcandalous Trifle within* (44).

(44) Sung by Archer, in the third act of the Beaux Stratagem.

Then the ſame author goes on, in relation to Mr. Farquhar's other diſappointments in theſe words— 'Tis ſuppoſed that, thus failing of his expectations, together with an unfortunate marriage, ſhortened his days. For, his wife, by whom he had two daughters only, through the reputation of a great fortune, tricked him into matrimony. This was chiefly the fault of her love; which was ſo violent for him, that ſhe reſolved to leave nothing untried to gain him. Though ſome huſbands would have proved mere huſbands in ſuch a caſe, Mr. Farquhar was ſo charmed with her love and underſtanding, that he entirely forgave her; therefore, when I ſay an unfortunate marriage conduced, with other circumſtances, to the ſhortening his days, I only mean, that his fortune being too ſlender to ſupport a family, led him into a great many cares and inconveniences: for, I have often heard him ſay, that, "it was more pain to him, in imagining that his family might want a needful ſupport, than the moſt violent death that could be inflicted on him." But, his wife being long ſince dead, his good friend Mr. Wilks has been highly inſtrumental in ſetting his children above want (45).' This piece of friendſhip is thus explained elſewhere. 'Mr. Farquhar left two orphan daughters. Mr. Wilks gave each of them a benefit-play, to put them out apprentice to mantua-makers; and his worthy friend and patron, to whom he dedicated his miſcellanies, Edmund Chaloner, Eſq. procured them a penſion of twenty-pounds a year (46).'

(45) Memoirs of Mr. George Farquhar, as before, p. 5, 6.

(46) Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Wilks, 8vo. 1733, p. 33.

As to our authority for his laſt play being rehearſed in 1706, and then, or in the beginning of 1707, acted, and that the author died this year, it is to be found in the characters, both of it and himſelf, publiſhed at thoſe times (*), in one whereof the author has ſpoken thus of him, but the next month after that in which we aſſerted him to have died. 'All, that love comedy, will be ſorry to hear of the death of Mr. Farquhar, whoſe two laſt plays had ſomething in them that was truly humourous and diverting. 'Tis true, the critics will not allow any part of them to be regular; but Mr. Farquhar had a genius for comedy, of which one may ſay, that it was rather *above* rules than *below* them. His *conduct*, though not artful, was ſurprizing: his *characters*, though not great, were juſt: his *humour*, though low, diverting: his *dialogue*, though looſe and incorrect, gay and agreeable: and his *wit*, though not ſuperabundant, pleaſant: in a word, his plays have, in the *tout enſemble*, as the painters phraſe it, a certain air of novelty and mirth, which pleaſed the audience every time they were repreſented; and ſuch as love to laugh at the Theatre will probably miſs him more than they now imagine (47).'

(*) See the Prologue at the opening of the Theatre in the Hay-Market, Oct. 15, 1706, 1 ſheet.

Laſtly, that we might omit no ſatisfaction to our reader that could be farther procured, in confirmation of this authority, the books belonging to the church of that pariſh, wherein he was buried, having been, at our requeſt, ſearched for the date of his interment, our reverend and worthy friend has returned this anſwer to the queſtion:

(47) The Muſes Mercury: or Monthly Miſcellany, 4to, for May, 1707, p. 123.

SIR,

'IN St. Martin's regiſter, on May the 3d, 1707, one Mr. George Falkwere was buried, whom I look upon to be the poet; though ſomewhat differently ſpelt from his name. The nearneſs of the ſound, and the difficulty of ſpelling names aright, by perſons who only take them from common pronunciation, and the ignorance of Pariſh-Clerks in general, will eaſily account for the difference here, &c.' O.



*** [The

*** [The article above is so copiously and elaborately written (though with something of that awkwardness of style which usually attends Mr. Oldys's compositions), that it cannot require a very large addition. In the Biographia Dramatica, there is a story related concerning Farquhar's conduct when he was a Student at the University of Dublin, which, if true, and it was attested by one of his intimate acquaintance, sets the folly of his early youth in a highly blamable light. A college exercise was appointed him by his tutor on the miracle of our Saviour's walking upon the water. The next day, when he came into the hall for examination, it was found that he had not brought his exercise written, as his fellow-pupils had done. At this the lecturer being displeased, Farquhar offered to make one extempore; and, after considering some time, he observed, that he thought it no great miracle, since the man that is born to be hanged, &c. The impiety of this reply totally extinguished all the approbation which he expected from its wit; and accordingly, at the next sitting of the Governors of the College, he was expelled in the usual form, *tanquam pestilentia hujus societatis*. Another circumstance, mentioned on the same authority, is, that Mr. Farquhar was reckoned by all his fellow-students as one of the dullest young men in the University, and even was thought to be extremely heavy and disagreeable as a companion (48).

(48) Biographia Dramatica, Vol. I. p. 152.

We cannot avoid giving our approbation to the censure that is passed, at the close of note *I*, on the manner in which the works of ingenious men are sometimes printed, and the neglect that is paid to chronological distinctions. There is one fashion lately risen among the booksellers, with which we are by no means satisfied. It is that of saying only "A New "Edition," instead of specifying the particular edition of a publication. Matters of this kind may seem to be of little consequence; but a disregard to them is felt by such of the learned as wish to be very accurate in their statement of literary facts, and their references to authors.

We shall take some notice of the distinct characters of Farquhar's plays, as given by the editors of the Biographia Dramatica. Of the "Love and a Bottle" it is observed, that, though it was written by our poet when under twenty years of age, it contains such variety of incident and character, and such a sprightliness of dialogue, as must convince us, that even then he had a very considerable knowledge of the world, and a very clear judgment of the manners of mankind. On account, however, of the looseness of the character of Roebuck, and some other strokes of licentiousness that run through the piece, it has not been acted for many years past (49). "The Constant "Couple," which is a very genteel, lively, and entertaining, performance, has continued to be performed down to the present time. It met with great success at its first appearance, and is always well received whenever it is represented (50). "Sir Harry Wildair" is a continuation of the "Constant Couple," and hath several of the same characters. Yet, although the success and real merit of the first part so much assured a favourable reception to this as to afford it a run of nine nights to crowded audiences, it is by no means equal in merit to the former, nor is it now ever acted (51). "The Inconstant" is a very lively and entertaining comedy, although there are some incidents in it which scarcely come within the limits of credibility. The author, in his preface, and Rowe, in the epilogue, say that the hint of the play only was taken from Beaumount and Fletcher's "Wild-Goose "Chace." But the fact is, that the main plot and whole scenes were borrowed from that performance. The catastrophe of the last act, where young Mirabel is in danger of his life at a Courtezan's house, and is delivered by the carefulness of his mistress Oriana disguised as a page, owes its origin, it is said, to an affair of the like nature, in which the author had himself some concern, when on military duty abroad (52). "The Stage-Coach," which employed the united abilities of Farquhar and Motteaux, is after all nothing more than a plagiarism; for the plot and some entire scenes are taken from a little French piece, called "Les Carosses d' Orléans (53)." "The Recruiting "Officer" is a most entertaining and lively comedy, "which is at this time," says the Biographia Dramatica, "and probably will ever continue to be, one of "the most standard and established amusements of "the British Stage.——The characters are natu-"ral, the dialogue genteel, and the wit entirely spi-"rited and genuine. In short, to say the least we "can in its praise, we can scarcely keep within the "limits assigned us; and, were we to say the most, "we could scarcely do justice to its merit (54)." The "Twin Rivals" has been asserted by the critics to be the most regular and complete of all Farquhar's dramatic works. But in this judgment there is not sufficient reason to acquiesce. For, although it may perhaps be allowed that the younger Wou'dbe, Mrs. Midnight, and Teague, are more highly-drawn characters than any in our author's other comedies, it will probably appear, on a strict scrutiny, that they are so only, because they are more out of real life, more *outré*, or, if you please, more unnatural. There are as many improbabilities in the conduct of the plot (the greatest fault that can be laid to Farquhar's charge in general) as in almost any comedy he has written (55). Mr. Oldys has asserted, in note *I*, that "The Beau's Stratagem" is universally allowed to be our poet's master-piece. But to this assertion every one will not readily concede. The play has undoubtedly great merit, which will appear in a stronger light, when it is considered that it was begun and ended in six weeks, whilst the author laboured under a settled illness, that carried him off during the run of his piece. In a short advertisement he acknowledges his obligations to Mr. Wilks, and attributes to him the success of the comedy. But the frequency of its representation to the present time, and the pleasure it constantly affords, are proofs of its intrinsic excellence (56).

(49) Ibid p. 153. Vol. II. p. 195.

(50) Ib. Vol. II. p. 65.

(51) Ibid. p. 344.

(52) Ibid p. 166.

(53) Ibid. p. 354.

(54) Ibid. p. 384.

(55) Ibid. p. 384.

(56) Ibid. p. 304.

Farquhar's general character as a comic writer is well delineated in Cibber's Lives of the Poets. "He "seems," says the author of that work, "to have "been a man of a genius rather sprightly than great, "rather flowery than solid. His comedies are divert-"ing, because his characters are natural, and such as "we frequently meet with: but he has used no art "in drawing them, nor does there appear any force "of thinking in his performances, or any deep pene-"tration into nature; but rather a superficial view, "pleasant enough to the eye, though capable of "leaving no great impression on the mind. He drew "his observations chiefly from those he conversed "with, and has seldom given any additional height-"ening, or indelible marks of his characters; which "was the peculiar excellence of Shakespeare, Jonson, "and Congreve. Had he lived to have gained a "more general knowledge of life, or had his circum-"stances not been straightened, and so prevented his "mingling with persons of rank, we might have seen "his plays embellished with more finished characters, "and with a more polished dialogue. He had cer-"tainly a lively imagination; but then it was capa-"ble of no great compass. He had wit, but it was "of so peculiar a sort as not to gain ground upon "consideration; and it is true that his comedies in "general owe their success full as much to the player "as to any thing intrinsically excellent in them-"selves (57)."

(57) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. III. p. 136, 137.

Part of the estimate which we have of Farquhar in the Biographia Dramatica is as follows: "As a wri-"ter, the opinions of critics have been various. The "general character which has been given of his co-"medies is, that the success of most of them far ex-"ceeded the author's expectations; that he was par-"ticularly happy in the choice of his subjects, which "he always took care to adorn with a great variety "of characters and incidents; that his style is pure "and unaffected, his wit natural and flowing, and "his plots generally well contrived. But then, on "the contrary, it has been objected, that he was "too hasty in his productions; that his works are "loose, though indeed not so grossly libertine as "those of some other wits of his time; that his ima-"gination, though lively, was capable of no great "compass; and his wit, though passable, not such "as would gain ground upon consideration.——On

"the

" the whole, however, his pieces are very entertain-
" ing, and almoſt all of them, after nearly fourſcore
" years have paſſed over them, are ſtill ſome of the
" greateſt favourites of the public (58)."

(58) Biographia Dramatica, Vol. II. p. 157.

We ſhall add Dr. Blair's ſhort character of our dramatic poet. " Farquhar," ſays the Doctor, " is a " light and gay writer; leſs correct, and leſs ſpark-" ling than Congreve; but he has more eaſe, and, " perhaps, fully as great a ſhare of the vis comica. " The two beſt, and leaſt exceptionable of his plays, " are the " Recruiting Officer," and " Beaux Strata-" gem." I ſay the leaſt exceptionable; for, in " general, the tendency of both Congreve and Far-" quhar's plays is immoral (59)." The juſt reflections, which are ſubjoined by Dr. Blair, on the licentiouſneſs of the comedies of that period, are inſerted in the addition to Congreve's article (60)].

K.

(59) Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, Vol. II. p. 545. quarto edition.

(60) Dr. Johnſon ſaid, that he thought Farquhar a man whoſe writings have conſiderable merit. Boſwell's Life of Johnſon, Vol. III. p. 254.

*** [FASTOLFF (JOHN), Knight, and Knight-Banneret, a valiant and renowned General, Governor, and Nobleman in France, during our conqueſts in that kingdom, under King Henry IV, V, and VI, of England, and Knight-Companion of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter, has been ſuppoſed, from the title of his French barony, and from his name being ſo often corruptly mentioned in the French hiſtories, by occaſion of his long reſidence, and many engagements in the wars there, to have been born in France, at leaſt of French extraction. Others, allowing him to have been a native of England, have no leſs erroneouſly fixed his birth-place in Bedfordſhire: but it is well known, that he was deſcended of an antient and famous Engliſh family in the county of Norfolk; which had flouriſhed there, and in other parts of the kingdom, in very honourable diſtinction, before the Conqueſt [*A*]: and from a train of illuſtrious anceſtors, many of them dignified with the honour of knighthood, inveſted with very eminent employments, and poſſeſſed of extenſive patrimonies. But

[*A*] *In very honourable diſtinction before the Conqueſt.*] To paſs over the obſervation, that one Faſtolffe was Maſter of the Mint under king Edgar (1): and that Nicholas Faſtolff held lands in the ninth of Edward II. in Wykhampton, Redham, &c. in Norfolk (2): and in that year two fines were levied, the firſt (3) between John Faſtolff querent, Thomas Faſtolff parſon of Fekenham, and Nicholas Faſtolff, deforciants of lands in Caſtre and Great Yarmouth; and, by the ſecond, ſeveral lands in Yarmouth, and Fleg in Norfolk, and Reydon in Suffolk, were ſettled on the ſaid John, and Joan his wife, for their lives, remainder to Nicholas, ſon of John and Ida his wife in tail, remainder in fee to the right heirs of Joan. Nicholas was Chief Juſtice of Ireland (4) in the firſt of Edward III. and was a Juſtice Itinerant in Nottingham (5). And this Nicholas (6), ſon of John, with Ada his wife, ſettled lands in Caſtre, and other parts of Norfolk, and Reydon in Suffolk, on themſelves in tail; then to the heirs of Nicholas; remainder to John, ſon of John, in tail; remainder to Thomas and Richard, brothers to John. In the 20th year of that king, Alexander (7) held lands in Reppes; and in the 23d, Thomas ſon of Alexander held others in Yarmouth; and in the 35th this Thomas died, ſeized of large poſſeſſions. In the 48th John Faſtolff was looked upon as a man of ſuch abilities and fidelity, that he was ſent into foreign parts (8) upon ſome ſecret negotiation of high concern to the King; in which year Hugh Faſtolff of Great Yarmouth was Lieutenant to William Nevil the Admiral, as he had ten years before been to William Herle (9); which Hugh was brother of John Faſtolff. 51 E. III. occurs John the ſon of Hugh and Mary. In the firſt of king Richard II, the Earl of Warwick, Admiral, makes Sir John Faſtolff of Yarmouth his deputy, who, being a knight, had a protection in the third year (10), being then upon a naval expedition for the crown. Sir Hugh Faſtolff, his father, dying the 5th of Richard II. (11), he obtained a confirmation of free-warren in his demeſne lands of Caſtre and Thwayte firſt granted in the 44th of Henry III. to Robert Caſtre. Many other Knights and Eſquires of the name might be produced, and their extenſive territories named, eſpecially in the two counties here ſpecified; among whom, as it has been ſaid, the branch whence our Knight deſcended was ſeated at Caſtre, where John (12), ſon of Nicholas, appointed himſelf to be buried in the church of the Holy Trinity; where alſo there was a free chapel, dedicated to St. John the Baptiſt; to which John Faſtolff the elder (13) preſented in 1377; and John, ſon of Alexander, in 1383; and our religious Knight himſelf, about four years after his final return from the wars of France (14). His mother, dame Mary Faſtolff, who after his father's death was married to Sir Thomas Mortimer, died May 2, 1406, and was buried in the chapel or choir belonging to the chantry of the Holy Croſs. Her memory was honoured with an obit, anniverſary, and tomb, and there was an anniverſary kept for her ſoul in the college of his houſe at Caſtre, the ſame day they ſang it at Attleburgh. Sir Thomas Mortimer, eldeſt ſon of Sir Richard, in his will, dated Nov. 3, 1459, deſired his ſubſtance to be diſpoſed of in the beſt manner for the pleaſure of God and his ſoul's health, " and alſo for the releef, " ſocour, and helpe of the ſoules that I am moſt " oblyged to prey, and do preye for, and for the " ſoules of John Faſtolf my fader, dam Mary (the " doghter of Nicholas Park, ſquyer) my moder," &c.; and it appears that ſhe was buried in the chapel or choir belonging to the chantry of the Holy Croſs, at Attleburgh, by Sir Thomas Mortimer, her laſt huſband: for, in the ſame will, are theſe clauſes: " Item, " I wolle and ordeyne that, be the avys of myn exe-" cutours befor named, that proviſion and ordenaunce " be mad that the obyte and anniverſarye may be " yerly kept in perpetuite, with Placebo, and Dirige, " and Meſſe be note for the ſowle of dam Mary my " moder, and her aunceterys, in the chirche of Atil-" burgh, and than on of the monkes or preſtys in the " college by me ordeyned in the mancyon of Caſtre " foreſeid ſhall ſynge ſpecyally in perpetuite for the " ſoule of my moder and off alle here aunceteres and " good doers. Item, I wole that, in ſemblable wiſe, " that a marbul ſton, of a convenient meſure, be or-" deyned and layd over dam Mary my modir, in the " chapell of the chauntry founded in the pariſſche " churche of Attilburgh, with an ymage of laton, " accordyng to her degre, with a ſcripture there abow-" ten of the day and yere of here obyte, with iiii " ſkochonys, whereof here iii huſbondes, *Mortimer*, " *Faſtolf*, and *Farwelle*, and the ferthe of her aunce-" terys armys." By this it appears, that ſhe had three huſbands; firſt, John *Farwelle*, of Cowling, Suffolk, then John *Faſtolfe*, and, laſtly, Sir Thomas *Mortimer*, and had iſſue by the two laſt, if not by the firſt, who died 1401. By Sir Thomas ſhe had three daughters, coheirs to Sir Robert, their grandfather (15); and by Faſtolff a ſon, the ſubject of this account, and Margaret, married to Sir —— Braunch, knt. (16).

There are ſtill in being in the regiſtry at Norwich, ſeveral preſentations, and laſt wills, of many others of this family, which are ſo numerous, ſo divided into ſeveral branches with the ſame chriſtian names, that by this means, and the frequent interchange of ſettlement, it becomes very difficult to deduce the pedigree of our Knight in a direct line, though there ſeems to be no doubt but he was the chief heir male, being ſeiſed of the antient patrimony of Caſtre. The Faſtolffs were alſo ſettled at Kimberley, where Sir John Wodehouſe, a favourite of Henry IV. pulled down their manſion-houſe (17).

(1) Sir Andrew Fountaine's Saxon Coins, Tab. 5, No. 10.

(2) Nomina Villarum, &c.

(3) Fines 9 Edw. II. ex Collect. MS. Pet. Le Neve.

(4) Rot. Clauſ. 1 Edw. III.

(5) Dugdale's Chron. Series.

(6) Rot. Fin. 6 Edw. III. ex Coll. Pet. Le Neve.

(7) Auxil. ad primogen. Reg. milit. faciend.

(8) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. VII. p. 33.

(9) Plac. Mich. 38 Edw. III. m. 20. 3 Feb.

(10) Rymer, Vol. VII. p. 257.

(11) Eſch. 5 Ric. II. n. 49.

(12) Liber Haydon, in Regiſtro Norwic.

(13) Regiſt. Epiſc. Norwic.

(14) In the Regiſt. of Norwich.

(15) Blomef. Vol. I. p. 345.

(16) Id. Vol. V. p. 1591.

(17) Id. Vol I. p. 153, 154.

one of the principal branches, being ſeated at Caſtre in Fleg near Great Yarmouth in that county, which eſtate deſcending to theſe anceſtors, he afterwards adorned with a noble family ſeat (*a*), it is preſumed he was born there, or in Yarmouth. His father was John Faſtolff, Eſq. of that town, a man of conſiderable account in thoſe and other parts, both for his means and merits, eſpecially for his public benefactions, pious foundations, &c. (*b*). His mother was Mary, daughter of Nicholas Park, Eſq. (*c*), and married to Sir Richard Mortimer, of Attleburgh; and this their ſon was born in the latter end of king Edward the IIIʼds reign. As he died at the age of eighty, in 1459, his birth could not happen later than 1378. It may fairly be preſumed he was grounded as well in that learning and other accompliſhments which afterwards, improved by his experience and ſagacity, rendered him ſo famous in war and peace, as in thoſe virtuous and religious principles, which governed his actions to the laſt. His father dying before he was of age, the care of his perſon and eſtate were committed to one of the firſt noblemen in the kingdom. One author ſays, that he was ward to John duke of Bedford, who was afterwards the moſt wiſe and able Regent of France we ever had there; and, more expreſſly, that he was the laſt ward which that duke had (*d*); but we have been otherwiſe informed, that he was trained up in the Norfolk family (*), which will not appear improbable to thoſe who know it was not unuſual in thoſe times, for young noblemen whilſt under wardſhip to be trained under others, eſpecially Miniſters of State, in their houſes and families, as in academies of behaviour, and to qualify them for the ſervice of their country at home or abroad. But if he was under Thomas Mowbray duke of Norfolk, while he enjoyed that title, it could be but one year, that duke being baniſhed the kingdom by king Richard II. in 1398 [*B*], though his younger ſon, who was reſtored to that title many years after, might be one of Sir John Faſtolffʼs feoffees. And it is pretty evident, that he was, but a few years after the baniſhment of that duke, in ſome conſiderable poſt under Thomas of Lancaſter, afterwards Duke of Clarence, and ſecond ſon of the ſucceeding king Henry IV. This Thomas was ſent by his father ſo early, according to ſome writers, as the ſecond year of his reign, which was in 1401, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (*e*). And it is not improbable that Faſtolff was then with him; for we are informed by an hiſtorian who knew him, that in the ſixth and ſeventh years of the ſaid king Henry, that is, in 1405 and 1406, this John Faſtolff, Eſq. was continually with him (*f*). And the ſame Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was again there in 1408, 10 Henry IV. and almoſt to the beginning of the next year, when it is no leſs probable that Faſtolff was ſtill with him; for, in the year laſt mentioned, we find that he was married in that kingdom to a rich young widow of quality, named Milicent, Lady Caſtlecomb, daughter of Robert Lord Tiberot, and relict of Sir Stephen Scrope, knight; the ſame perhaps who is mentioned, though not with the title of knighthood, by Sir P. Leyceſter, to have been the ſaid Lord Lieutenantʼs Deputy of Ireland, during moſt of the intervals of his return to England; which Deputy-Lieutenant died in his office the ſame year. This marriage was ſolemnized in Ireland on the feaſt of St. Hilary the year aforeſaid; and Faſtolff bound himſelf in the ſum of a thouſand pounds, to pay her an hundred pounds a year, for pin-money (*g*) during life; and ſhe received the ſame to the 24th year of king Henry VI (*h*). The lands in Wiltſhire and Yorkſhire which came to Faſtolff by this marriage with the ſaid Lady, deſcended to Stephen Le Scrope, her ſon and heir. We may reaſonably believe, that this marriage in Ireland engaged his ſettlement in that kingdom, or upon his eſtate in Norfolk till his appointment to the command of ſome forces, or to ſome poſt of truſt, under the Engliſh regency in France, ſoon after required his reſidence in that kingdom. For, according to the ſtricteſt calculation we can make from the accounts of his early engagements in France, the many years he was there, and the time of his final return, it muſt be, not long after

(*a*) Camden Britan. Iceni. Caſtor ſedes quondam fuit Joannis Faſtolff, militis celeberrimi.

(*b*) Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain, in the Table of Religious Houſes; and Weever's Funeral Monuments, fol. 363.

(*c*) Hiſt. of Norfolk, by the Rev. Mr. Francis Blomefield, p. 341.

(*d*) Fuller's Worthies of England in Norfolk.

(*) So Mr. Blomefield in a letter dated Sept. 29, 1749, from Norwich, to Mr. Oldys, who wrote this article in the former edition.

(*e*) Sir Peter Leyceſter's Hiſtor. Antiquities, fol 1673, p 79.

(*f*) William of Wyrceſtre's Annals of Engliſh affairs, at the end of Hearne's "Liber Niger Scaccarii," p. 452.

(*g*) *Ad cameram ejus.*

(*h*) Itiner. W. Worceſter, p. 310, 311. Regiſter of the Order of the Garter, &c. by John Anſtis, Eſq. I. fol. 141; and Dr. Thoroton's Nottinghamſhire, fol. 104.

[*B*] *That duke being baniſhed by king Richard II. in* 1438.] This Thomas Mowbray was created Duke of Norfolk, on September 29, being the 21ſt of Richard II. anno 1397, as the monk of St. Albans records (18); and having charged Henry of Bolingbroke, duke of Hereford, with taxing the king of evil government, and he denying the ſame, a challenge enſued: which was ſo near being brought to a determination at Coventry, that they entered the liſts prepared at all points for the encounter. Duke Thomasʼs horſe was barbed with crimſon velvet, embroidered richly with his arms, in lions of ſilver, and with mulberry-trees for his rebus; to repreſent, according to the alluſive or ſymbolizing faſhion of thoſe days, his ſurname of Mowbray (19). But to prevent this combat, the Duke of Hereford was baniſhed, according to the monk of St. Albans, on the 13th of October, 1398, for ten years: and this Duke of Norfolk, for life (20). But, his adverſary being crowned a year after, by the name and title of Henry IV. the Duke of Norfolk died with grief at Venice, in the firſt year of the ſaid king's reign, anno 1400 (21). So that there is but a narrow ſpace of time that will admit our Faſtolff under the care, or in the ſervice, of this Duke of Norfolk, while he held that title in England. As for his two ſons; the eldeſt named alſo Thomas, was never Duke of Norfolk, for, being engaged in a conſpiracy againſt the king, he was five years after beheaded at York, with Archbiſhop Scroop (22); and his brother John was not reſtored to the title till the third of Henry VI. (23), and yet might after that be, as we are informed he was, one of Sir John Faſtolffʼs feoffees (24).

(18) Tho. Walſingham in *Ypodigm. Neuſtriæ*, p. 552. N. 16.

(19) Sandford's Geneolog. Hiſt. of the Kings of England, edit. 1707, fol. 219.

(20) *Ypodigm. Neuſtriæ*, p. 552. N. 36.

(21) Idem. p. 552. No. 16.

(22) Sandford, p. 211; and T. Walſingham, p. 373.

(23) Rot. Parliamenti tertii, apud Weſtmonaſt. an. 3 Hen. VI. m. 4. artic. 13.

(24) Letter from the Rev. Mr. Blomefield, as before.

his ſaid marriage, that he left either England or Ireland, for that foreign ſervice: being employed abroad by Henry IV. V. and VI. in the wars in France, Normandy, Anjou, Mayne, and Guyenne, upwards of forty years. Which agrees very well, with what our firſt Engliſh printer has publiſhed, in his conciſe, yet comprehenſive character of him, little more than twenty years after his death, where he ſpeaks of his "exerciſyng the Warrys in the Royame of Fraunce and other "Countrees, &c. by Fourty Yeres enduryng (*k*)." So that, we cannot ſee any room, either in the time or the temper, in the fortunes or employments of this our worthy, for him to have been a companion with, or follower and corrupter of Prince Henry, in his juvenile and diſſolute courſes; nor, that Shakſpeare had any view of drawing his Sir John Falſtaff, from any part of this Sir John Faſtolff's character; or ſo much as pointing at any indifferent circumſtance in it, that can reflect upon his memory, with readers converſant in the true hiſtory of him. The one is an old, humorous, vapouring, and cowardly, lewd, lying, and drunken debauchee, about the Prince's court, when the other was a young and grave, diſcreet and valiant, chaſte and ſober, commander abroad; continually advanced to honours and places of profit, for his brave and politic atchievements, military and civil; continually preferred to the truſt of one government or other; of countries, cities, towns, &c. or as a general, and commander of armies in martial expeditions while abroad; made Knight-Banneret in the field of battle; Baron in France, and Knight of the Garter in England: and particularly, when finally ſettled at home, conſtantly exerciſed in acts of hoſpitality, munificence, and charity; a founder of religious buildings, and other ſtately edifices ornamental to his country, as their remains ſtill teſtify; a generous patron of worthy and learned men, and a public benefactor to the pious and the poor; not only on this ſide, but even beyond, his grave. In ſhort, the more we compare the circumſtances in this *Hiſtorical* character, with thoſe in that *Poetical* one, we can find nothing diſcreditable in the latter, that has any relation to the former, or that would miſlead an ignorant reader to miſtake or confound them, but a little quibble, which makes ſome conformity in their names, and a ſhort degree in the time wherein the one did really, and the other is feigned to live. And, in regard to the Prince of Wales, or our Knight's being engaged in any wild or riotous practices of his youth, the improbabilities may alſo appear from the compariſon of their age, and a view of this Prince's commendable engagements [*C*], till that ſpace of time in which he indulged his interval of irregularaties,

(*k*) Caxton's Tully's Offices as hereafter more fully quoted.

[*C*] *The improbabilities may alſo appear from the compariſon of their age, and a view of the Prince's commendable engagements, &c.*] This Prince Henry, born in South Wales, 1388, was the eldeſt ſon of Henry of Bolingbroke, ſpoken of in the laſt note, afterwards King of England. During his father's exile in 1398, he was taken by Richard II. to Ireland, and impriſoned in the caſtle of Trim. He was afterwards ſome time a ſtudent in Queen's College in Oxford, under his half uncle (25), Henry Beaufort, who was that year Chancellor of the ſaid Univerſity. (26). Richard was depoſed; and the Prince's father, Henry IV. crowned in October, 1399, and, the Prince being arrived at the age of twelve years in 1400, had the ſucceſſion entailed on him in Parliament, was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwal, Earl of Cheſter, and ſoon after Duke of Aquitaine. From Oxford he was called to court, where Thomas Percy, Earl of Worceſter, was his governor, whoſe hoſtile attempts at the battle of Shrewſbury in July, 1403, coſt that diſloyal Earl his head (27), and this Prince Henry almoſt his life; who, confronting the Percies in battle, was wounded in the face with an arrow; but this badge of honour, and the overthrow of Henry Percy, by others called young Hotſpur, were hopeful tokens of his enſuing ſucceſs againſt Owen Glendour in Wales, whom he purſued to deſtruction, being then ſcarcely ſixteen: but, if he purſued Owen to his death on the Welch mountains, it ſeems to have been beyond 1404, two or three years or more (28), yet before he was miſled to any libertine courſes (however, on the ſtage, he is improbably repreſented in the height of them before he was fifteen), and after Faſtolff was engaged in the ſervice of Prince Henry's brother, Thomas of Lancaſter, afterwards Duke of Clarence. Falſtaff, in the play, appears to have been in the battle of Shrewſbury with Prince Henry; but Faſtolff, in hiſtory, appears not there; being probably in Ireland with, or by the appointment of, the ſaid Thomas of Lancaſter, from his firſt going Lord Lieutenant thither; where our Knight ſhould then appear, in order to make out the forty years ſervice of Sir John Faſtolff, in France and other countries, as Caxton has above declared; and we compute, by the time that Prince Henry had appeaſed the tumults in Wales, and diſturbances in other countries, ſo as to be ſettled in any tolerable quiet or tranquillity at home, Faſtolff was married and ſettled in Ireland: ſoon after which, it muſt be allowed, that he was ſent by King Henry into France, to anſwer the thirty years, and more, he expreſſes himſelf above to have reſided in that kingdom. The interval between Faſtolff's marriage in 1408, or departure to France, and the King's death in England, 1412, is the only room we can ſee for the Prince's diſorderly excurſions; for, it was not before he was of years beyond the command of tutors (29), however in the play he may appear in the midſt of them, before the battle of Shrewſbury; ſo that we ſee as little vacancy for our Faſtolff's being a partaker of them, in hiſtory or chronology, as there was probability he ſhould then, or any other time, be ſuch, in his more ſolid age and diſpoſition. He was at leaſt ten or eleven years older than the Prince; old enough to diſreliſh his youthful extravagances; yet no ſuch diſparity in their age as that he could be properly repreſented by the old, grey-headed, unwieldy buffoon and debauchee, who appears ſuch a ſubject of deriſion on the ſtage. If Faſtolff had ever been a corrupter of the Prince, King Henry would never have preferred him to any poſts of honour or truſt; nor would the Prince himſelf, when he came reclaimed to the crown, have advanced him ſtill higher; but have diſcarded him with a ſum of money, or ſtipend, as he did the libertines and paraſites who had ſoothed him in his vices. His frolicks of robbing, in company with them, his own ſtewards of his own money, and making them amends at the foot of their accounts (30); his attempt to reſcue one of his accomplices, whether Bardolf, or any other, in the Court of King's Bench, from

(25) Vita Henrici Beaufort, Cardinalis.

(26) J. Le Neve's Faſti Eccl. Angl. fol. 1716, p. 442.

(27) Ypodigm. Neuſtriæ, p. 559.

(28) Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain, edit. fol. 1623, p. 776. ad ann. 1407.

(29) Sandford, fol. 278.

(30) Titi Livii Foro-Julienſis, Vita Henrici Quinti, 8vo. 1716; and John Speed, p. 731.

ties, when the distance of our Knight will clear him from being a promoter of, or partaker in, them. For, it is apparent, that he had been entrusted with a command in

from the course of the law, and rashly striking the Chief Justice, Sir William Gascoyne, on the bench, for which he suffered imprisonment (31), were actions countenanced by men of other principles, disposition, and conduct, than Fastolff. But there are so many other disagreements, which remove all similitude between them, that the honours of the real Knight cannot be affected by the humours of the fictitious one. That commitment, by the said judge, of Falstaff to the Fleet-prison in the play (32), was when Fastolff, in history, had manifestly been a good while in France. In the play, Falstaff is a man of mean, necessitous, shifting circumstances throughout; Fastolff, in record, was richly possessed of lands and estates in several places from his youth. Falstaff, in the Poet's account, was near threescore before the battle of Shrewsbury (33); Fastolff, in history, not above twenty-six. The theatrical Falstaff ends his life soon after his princely companion ascends the throne, and before he goes into France (34), but the historical Fastolff demonstratively survived that King Henry V. no less than thirty-seven years. As to its being said of the one, that he was a Page to the Duke of Norfolk (35), as we have before read, that the other was also trained up in the Norfolk family, there is nothing but what was reputable in that, since, in those times, it was the custom for Lords and Dukes themselves to be so trained: nor does this seem a foundation so premeditated, so personally pointed at our Knight, so deeply or widely laid, as to intend the fixing a credit in so many false circumstances upon one that may be true; since it was probably, and might be as truly said of Oldcastle as Fastolff: for, the Poet first drew the character of his Sir John Falstaff in Sir John Oldcastle's name; but being thereby thought to have displeased some descendants, or at least made too free with such an early and eminent instrument, or advancer of, and sufferer for, our reformation, the Poet was obliged to change the name, from one that might have well enough implied the *old battered* bravo we see represented, to one that might as well express other parts of the same character, by a *staff* that was *false* in its soundness, or strength for support, and as little to be relied, or depended on, as a broken reed. Then, our Fastolf appearing conspicuous, though dispersedly, in the old histories of that Prince's time, yet through the want of distinct revival, being become much unknown to common fame in the Poet's days, might readily hint such an easy variation, or transposition of the letters in his name, as would answer that purpose; but nothing in all his story, that we have met with, could hint the character. That such change of those famous names in history, or substitution of one for the other, was made by the Poet, we may be satisfied from his own words; where he says, 'If you be not too much 'cloyed with fat meat, our humble author will con-'tinue the story with Sir John in it, and make you 'merry with fair Catharine of France; where, for 'any thing I know, Falstaff shall die of a sweat, un-'less already he be killed with your hard opinions; 'for, Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the 'man (36).' And yet the freedom thought by some grave writers to have been taken with both, has given them offence, notwithstanding that Sir John's name in the play is not, according to the strictness of the letter, to be found in history. 'The Comedian,' says one author, 'is not excusable by some alteration 'of his name, seeing the vicinity of sounds intrenches 'on the memory of that worthy Knight; and few do 'heed the inconsiderable difference in spelling their 'names (37).' Then, in regard to the substitution of one person for the other, he says in one place, 'Stage Poets have themselves been very bold with, 'and others very merry at, the memory of Sir John 'Oldcastle; whom they have fancied a boon com-'panion, a jovial royster, and yet a coward to boot; 'contrary to the credit of all chronicles, owning him 'a martial man of merit. The best is, Sir John 'Falstaff hath relieved the memory of Sir John Old-'castle, and of late is substituted buffoon in his place; 'but it matters as little what petulant Poets as what 'malicious Papists have written against him (38).' In another place, the same author again has these words of Sir John Fastolff: 'To avouch him by many argu-'ments valiant is to maintain that the sun is bright; 'though since the stage have been over-bold with his 'memory, making him a thrasonical puff and em-'blem of mock-valour. True it is, Sir John Old-'castle was the make-sport in all plays for a coward. 'It is easily known out of what purse this black penny 'came; the Papists railing on him for a heretic (39), 'and therefore he must also be a coward; though in-'deed a man of arms every inch of him, and as vali-'ant as any in his age. Now as I am glad that Sir 'John Oldcastle is put out, so I am sorry that Sir 'John Fastolff is put in, to relieve his memory, in 'this base service to be the anvil for every dull wit to 'strike upon (40).' But as other Dramatists before Shakespeare had made free with Oldcastle, they ought to bear the first blame, and a larger share of it, as they had taken greater liberties, though with less wit. For, there was a play of Henry the Vth before Shakespeare's, in which Oldcastle is in the gang of robbers with the Prince (41); but there is a scene in which the Prince strikes the Judge a box on the ear, whereas in Shakespeare, this action is more modestly sunk into a narrative. Then afterwards, as the same character serves, if you will, for Fallolff, as well as it did for Oldcastle, this shews there was no particular satire intended by him upon one or the other. Mr. Rowe, who first published Shakespeare in a small edition, inclines to think him somewhat to blame, in this his second choice of personating our Knight, Sir John Fastolff, being a name of distinguished merit in the wars of France, &c. (42), though he afterwards found some colourable pretext for excusing him from the misconstruction of a much-commended retreat he made to the preservation of his army, as will be hereafter related: and a later author yet has, by some strong reflections upon Shakespeare's picture of Falstaff, taken the notion also, that our Knight was directly designed to be exposed therein, where he instances that 'as of old the reputation of Socrates was 'in his life-time sullied by Aristophanes, in per-'sonating him on the stage; so the memory of our 'hero had, in this last age, met with the same hard 'fate by interludes in plays (43);' yet, a little farther, he owns that Shakespeare cannot be charged with any premeditated spleen against the memory of our Knight, when he composed his Comedies, as he substituted Sir John Fastolff for Sir John Oldcastle, which might be done at random, since his first design was evidently no more than to entertain the theatre with a fat, amorous, vain, cowardly, drunken, old fellow, the corrupter of Henry V. while Prince, as the subject of mirth and ridicule: 'and it must be 'confessed, that he has performed his design with in-'comparable wit, and inimitable humour, which have 'made such lasting impressions on the generality of 'spectators, that they have been induced or bewitched 'into a belief that this drollery was a piece of true 'history (44).' We might produce some grave poetry also, written by authors on this subject, who entertained the same opinion. But as we have elsewhere quoted some of it from an historical poem in MS. we shall here only add part of two other stanzas from the same, where, though scandal is believed, in this stage-mirth, to pursue the steps of honour, yet if truth may settle our opinion, we may be satisfied,

——howe'er the heaps
May crowd, in hungry expectation all,
To the sweet *Nugilogues* of *Jack* and *Hal* (45).

And a little farther, after having said what may suffice to do right to our hero, let the guilt fall where it may, since the election made by Henry of his officers and ministers was unquestionable; and judge-

(31) Sir Thomas Elyot's Book named the Governour, 8vo. 1553. Sir Francis Biondi's Civil Wars of England, fol. 1646. Edward Leigh's Choice Observat. of the Kings of Eng. 8vo. 1661, p. 125; and The British Librarian, 8vo. 1738, p. 267.

(32) Shakespeare's Second Part of King Henry IV. Act & Scen. ult.

(33) First Part of King Hen. IV. Act 2, Scene 3.

(34) Henry V. Act 2. Scene 3.

(35) Second Part of Henry IV. Act 3. Scen. 3.

(36) Shakespeare's Epilogue to the Second Part of Henry IV.

(37) Dr. Fuller's Worthies of England, in Norfolk.

(38) Fuller's Ch. Hist. Cent. XV. An. 1414. See also Speed's Hist. p. 804.

(39) See Tho. of Walsingham. Also Father Parsons, in his Three Conversions of England, Vol. II. 8vo. 1604. And his Review of X Disputations printed the same year.

(40) Fuller's Worthies, as before.

(41) See Mr. Theobald's Notes on Shakespeare, Vol. III. 8vo, 1733, p. 148, &c.

(42) Shakespeare's Works, by N. Rowe, Esq. 8vo, 1709, in his Life of the author, p. 9.

(43) Mr. Anstis, in his Memoirs of Sir John Fastolff, in The Order of the Garter, as before, p. 131.

(44) Ib. p. 133.

(45) Two Yorkshire Tragedies. The several Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V. MS. 8vo, 1649. in Hen. V. Stanza 138.

command in France ſome time before the death of king Henry IV; becauſe, in 1413, the very firſt year of his ſon, who was now grown the reformed, and ſoon after proved the renowned, Henry V; it appears that Faſtolff had the caſtle and dominion of Veires in Gaſcoigne committed to his cuſtody and defence (*l*): whence it is very reaſonably inferred, that he then reſided in the ſaid duchy, which at that time was poſſeſſed by the Engliſh. In June, 1415, Faſtolff, then only an Eſquire, was returned, by indenture, with ten men of arms, and thirty archers, to ſerve the King at his arrival in France (*m*). Soon after king Henry was arrived in Normandy, in Auguſt following, with above 30,000 men (*n*), the Engliſh army having made themſelves maſters of Harfleur, the moſt conſiderable port in that duchy, Faſtolff was conſtituted Lieutenant thereof, with 1500 men, by the Earl of Derby, as one hiſtorian informs us (*o*); but, as we

(*l*) Inter Collect. Rymer, ad finem Vol. XVII.

(*m*) Rymer, Vol. IX. p. 270.

(*n*) Monſtrelet, and Juvenal des Urſins.

(*o*) Liber de Actis Armorum & Conqueſtûs Regni Franciæ, &c. compilatus ad nobilem virum, Joh. Faſtolff, baronem de Cilly guillum vel Cylly quotem, 1459, per Pet. Baſſet, Armig. MS. in Officio Armorum.

judgment ſecured the honours he conferred as well as the glory he acquired,

> Then, from his bounty, blot out what may riſe,
> Of comic mirth, to Faſtolff's prejudice (46).

(46) Id. Stanza 140.

But, perhaps, it has not been cautiouſly enough conſidered, whether there may not be ſome inadvertency in theſe applications? whether diſcredit may not be appropriated thereby, where it was never deſigned? Could it be ſuppoſed that Shakſpeare's natural candour and impartiality in other characters had been warped in this, by any intereſt in, or reſpect towards, the Shrewſbury family, on account of ſome antiquated emulation or difference between John Lord Talbot, the moſt renowned anceſtor of that family, and Sir John Faſtolff in France; a man of that Poet's incomparable abilities could have made a *ſubſtantial ſatire* of it; could have burleſqued Faſtolff, as well as any body elſe, out of hiſtory, and transformed ſome incidents, really graceful, into a character no leſs groteſque. But upon whom does the horſing of a dead corpſon Falſtaff's back reflect (47)? whoſe honour ſuffers, in his being forced by the unexpected ſurpriſe of his armed plunderers to ſurrender his treaſure (48)? whoſe policy is impeached by his creeping into a bucking-baſket to avoid the ſtorms of a jealous huſband (49)? whoſe reputation ſuffers by his being buffeted in the diſguiſe of an old witch, or fortune-teller, of Brentford (50)? or whoſe valour is to be called in queſtion, becauſe he cannot avoid being tormented by a ſwarm of little fairies in Windſor-foreſt (51)? If the good name of Faſtolff, or any other man of honour, had ever been maliciouſly doomed to be ſacrificed to durable diſgrace or expoſure, in the character of Falſtaff, it would have been founded upon ſome important, ſome ſignificant tranſactions, ſome inſtances of flagitious and irreputable miſconduct, not ſuch odd, droll, inconſiderable, circumſtances as theſe, the harmleſs iſſue of pleaſant wit and humour, or delightful union of nature and fancy; all ſo viſibly deviſed of the comic ſtrain, ſo deſigned only for innocent merriment and diverſion, without any perſonal reflection on this great man, or any other, that we believe there is no real character to be read of in all *hiſtory*, that can be juſtly diſparaged by any application, diſcernibly intended, of this imaginary one in *poetry*. But if, after this, ſucceeding readers or ſpectators, whether Antiquaries, Heralds, Hiſtorians, or Poets, will indulge the like auſterity with ſome of their predeceſſors, will ſtill captiouſly conceive that character to have been directly levelled at this Knight, and ſtill, with more rigour than candour, equity, or reaſon, poſſeſs themſelves, that any ſterling coin, or plate of the true ſtandard, was ever meant to be any way forged, or imitated, by a piece of metal of the moſt diſſimilar mixture or allay; which, neither in weight or colour, form, ſtamp, or inſcription, bears any reſemblance; which pretends not to uſurp ſo much as the very name, but only borders upon it: if any, I ſay, will cheriſh their credulity ſo far as this, and the Falſtaff of the Comedians muſt be ſtill taken for the Faſtolff of Chronologiſts, inſtead of exclaiming ſeriouſly, or with ſober ſadneſs in hiſtory, againſt the *poetical injury*, let a reparation be made by *poetical juſtice*; and, for the falſe character impoſed under the name of Falſtaff, let the real one appear, in the valiant and vigilant, truſty and incorruptible, politic and prudent, temperate and continent, Sir John Faſtolff; in the brave and experienced ſoldier, the wiſe and able ſtateſman, the ſteady patriot, the generous patron, and the pious benefactor. It would be a labour that might ſurely well reward itſelf, were it judiciouſly executed, to produce a rich and ſolid figure, of ſuch an original, as might put all copies out of countenance; of ſuch native brightneſs, as would eclipſe all feigned luſtre, or detrimental efficacy in any effigial counterfeit; and ſublimely to eſſay, whether the fictitious Falſtaff of Shakſpeare, ſo admirably figured out by art, like Spenſer's falſe Florimel, ſo artfully imaged out of ſnow, would ſhrink and diſſolve away at the preſence of the true one (52). But, whether it be ever effected or not, we may ſafely let the name of Falſtaff preſerve its corruption, without impairing Faſtolff's merit, as the name of Epicurus, though diſtorted to ſignify voluptuous gormandry and carnal delight, yet injured not the man among the the wiſeſt philoſophers: we may let ſign-painters draw the picture of Sir John Falſtaff before the doors of drinking-houſes, but, if Faſtolff's reputation ſuffers, it muſt be in nobler company; and if the biographers of highwaymen make Falſtaff the Captain-General of them, which cannot in juſtice be done without diſplacing his gallant prince, even any hiſtorical highwayman cannot rob Faſtolff of the honours, due to his long, toilſome, and ſignal, ſervices. For a concluſion of this long diſcuſſion, ſuffice it to refer our readers to Mr. Steevens's note on the beginning of Shakſpeare's Henry V. in which he ſhews that a play on the ſubject of Oldcaſtle was written before Shakſpeare's time, deſpicable, and full of ribaldry and impiety from the firſt ſcene to the laſt. Shakſpeare ſeems to have taken not a few hints from it; for, it comprehends in ſome meaſure the ſtory of the two parts of Henry IV. as well as of Henry V.; and no ignorance could debaſe the gold of Shakſpeare into ſuch droſs, though no chemiſtry but that of Shakſpeare could exalt ſuch baſe metal into gold. When the Prince of Wales calls Falſtaff *my old lad of the caſtle*, it is probably but a ſneering alluſion to the deſerved fate which this performance met with; for, there is no proof that our poet was ever obliged to change the name of Oldcaſtle into that of Falſtaff, though there is an abſolute certainty that this piece muſt have been condemned by any audience before whom it was ever repreſented.

(47) Firſt Part of Hen. IV. Act 5, Scene 4.

(48) Id. Act. 2, Scene 4.

(49) Merry Wives of Windſor.

(50) Idem.

(51) Idem.

(52) Spenſer's Fairy Queen, B. iii. Canto 8, &c.

Mr. Drake, in his "Account of ſome Diſcoveries "in the Church of Brotherton, in Yorkſhire (53)," has introduced Sir John Faſtolff, and entered into a diſquiſition concerning the manner in which he has been treated by Shakſpeare. It is Mr. Drake's opinion that there was ſomething defective in his military character, and that he did not do his duty at the battle of Patay. In confirmation of this charge he produces what he deems a proof of the odium in which Sir John Faſtolff was held at that time, but can only prove the fineſſe and art of a rebel commander to blacken his ſovereign's loyal ſubject. This, and the ſtory of Monſtrelet about his being degraded from the order of the garter, is all that Mr. Drake offers, in juſtification of the poet, for painting him in the infamous colours he has done in his hiſtorical plays. At the ſame time Mr. Drake gives all due credit to the evidence to the *contrary* from the regiſters of the Order. He obſerves, that in the chapter of Aſhmole, which treats particularly of degradation, though he has mentioned all who ſuffered that indignity, he takes not the leaſt notice of Sir John's having incurred a ſimilar infamy, which he certainly would have done, had he met with any foundation in hiſtory for ſuch an aſſertion. It is farther remarked by Mr. Drake, that the ſtyle which Archbiſhop Bourchier uſes towards the Knight is moſt reſpectful, and can only be applicable to the pureſt and moſt illuſtrious of characters (54).

(53) Archæologia, Vol. IX. p. 261—267.

(54) See his letter to him among the Paſton Letters, Vol. I. p. 124.

find it in others, the King, upon this conqueſt, conſtituted his ſaid uncle Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorſet and Duke of Exeter, Governor of Harfleur, in conjunction with Sir John Faſtolff, and, having repaired the fortifications, placed therein a garriſon of two thouſand ſelect men, as Titus Livius numbers them; or of fifteen hundred men at arms, and thirty-five knights, according to Hall's account; to which number one of the French hiſtorians alſo adds a thouſand archers (*p*). Towards the latter end of October, in the year laſt mentioned, he was dangerouſly engaged in the ever-memorable battle of Agincourt, where the Engliſh, under their heroic monarch, obtained one of the moſt glorious victories upon record throughout their annals. And there it is ſaid that Faſtolff, among others, ſignalized himſelf moſt gallantly by taking the duke of Alençon priſoner (*q*); though other hiſtorians ſay that duke was ſlain after a deſperate encounter with king Henry himſelf, in which he cut off the crowned creſt of the king's helmet (*r*). The fact is, that, in a ſucceeding battle, Faſtolff did take this duke's ſon and ſucceſſor priſoner [*D*]. In the ſame year, 1415, he, with the duke and 3000 Engliſh, invaded Normandy, and penetrated almoſt to Rouen; but on their return, loaded with booty, they were ſurpriſed and forced to retreat towards Harfleur, whither the enemy purſuing them were totally defeated. The Conſtable of France, to recover his credit, laid ſiege to Harfleur, which made a vigorous defence under Sir John Faſtolff and others till relieved by the fleet under the duke of Bedford. He was at the taking of the caſtle of Tonque, the city of Caen, the caſtle of Courcy, the city of Sees, and town of Falaiſe, and at the great ſiege at Rouen, 1417. For his ſervices at the latter he was made governor of Conde Noreau (*s*); and for his eminent ſervices in thoſe victories, he received, before the 29th of January following, the honour of knighthood, and had the manor and demeſne of Fritenſe near Harfleur beſtowed upon him during life (*t*). In the year 1418, he was ordered to ſeize upon the caſtle and dominion of Bec Creſpin, and other manors, which were held by James D'Aucher, and ſeveral other knights; and had the ſaid caſtle, with thoſe lands, granted him in ſpecial tail (*u*), to the yearly value of 2000 ſcutes (*w*). In 1420 he was at the ſiege of Monſterau, as Peter Baſſet has recorded; and, in the next year, at that of Meaulx-en-Brie. About five months after the deceaſe of king Henry V. the town of Meulent having been ſurprized in January, 1422, John Duke of Bedford Regent of France, and Sir John Faſtolff then Grand Maſter of his Houſehold, and Seneſchal of Normandy, laid ſiege to the ſame, and re-took it. In 1423, after the caſtle of Cravent was relieved, our knight was conſtituted Lieutenant for the King and Regent in Normandy, in the juriſdictions of Rouen, Evreux, Alençon, and the countries beyond the river Seine: alſo Governor of the countries of Anjou and Maine, and before the battle of Verneuil was created Banneret (*x*). About three months after, being then Captain of Alençon, and governor of the marches thereof, he laid ſiege to the caſtle of Tenuye in Maine, as a French hiſtorian informs us (*y*), which was ſurrendered to him; and, in

(*p*) See T. Goodwin's Hiſt. of the Reign of Henry V, king of England, fol. 1704, p. 72. from T. Livius, Pol. Vergil, Edw Hall, and Monſtrelet.

(*q*) MS. penes J. Anſtis, arm. p. 235.

(*r*) Paradine, Monſtrelet, p. 231. T. Goodwin, Speed, p. 769.

(*s*) Hall's Chron. Henry V fol. 26. a. Blomefield's Norfolk, Vol. I. p. 348.

(*t*) Rymer, Vol. IX. p. 329.

(*u*) Rot. Norman. 6 Hen. V. m. 36. m. 40.

(*w*) A gold coin, called by the French 'Eſcue d'Or,' from the Latin word *ſcutum*, a ſhield, valued at 3s. 4d. See Judge Forteſcue De Laud. Legum Angliæ, p. 118. alſo his Difference between an abſolute and limited monarchy, p. 21.

(*x*) Mr. Anſtis, in the Regiſt. of the Garter, as before, fol. 137.

(*y*) Chartier, en l'Hiſt. de Charles VII. p. 9.

[*D*] *Did take this duke's ſon and ſucceſſor priſoner.*] John II. duke of Alençon, ſon of him who was ſlain at Agincourt, was born in 1409, and taken priſoner at the battle of Verneuil in 1424. He was detained a priſoner three years, but releaſed at the interceſſion of the duke of Burgundy, on paying a ranſom of 200,000 crowns. He was afterwards convicted of treaſon towards his own ſovereign, and died in priſon, 1476. Sir John, in a letter dated Feb. 5, 1455, ſays, there was "due to the lord Willoughby and to "him 10,000 marks (6666l. 13s. 4d.) for a reward "to be paid of my lord Bedford's goods for the taking of Alençon. And the ſaid lord Willoughby "had but one thouſand marks (666l. 13s. 4d.) paid, "and I one thouſand marks, ſo 8000 remaineth "yet to pay," &c. It may be ſuppoſed that the ranſom was paid into the duke of Bedford's hand as commander in chief, and that in that character he was entitled to a conſiderable ſhare of it, though it appears from this account that he had detained moſt of it, for even now, at the diſtance of twenty years from his death, the lord Willoughby and Sir John Faſtolff had received only 1000 marks each. See Sir John Fenn's Original Letters of the Paſton family, Letter XXVIII. vol. I. pp. 120—125. In the account of moneys due from the King to Sir John, Ibid. III. 267, it is ſtated that 4000 marks (2666l. 13s. 4d.) were owing to him; and from the duke of Bedford's eſtate, for various loans and charges of keeping caſtles and parks, 4599 marks. It appears that Faſtolff purchaſed the manor of Weſt Thurrock in Eſſex, and ſold it to the duke of Bedford, in 1420 or 1429, for 300 marks, Ibid. IV. 29. We are elſewhere informed, the Duke of Bar was taken by him; and yet that could not be in the battle of Agincourt; for, we find that, among the French Princes and Lords who fell in ſuch numbers there, Edward Duke of Bar, and John his brother, were both ſlain in the field (55). There was another Duke of Bar, who, after the ſiege of Orleans, appears to have brought ſuccours to Charles VII. the young King of France (56); and this might be the priſoner meant by Drayton, in his grave hiſtorical work, though written in antient Engliſh verſe, where he is characterizing our old hardy warriors in the conqueſt of France, &c. and, having briefly deſcribed the bravery of that ſtout Sir Philip Hall (57), who regained Crotoy, and obtained ſuch an admirable victory over the proud Clermont, he makes this compariſon:

(55) Goodwin's Hiſt. of Hen. V, fol. 91.

(56) Father Daniel's Hiſtory of France, Vol. II. 8vo. 1726, p. 431.

(57) Of Sir Philip Helle at the ſuccour of the Engliſh with Sir John Faſtolff at Orleans. See Stow's Annals, fol. edit. p. 369.

— — — — — — — — — — — — — —

Strong Faſtolff with this man compare we may;
By Sal'ſbury who, oft being ſeriouſly employ'd,
In many a brave attempt, the gen'ral foe annoy'd
With excellent ſucceſs in Maine, and Anjou fought,
And many a bulwark there into our keeping brought;
And choſen to go forth with Vaudemont in war,
Moſt reſolutely took proud Renate Duke of Barre (58).

(58) Poly-Olbion, ſong xviii. See alſo, Pol. Vergil; and Speed's Hiſt. p. 837, of his Duke.

He took alſo one Guill'm Ramond (perhaps the governor of the caſtle of Pacy, which Sir John took 1423), who was ranſomed, and agreed to pay him for his ranſom 3200 ſaluts (59), but without his knowledge or licence was taken from him by the duke of Bedford, and yielded to the king, with the town of Compeyn; and, after long ſuits to the king and council, was recompenſed but to the value of 1600 ſaluts in lands in Normandy, when they fortuned to fall into the king's hands, which lands he has alſo loſt to the value of 4000 marks, beſides the reſidue of the ranſom (60).

(59) A gold coin of Henry VI. current in France for 1l. 5s. Engliſh.

(60) Paſton Letters, Vol. III. p. 265.

1424,

1424, he was ſent to oppoſe the delivery of Alençon to the French, upon a diſcovery made that a Gaſcoigner (z) had ſecretly contracted to betray the ſame [E]. In September, 1425, he laid ſiege to Beaumont le Vicompt, which ſurrendered to him (a). Then alſo he took the caſtle of *Sillie-le-Guillem* [F], from which he was dignified with the title of Baron: but this, revolting afterwards again to the French, was aſſaulted by the Earl of Arundel (b), and retaken about ſeven years after. In the year laſt mentioned, our active warrior took alſo St. Ouen D'Eſtrais, near Laval, as likewiſe the caſtle of Gravelle, with other places of ſtrength, from the enemy; for which dangerous and indefatigable ſervice in France he was about the ſame time elected in England, with extraordinary deference to his merits, Knight Companion of the Order of the Garter [G]. In 1426, John Lord Talbot was appointed Governor of Anjou and Maine, and Sir John Faſtolff was removed to another place of command (c), which, in all probability, might be the foundation of that jealouſy, emulation, or competition, between them, which never was cordially reconciled. In October, 1428, he had a protection granted him, being then going into France (d); and there he performed an enterpriſe of ſuch bravery and conduct as is ſcarcely thought to have been paralleled in ancient or modern hiſtory (e). The Engliſh army, at the ſiege of Orleans, being in great want of proviſions, artillery, and other neceſſaries, Sir John Faſtolff, with ſome other approved commanders, was diſpatched for ſupplies, by William de la Pole Duke of Suffolk, to the Regent at Paris; who not only provided him plentifully therewith, but allowed him a ſtrong guard at his return, that he might convey the ſame ſafely to the ſiege. The French, knowing the importance of this ſuccour, united two armies of very ſuperior numbers and force to meet him; but, either in different encounters, or in a pitched battle, as the French themſelves allow, he totally overthrew them; ſlew greater numbers than he had under his command, not to mention the wounded and

(z) Holinſhed's Chron. p. 589.

(a) Peter Baſſet, as before.

(b) Hiſt. de Charles VII. p. 62.

(c) Holinſhed, p. 597.

(d) Rymer, Vol. X. p. 408.

(e) Mr. Anſtis, as before, in the Memoirs of Sir John Faſtolff, p. 138.

[E] *To betray the ſame.*] The treaty, made between the Lord Scales Mareſchal and Sir John Faſtolff, knt. Grand Maſter of the Duke of Bedford Regent of France, and Sir John Montgomery, Knight, Commiſſioners and Deputies, to reduce the county of Maine to the King's obedience of one part; and the captain's men of the fortreſs of Salle Leguille, dated 1ſt of October, 1424; and king Henry the Sixth, his commiſſion to them, dated 25 Auguſt, 1424; may be ſeen in a thin octavo book in the office of arms library, firſt preſs, uppermoſt ſhelf, wooden cover, fol. 55.

[F] *The caſtle of Sillie-le-Guillem.* The ſaid Faſtolff having the gift of the baronies and lordſhip of Sillie Guillem and Laſuze, in the county of Mayne, to him and his aſſigns for ever, the which were gotten by the ſaid Faſtolff, and no charge to the king for the value and number of 4000 ſaluts of yearly rent, he was commanded by the king's letter to deliver up the ſaid baronies and lordſhip to the king's commiſſioners; promiſing him by the king's commandment to be recompenſed therefore, as the ſaid Faſtolff hath to ſhew, and he not recompenſed nor rewarded nothing for the leaving of the ſaid baronies and lordſhip, to the damages of the ſaid Faſtolff of the ſum of 2500 marks.

[G] *About the ſame time elected Knight of the Garter.*] The Duke of Bedford did, before or after Sir John Faſtolff's election, in a very particular and perſuaſive manner, recommend to the Sovereign and other Knights of the Garter, the election of Sir John Radcliffe alſo into the ſaid order, for his martial valour and virtues, his long faithful and ſignal ſervices to his country; having 'exercyſed the armys, the ſpace of 'XXVIII wynters unreproched (61):' yet, upon the vacancy of a ſtall at Windſor, by the death of the Earl of Weſtmoreland, and a ſcrutiny made, on St. George's Eve, in the 4th of Henry VI. in which it was found, that Sir John Faſtolff, and Sir John Radcliffe, were not only nominated by a greater number before the other Knights of great merits, but by an equal number of votes, the ſaid Duke being then the King's deputy and preſident at that election, did of the two, though both, as he ſaid, were indeed undeniably deſerving of this honour, judge, Sir John Faſtolff to be moſt worthy of it; and, according to his authority, did declare him admitted into the place of the deceaſed (62), and Radcliffe was elected ſoon after upon another vacancy; which preference, to ſuch an extraordinary competitor, by ſuch an able and unblemiſhed, ſuch an honourable and unbiaſſed, judge, muſt imply very high deſerts, in the receiver then abroad, of that exalted honour. In the letter ſent by, or in the name of, King Henry VI. to Sir John Faſtolff, importing his election, there are theſe words:—'Conſide'rant, tans les bons, leaux, & honourable ſervices, 'que avez de pie cà faiz, en ſervice de noſtre tres 'redoute Seigneur & Pere, que Dieux aſſoille, & que 'faitez continuelement en noſtre; come pluſeurs 'autres deſertes d'onnour, que Dieuz a ſouffert eſtre 'en vous, en tollerant touſjours, comme bon & feal 'ſubject, les paines & travaulx de guerre, pour noſtre 'bon droit, & juſte querelle ſuſteiner, vous a eſleu un 'de noz compaignons du dit ordre (63) &c.' As much as to ſay, 'In conſideration of your good, loyal, 'and honourable ſervices, heretofore performed, to 'our moſt redoubted Lord and Father, whom God 'abſolve, and which you are inceſſantly exerciſing 'under us; as well as for other deſerts of honour, 'wherewith God hath endowed you, and diſpoſed 'you, ſo conſtantly upon all occaſions, like a true and 'faithful ſubject, to endure the pains and toils of war, 'in ſupport of our full right and juſt quarrel; we 'have elected you one of our companions of the ſaid 'order, &c.' A commiſſion was alſo iſſued to the Earls of Warwick, Saliſbury, and Suffolk, to receive Sir John's oath, and to inveſt him with the Garter; farther directing, that he ſhould, with all convenient diſpatch, ſend over his helmet and ſword, to be hung up in the chapel at Windſor; and depute an honourable Knight, of untainted character, to take poſſeſſion of his ſtall (64). Accordingly the deputation of Sir John Faſtolff, to Sir Henry Inghouſe, and Sir William Breton, appointing them jointly and ſeparately his proctors, to take poſſeſſion of his ſtall; to offer his mantle, helmet, and ſword; and to take the oath required by the ſtatutes; as it was written in French, and dated from Lancone, the 3d of February, was ſent to them, and is alſo preſerved (65). And the Royal Commiſſion, directed to Sir John Robeſſart, one of the Knights Companions of the Order, for the inſtallation of him, by Sir Henry Inghouſe, one of the ſaid Proctors, is dated from the King's caſtle of Wallingford, the 25th of February, 1426, and in the 5th year of the ſaid King Henry VI. wherein to the character given again of Sir John, much in the tenor of the former, there is the addition made, of his great ſenſe, courage, and experience in arms (66). According to the tenor of theſe inſtruments (67), he was elected at the next inſtallation; and theſe are honourable teſtimonies of his perſonal qualifications and virtues; and of his fortitude, and merit in public ſervices (68).

(61) See the Duke of Bedford's Preſentation of Sir J. Radcliffe, in Aſhmole's Inſtitut. &c. of the Order of the Garter, p. 269.

(62) Acta ſub Ann. Quarto Henrici Sexti, in Mr. Anſtis's Regiſter of the Garter, called, The Black Book, Vol. II. p. 96.

(63) Aſhmole's Order of the Garter in the Appendix, No. 21.

(64) Id. No. 22.

(65) Id. No. 50.

(66) Id. No. 51.

(67) Contained in the Regiſtr. Chartac.

(68) Mr. Anſtis's Regiſter of the Garter, in Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Faſtolff, p. 132.

the

the priſoners; and conducted his convoy ſafe to the Engliſh camp. And becauſe it was in the time of Lent, and he had, among his other proviſion, ſeveral of his carriages laden with many barrels of herrings, which he applied to form a fortification, the French have ever ſince called this victory "The Battle of Herrings [*H*]." But that the fortune of war is precarious, our Knight was a witneſs; who found it as neceſſary in his next adventure to exerciſe his conduct as in the laſt his courage. For, ſoon after, the Engliſh army was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans; though they received recruits from the Duke of Bedford, they were in no degree ſtrong enough to encounter the French army at Patay. At the battle which happened there in June, 1429, many of the Engliſh, who were of moſt experienced and approved valour, ſeeing themſelves ſo unequal, and the onſet of the French ſo unexpected, that nothing but inevitable

[*H*] *The Battle of Herrings.*] This battle is famous in hiſtory. Father Daniel, after having recorded the death of that valiant Thomas Montague, Earl of Saliſbury, who began the ſiege of Orleans; and mentioned the other Engliſh Commanders, of greateſt diſtinction who lay before that town; ſuch as the Earl of Suffolk, the Lords Talbot and Scales; Faſtolff, and *Glacidas*, as he is called (69), whoſe merits, ſupplying the place of his birth, had raiſed him to the higheſt offices of command in the army; proceeds to obſerve that by reaſon of the diſcontinued, or partial circumvallation, which the Engliſh had made about that town, the French were encouraged to ſteal their troops into it; and that this gave occaſion to a conſiderable action: 'For, the 'Count de Clermont, having got a body of troops at 'Blois, to guard a convoy to Orleans, had information that Faſtolff was upon the road, conducting 'proviſions from Paris to the camp. He gave notice of it to the Count de Dunois, and deſired him 'to make a ſally out of Orleans, and carry off that 'convoy. The Count de Dunois came out accordingly with his horſe, paſſed the forts, and joined 'Count de Clermont's army at Jenville; and their 'troops, thus joined, amounted to four thouſand 'men. On the 12th of February, they ſet forward to 'meet Faſtolff, and came up with him, and he ranged 'his troops behind his carriages. The French immediately fell upon them with their cannon, and, if they 'had continued in that manner to ſhatter in pieces 'their waggons, which ſerved as entrenchments, they 'had been infallibly loſt; but the impatience of John 'Stuart, Conſtable of Scotland, and his brother William, was the cauſe of the ill ſucceſs that happened. 'They cried out, that it was now time to give battle, 'and lighting from their horſes, with the Scotchmen 'under their command, they marched up to the breach. 'The French were obliged to follow them; but, the 'Engliſh archers having ſuffered them to draw near, 'made their diſcharge upon them at a ſmall diſtance, 'and cut off moſt of them who were placed in the 'firſt ranks. Faſtolff, at the ſame time, having ordered ſome of his battalions to advance with their 'ſwords and axes in hand, forced their aſſailants to 'retire. The horſe, which were to have ſuſtained the 'attack, inſtead of keeping their ground, when they 'ſaw the foot give way, betook themſelves to flight, 'and the Engliſh, purſuing, utterly routed them. There 'were five or ſix hundred French and Scots left upon 'the field; the two Stuarts ſuffered the puniſhment 'of their imprudence, and were ſlain, with ſeveral 'other Lords and Gentlemen. The Count de Dunois 'was dangerouſly wounded: however, he got together the remains of his routed army, and re-entered 'Orleans, by paſſing between the intermediate forts, 'which had been built by the Engliſh. His arrival 'a little recovered the townſmen from the conſternation they were in upon the news of this overthrow, 'which the beſiegers had mightily augmented. This 'engagement was called, "The Battle of the Herrings;" becauſe, among the proviſions which Faſtolff 'was carrying to the camp, there were a great many 'barrels of herrings (70).' One of the old French Hiſtorians makes the number of the ſlain much ſmaller. By this author we are informed, that Faſtolff in his return with his ſaid convoy from Paris to Orleans, was met near Janville and encountered by the Duke of Bourbon, and his army, which was much more numerous than the Engliſh. There they had very many and deſperate ſkirmiſhes. Stuart, the Conſtable of Scotland, and the Sieur D'Orval were killed, and about two hundred men in their company: then Faſtolff and his troops proceeded on their march to Orleans (71). This laſt account, however, may very well be reconciled with the other before quoted, which reckons their loſs at five or ſix hundred men, and even with that here under recited, which computes the ſaid loſs at near three times this number; if we but underſtand that the leſs number which fell, was meant to have been in the particular regiments of Stuart and D'Orval only, the other, of the whole French and Scotch army in general. But there is a more diſtinct hiſtory of theſe times, compiled by one who was then alive; was preſent at moſt of the important occurrences in them, and had greater advantages of knowing the truth of this action than any others who have written of it. This was Peter Baſſet, ſome time gentleman of the bed-chamber to King Henry V, (72), who in his ſaid hiſtory, which was never printed, written alſo in French, though with a Latin title, has been much more accurate in ſome circumſtances of this engagement than the reſt. He agrees, it was in the time of Lent that this convoy was ſo reſolutely defended by Faſtolff through the French army to the Engliſh camp; which accounts for the great quantities of fiſh there were among the other proviſions in it: that Sir Thomas Rampſton with his ſoldiers were alſo joined to him in this charge, and likewiſe Sir Simon Morheir, Provoſt of Paris, with his band of croſs-bows, and a party of the Regent's houſehold-troops; but that, in all, they were not more than fifteen hundred men of arms; and, when they were departed from Janville en Beauſſe, on a very froſty morning, towards the ſiege, and were arrived near Rouvroy, they diſcovered the enemy approaching to the number, as well French as Scots, of about nine or ten thouſand men; where, among other Lords and Nobles, were Charles the eldeſt ſon of the Duke of Bourbon, Sir William Stuart, &c. whereupon Faſtolff drew up his men in battle array, planted before the archers a paliſade, or entrenchment of ſharp-pointed ſtakes, to obſtruct the French cavalry from over-bearing them, and chained or bound all his loaded cars and carriages of proviſions and artillery together as a more ſubſtantial bulwark or incloſure againſt the cannon of the enemy; who, when they approached, were received with ſuch inceſſant and vigorous activity, that the French were totally defeated and diſperſed. Sir William Stuart and his brother, with abundance more, as well French as Scots, to the number of about twenty-five hundred, were left dead in the field, and not one Engliſhman of any diſtinction, or above the common rank, loſt life; but Faſtolff carried his troops, his proviſions, ammunition, &c. ſafe to the ſaid ſiege (73), and this battle has been very juſtly admired, no leſs for the extraordinary conduct of it, than its ſucceſs; it being almoſt incredible that fifteen hundred Engliſh, under the fatigue of a march, encumbered with the charge of a large quantity of proviſions, ſhould gain a complete victory over nine or ten thouſand of the enemy, who attacked them, under the conduct of the firſt perſons of diſtinction; and kill twenty-five hundred of them on the ſpot, without the loſs of a ſingle ſoldier of reputation (74).

(69) By Monſtrelet, Father Daniel, &c. who ſay, that Gen. Glacidas was killed at this ſiege, in 1429. But we know of no ſuch Engliſh name; nor could it be meant for Sir Thomas Gargrave, who was then alſo ſlain there; he being of an eminent family in Yorkſhire: but there was William Gladſdale, a Commander of great bravery, then likewiſe killed in defending a caſtle; whom we take to be this Glacidas. See Stow's Annals, fol. 370.

(70) Father Daniel's Hiſtory of France, Vol. II. anno 1429.

(71) Jean Chartier, Hiſt. de Charles VII. p. 17.

(72) Bale, Pits de Scriptoribus Angl. Tanner, Bibl. Brit. 79.

(73) Pet. Baſſet, MS. in Officio Armorum, before cited.

(74) Mr. Anſtis, Memoirs of Sir J. Faſtolff, p. 138.

ruin would be the conſequence of a raſh reſiſtance, and that all would be loſt, made the beſt retreat they could, and, among them who ſaved themſelves, as it is ſaid, was Sir John Faſtolff; who, with ſuch as could eſcape, retired to Corbeil (*f*); thus avoiding being killed, or, with the great Lord Talbot, Lord Hungerford, and Sir Thomas Rampſton, taken priſoner of war. Here the French tales, which ſome Engliſh Hiſtorians have inconſiderately credited, contradict or invalidate themſelves; for, after having made the Regent moſt improbably, and without any examination, or defence, diveſt Faſtolff of his honours [*I*], they no leſs ſuddenly reſtore him to them, for, as they phraſe it, 'apparent cauſes of good excuſe (*g*); though againſt the mind of the Lord 'Talbot;' between whom, there had been, it ſeems, ſome emulous conteſts, and, therefore, it is no wonder, that Faſtolff found him, upon this occaſion, an adverſary. It is not likely that the Regent ever conceived any diſpleaſure at this conduct, becauſe Faſtolff was not only continued in military and civil employments of the greateſt concern, but appears more in favour with the Regent after the battle of Patay than before. So that, rather than any diſhonour here can be allowed, the retreat itſelf, as it is told, muſt be doubted. It was but in 1430 that he preferred him to the Lieutenancy of Caen in Normandy (*b*). In 1432 he accompanied him into France, and was ſoon after ſent ambaſſador to the Council of Baſil, and choſen, in the like capacity, to negociate a final or temporary peace with France (*i*). And that year, Faſtolff, with the Lord Willoughby, commanded the army which aſſiſted the Duke of Bretagne againſt the Duke of Alençon (*k*). Soon after this he was, for a ſhort ſpace, in England; for, in 1433, going abroad again, he conſtituted John Faſtolff, of Olton, probably a

(*f*) Jean Charter's Hiſt. de Charles VII. p. 26; and Monſtrelet, Vol. II. p. 46.

(*g*) Edw. Hall's Chron. fol. 26. and Holinſhed, fol. 601.

(*b*) Huet. Origin. de Caen p. 50.

(*i*) Rymer, Vol. X. p. 525, 527. 530.

(*k*) Chartier, Hiſt. de Charles VII. p. 59.

[*I*] *Diveſt Faſtolff of his honours.*] However ſome of our hiſtorians have been unwarily miſled by French writers, this may certainly be accounted worthy of remembrance among thoſe retreats which have met with great applauſe from men of the greateſt military ſkill and experience (75). Leaders to a battle, often improve every ſtep they take according as circumſtances vary. The very motion of an army in different poſitions, or more advantageous places; the ſurprize of an enemy, diſappointed of ſuccours or ſupplies; the inequality of numbers that attack him, which may fall ſo heavy upon one part of the army, that the other cannot relieve it; the diſcovery of unexpected reſerves, ambuſcades, or new recruits, may furniſh a commander with good reaſons for new reſolutions that may reverſe his proceedings; ſo that even a haſty retreat may be more honourable than an obſtinate perſeverance to unavoidable ruin; and ſurely, in caſes of inevitable neceſſity, a General, whoſe courage is duly tempered with caution, will not hazard a general loſs without ſome apparent proſpect of advantage; but conclude, that, a prudent retreat will be more commendable than a diſhonourable overthrow. That this was the caſe here is evident, in that the Regent was ſo far from depriving Sir John Faſtolff of his George and Garter, before any examination, and reſtoring them after one, or any other way diminiſhing or degrading him of his honour, that he was continually to his death making additions to it; and, more frequently now, more ſignally, after this conduct at the Battle of Patay, in which the Engliſh had ſuch a vaſt inferiority of ſo many thouſand forces, than before. This were enough to clear his reputation, without any other argument; but, hear what an able judge of theſe matters has ſaid upon this occaſion.

(75) See Sir Walter Raleigh's Hiſt. of the World, lib. v. c. ii. ſect. 8. and Geo. Chapman's Dedic. of his Tranſlat. of Homer's Battle of the Frogs and Mice to the Earl of Somerſet: wherein he celebrates the brave and memorable retreat of Sir John Norris, before Ghent, with a thouſand men, through the whole Spaniſh army, under the Duke of Parma, for three miles together.

'A charge of ſo high a nature, and ſuch a ſevere animadverſion, ſhould have been vouched by authentick contemporary writers; and untill ſuch ſhall be produced, let us conſider what abſurd conſequences are neceſſarily implied in this cenſure; and whether theſe do not afford us reaſonable preſumptions to doubt the truth of this tradition: and here, to omit that the image of St. George was not, in all probability, a ſymbol of the Order in that age; and admitting that thoſe words of the later Hiſtorians ſhould be conſtrued only to mean that the Croſs of St. George, an enſign of it, was taken from him; it will be, however, confeſſed, that this Duke, then Regent of France, could not conſtitute nor inveſt any perſon with this order, though, by this action, if it ſhould be true, it muſt be allowed that he had an abſolute power to diveſt a companion, and that, without the knowledge of the ſovereign, or any concurrence of the other Knights; and, which is the more incredible, that he actually exerciſed this power upon an information only, without hearing or examining into the truth of the charge, or complaint; which ſeems not conſiſtent with the honour, generoſity, and exalted character of this Regent, who had the greateſt reverence for this Order (76), and was a moſt punctual obſerver of its ſtatutes (77), as appears from ſeveral circumſtances: and it is very ſurpriſing, that this moſt heroic Duke, who eſteemed himſelf limited and circumſcribed to the ſtatutes, in the caſe of the election of our knight, ſhould be on a leſs guard in depoſing him, and thereby caſting on him an indellible infamy, by a voluntary power not allowed by the ſtatutes then in being; for, the degradation of a Knight who ſhould fly from battle was an article firſt inſerted into the ſtatutes made by King Henry VIII. which too is there reſtrained: if it ſhould pleaſe the Sovereign and the Company in the next chapter.'

(76) In Regiſt. Arundel, apud Windſor, p. 90.

(77) Aſhmole's Hiſt. p. 269.

But taking it for granted, as the ſame author proceeds, 'that the Regent, upon the firſt repreſentation, 'ſhould have been ſo far warmed, as, under that impreſſion, to declare, that our Knight might in his 'opinion deſerve to be degraded for this his ſuppoſed 'demerit; or, in the higheſt extent, as theſe authors 'deliver it, the enſigns of the order were actually 'demanded and taken from him, yet this haſty pre-'poſſeſſion of the Regent cannot be conſtrued to be 'any diminution of the character of our knight, ſince 'theſe ſame hiſtorians inform us, that, after an exa-'mination of this charge, thoſe enſigns were reſtored 'him, as they word it, "for apparent cauſes of good ex-'cuſe, though againſt the mind of the Lord Talbot," 'who muſt have been a powerful adverſary. And 'though we have not the particulars of his vindica-'tion, or ſpecification of his conduct, yet ſuch an 'honourable acquittal, under theſe circumſtances, 'gives reaſonable grounds to preſume, that this ſud-'den accuſation had no pretence of foundation, but 'was a cauſeleſs defamation, and that his retiring 'was irreproachable. But it is the greateſt degree of 'evidence, that this Regent was fully convinced, and 'ſatisfied in the management of our Knight, in this 'critical nice juncture, in that he afterwards con-'tinued to employ him in military and civil adminiſ-'trations of the higheſt importance, &c.' (78) as we have inſtanced by many examples in the text above, which ſufficiently prove, that he never could have been preferred to thoſe honourable employments, commands in the army, and offices of truſt, if ever he had been ſo degraded, diſhonoured, or diſgraced; not to mention that the Black-book of the Garter, conſtantly after this pretended degradation, mentions Sir John's preſence at, or abſence from, the feaſts of St. George and Chapters of the Order till his death, in the ſame manner as it does in reſpect to the other knights.

(78) Mr. Anſtis, as before, p. 139, &c.

near relation, his General Attorney (*l*). In 1434, or the beginning of the year after, Sir John was again with the Regent of France; and, in 1435, he was again one of the ambaſſadors to conclude a peace with France (*m*). Towards the latter end of this year, the Regent died at Rouen, 'deſervedly reckoned among the greateſt men 'of his age,' ſays a French Hiſtorian (*n*); and, as the greateſt proof he could give of his confidence in the honour and integrity of Sir John Faſtolff, he made him one of the executors of his laſt will (*o*) [*K*]. Richard, Duke of York, who ſucceeded in the Regency of France, made Faſtolff a grant of an annuity of twenty pounds a year of his own eſtate, *pro notabili et laudabili ſervicio, ac bono conſilio* (*p*); which is ſufficient to ſhew this Duke's ſentiments alſo of his merits. In 1436, and for about four years longer, he ſeems to have been pretty well ſettled at his government in Normandy; after which, in 1440, he made his final return home, and, loaden with the laurels he had gathered in France, raiſed a new plantation of them in his native country; where he ſhone as bright in virtue as he had in valour, and became as illuſtrious in his domeſtic as he had been in his foreign character [*L*]. We have heard, there is ſtill in being, preſerved

(*l*) Rot. Fran. 12 Hen. VI. m. 5. 26 Jan.

(*m*) Rymer, Vol. X. fol. 642.

(*n*) Father Daniel's Hiſtory of France, A. D. 1435.

(*o*) Regiſtr. Chichele, Vol. I. P. 475.

(*p*) Clauſ. 19 Hen. VI. 12 May. Sandford's General Hiſtory, fol. 386.

[*K*] *One of the executors of his laſt will.*] See Mr. Nichols's Collection of Royal and Noble Wills, p. 279. It appears by an extract out of an ancient roll written by Sir William Le Neve, and bound up with ſeveral other things, in a MS. of John Anſtis, Eſq. fol. 289, of Sir William Le Neve's hand writing; that in a cauſe between the Lord Lewis of Luxemburgh, Epiſcopus Mo . . . . ., and Chancellor of France, Sir John Faſtolff and Sir Andrew Ogard, Knights, were executors of the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, &c. concerning the taking the Duke of Alençon priſoner; Sir John Faſtolff, Knight, late Maſter of the Houſehold of the late Duke of Bedford, ſaith that . . . . Scales and . . . . . took the Duke, and that Sir John Faſtolff had the half of 10,000 livers. See before note *D*. William Worceſter ſays, "My lord Bedford's will was made in ſo brief and general terms, that unto this day, by the ſpace of 20 years, can never have end, but always new to conſtrue and opinionable; ſo a generality ſhall nor may be ſo good as a particular declaration (79)."

(79) Paſton Letters, Vol. III. 259.

[*L*] *Became as illuſtrious in his domeſtic as he had been in his foreign character.*] As his valour made him a terror in war, his humanity made him a bleſſing in peace: all we can find in his retirement, being elegant, hoſpitable, and generous, either as to the places of his abode, or thoſe perſons and foundations on which he ſhowered his bounty. The ſtreams of his treaſure that fed this fountain of his munificence were numerous and plentiful; as may be ſeen in the jury's return to the writ of enquiry into the lands and eſtates whereof he was poſſeſſed at his death (80) in Norfolk, Suffolk, Yorkſhire, and Wiltſhire. He was a benefactor to both the Univerſities; bequeathing a conſiderable legacy to Cambridge, for building the ſchools of Philoſophy and Law (81), for which the firſt order under their Chancellor Laurence, Biſhop of Durham, is dated in June, 1458; and, at Oxford, he was ſo bountiful to Magdalen College, through the affection he had for his friend William Wainfleet, the founder thereof two years before, that his name is commemorated in an anniverſary ſpeech: and though the particulars of his bounty are not now remembered, becauſe he *enfeoffed* the ſaid founder in his life-time, yet it is known, that the boar's head in Southwark, now divided into tenements, yielding one hundred and fifty pounds yearly, together with Caldecot manor in Suffolk, were part of the lands he beſtowed thereon; and Lovingland in that county is conceived alſo to have been another part of his donation (82). There had been an ancient free chapel of St. John the Baptiſt in the manor houſe at Caſtre, the antient ſeat of his family, as early as the reign of Edward I. (83). Sir John intended to have erected a college for ſeven monks or ſecular prieſts (one of whom to be head), and ſeven poor men; and to endow it with 120 marks rent charge, out of ſeveral manors which he gave or ſold to his couſin John Paſton, ſenior, eſq. charged with this charity. Mr. Paſton laboured to eſtabliſh this pious foundation till his death, 6 Ed. IV. as did his ſon Sir John Paſton, knight, but whether it was ever incorporated and fully ſettled Biſhop Tanner doubts (84), as there is no farther mention of it in the rolls or the Biſhop of Norwich's regiſtry. Only in the valuation, 26 Hen. VIII, there is ſaid to have been in Caſtre hall a chantry of the foundation of Sir John Faſtolff, Knight, worth 21. 13s. 4d. per ann. 6 Ed. IV. from receipts it appears that the prieſts had in money, beſides their diet, 40l. per ann. and the poor men 40s. per ann. each (85). See his letter about it to his couſin John Paſton, &c. (86), and of the high price demanded for a licence to amortiſe lands for it, ſee a letter from Henry Filongley a lawyer, and his nephew (87); ſee alſo a letter about a charter for it from Henry Windſor, one of his houſehold (88). The foundation was certainly not completed till after his deceaſe; for, William Worceſter, in a letter to Margaret Paſton in 1466, tells her he had communed with her ſon whether it ſhould not be at Cambridge in caſe it ſhall not be at Caſtre, neither at St. Benet's [in the Holme], and that the biſhop of Wincheſter [Wainflete] was diſpoſed to found a college in Oxford for his ſayd mayſter to be prayed for, yet with much leſs coſt he might make ſome other memorial in Cambridge (89).

Among the men of learning whom he patronized may be reckoned William Worceſter above named. He was learned in Hiſtory, Antiquities, and Heraldry, Phyſick, and Aſtronomy. He is called in old writings not only ſervant, and *ſoget*, or ſubject, to Sir John Faſtolff, but was his purſuivant and ſecretary (90). Many of his letters to his maſter, as he calls him, are ſtill in being (91). But that he was Sir John's Herald, by ſuch a title, or diſtinction, as *Botoner*, from the croſs croſlets *botonée*, in our knight's arms, is a miſconjecture in Mr. Anſtis (92), no leſs than is that of Mr. Lewis, who fancies, becauſe this learned writer was converſant in medicinal ſtudies, that he was therefore called a Botaner, or Herbaliſt (93). Whereas we may gather from his own writings, that he was born at Briſtol about 1415 (94); that his father's name was Worceſter, and his mother's *Botoner* (95), hence he often names himſelf William Wyrceſter, alias *Botoner*; and hence the error in Pits (96), and others, of making two diſtinct perſons of the two names. He ſtudied at Hart Hall, Oxford, 1434. He had been exerciſed in wars above 44 years (97); and had ſo faithfully ſerved Sir John Faſtolff that he left him one of his executors. He wrote many books, the firſt of which, that was printed, was his tranſlation from the French, of "Cicero de Senectute," which he addreſſed to William Wainfleet, Biſhop of Wincheſter, and will be farther quoted in the next note. He tells us that he preſented it to the biſhop at Aſher [*Eſher*] Auguſt 10, 1475, but received no reward (*nullum* regardum *recepi de epiſcopo*). He wrote alſo "Antiquities of England;" "Abbreviations of the learned;" "Medicinal Collections;" a book of Aſtrology; another of Aſtronomy; beſides a particular treatiſe, gratefully preſerving the life and deeds of his maſter, under the title of "Acta Domini Johannis Faſtolff (98);" the "Acts of John Duke of Bedford;" "Polyandrium Oxonienſium, or Memoirs of Oxford Students;" and other leſſer pieces; of which ſee Tanner Bibl. Brit. p. 115 (99). His "Annals of England" were printed by Hearne at the end of his "Liber Niger Scaccarii," p. 424-451. His "Itinerary" was publiſhed from a MS, not improbably the original, in the Library at Corpus Chriſti-College, Cambridge, by Mr. James Naſmith, fellow of the ſaid college, Cantab. 1778, 8vo. He is ſuppoſed

(80) Eſch. 38 and 39 Hen. VI. n. 45. Anſtis ubi ſupra, p. 141.

(81) Lib. Procl. Univ. Cantab.

(82) Mr. Anſtis as before, p. 142.

(83) Regiſt. Norwic.

(84) Not. Mon. 369.

(85) Blomfield, VI. p. 551.

(86) Paſton's Letters, I. p. 164.

(87) Ib. p. 166.

(88) Ib. p. 170.

(89) Paſton's Letters, IV. p. 280.

(90) Peter Baſſet, ut prius.

(91) Paſton Letters II. 37.

(92) P. 135.

(93) Life of William Caxton, 8vo. p. 53.

(94) Where his father lived. Itin. p. 206.

(95) See his account of his mother's family. Itin. p. 276, 277.

(96) De Illuſt. Script. p. 648. 861.

(97) Itin. W. Worceſter.

(98) This is mentioned in the Paſton Letters, IV. p. 78.

(99) Tho. Fuller cites a book of Botoner's, containing all the Ancient Gentry in the county of Norfolk, long preſerved in the county but not now extant. Worthies of Engl. fol. 250. He alſo wrote ſomething in poetry, as that humourous ballad, called, 'Comedia ad Monaſterium Hulme, &c, directa ad reformationem ſequentem, &c. 1477. See it in Naſmith's edit. of his Itin. p. 161, 162. Alſo a long chronographical Epitaph in verſe, on the Lady Milicent Faſtolff; in the poſſeſſion of Richard Poley, Eſq. late Prothonotary of the Common Pleas.

preſerved among the old family writings, an inventory of all the rich jewels, plate, furniture, &c. that he either had, or left in France, at his return to England. In 1450, he conveyed to John Kemp, Cardinal Archbiſhop of York, and others, his manor of Caſtre in Fleg, and ſeveral other lands ſpecified in the deed of conveyance (q). The ſame year, Nov. 8, the king by writ directed Richard Waller, Eſq. David John William Needham, and John Ingoldſby, to cauſe Thomas Danyell, Eſq. to pay to Sir John Faſtolff, Knight, the 100 l. that he was indebted to him for proviſions, and for his ſhip called the George of Pruſſia, alias Danyell's Hulk, which ſhip the ſaid Danyell took on the ſea as a prize, and never had it condemned; ſo that the King ſeized it, ordered it to be ſold, and Sir John to be paid out of it (r). At length being arrived, in the year 1459, beyond the venerable age of fourſcore years [M], he ſays of himſelf, that he was 'In good remembrance, albeit I am gretly vexid with ſickeneſſe, and 'thurgh age infebelyd (s).' He lingered under an hectic fever and aſthma for an hundred and forty-eight days (t); but before he departed he made his will, on the fifth of November in that year (u), of which we ſhall give ſome extract below [N], and

(q) Clauſ. 29 Henry VI.

(r) MS. Paper of Peter Le Neve.

(s) Mr. Blomefield's Letter, beforementioned.

(t) MS. penes Dom. Hans Sloane, Baronet.

(u) As is computed from the date in our copy of it, recited in note K.

(100) Paſton Letters, Vol. II. p. 157. See Bale, Pits, Tanner, Wood Hiſt. and Antiq. Un. Oxon. II. 346. Hearne Liber Niger Scacc. ut ſupra. Naſmith Preface ad Itin. W. Worc.

ſuppoſed to have died about 1490 (100). The ſon of this Worceſter, among other things, alſo made a collection of ſeveral authentic inſtruments relating to the Engliſh wars and government in France; which he dedicated to king Edward IV. wherein is a catalogue of the Princes, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Bannerets, Knights, and other perſons of eminence, who were of the Regent's court: Therin are enumerated Faſtolff's poſts of honour, and the places under his government; he is ſtyled Knight-Banneret; Baron of Cilliguillim; Steward, or Marſhal, of the Regent's houſehold; the King's Lieutenant of Normandy for one year, and, after, Governor of Anjou and Maine, for many years; Captain of the City of Mans, and the caſtles and towns of Alançon, Mayn, Freſney le Vicont, for fourteen years, likewiſe of Cane, Verneiul, and Hunflue, ſome years. In this book are ſeveral public memorials, concerning the grand articles and negociations of peace and war; with ſome ordinances compoſed in French, and iſſued forth, by our no leſs politic than heroic Knight, of whom the collector remarks, that, if theſe his counſels, inſtructions, and admonitions, had been duly obſerved, they would have prevented many miſcarriages, which might conduce to our loſs of France. A copy of this collection, in quarto, was ſome time in the cuſtody of the late Brian Fairfax, Eſq. one of the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms.

[M] *Beyond the venerable age of fourſcore years.*] This may be computed from the time of his birth as mentioned at the beginning of this article. For the ſake of an even number, two or three odd years are omitted in the following character and account of him publiſhed before a tranſlation of Cicero de Senectute, made at the command of John Lord Tiptoft Earl of Worceſter, into whoſe family Faſtolff had married, and printed by our firſt printer, about twenty-two years after his death, in theſe words.—— 'Whiche 'book was tranſlated, and thy ſtoryes openly declared, 'by the ordenaunce and deſyre of the noble auncyent 'Knyght, Syr Johan Faſtolff, of the countee of Nor-'folk, Banneret, lyvying the age of fourſcore yere; 'exercyſying the warrys in the Royame of Fraunce, 'and other countrees, for the diffence of unyverſal 'welfare of both Royames of England and Fraunce, 'by forty yeres endurying, the fayte of armes haun-'tyng, and in admynyſtryng juſtice, and polytique 'governaunce, under thre Kyngs; that is to wete, 'Henry IV. Henry V. Henry VI. and was Governour 'of the Duchey of Angeou, and the Countee of Mayne; 'Capytayne of many Townys, Caſtellys, and For-'treſſys, in the ſaid Royame of Fraunce; havying the 'charge and ſaufguard of them dyverſe yeres; acu-'pyeng and rewlynge thre hondred ſperes, and the 'bowes accuſtomed thenne; and yeldying good acompt 'of the foreſaid Townes, Caſtellys, and Fortreſſes, to 'the feyd Kyngs, and to theyr Lyeutenauntes, Pryn-'ces of noble recommendation; as, Johan, Regent 'of Fraunce, Duc of Bedford; Thomas, Duc of Ex-'eter; Thomas, Duc of Clarence, and other Lyeute-'nantes (101).'

(101) Tullius's Book of Old Age: printed by W. Caxton, fol. 1481, in the Prohem. Alſo the Britiſh Librarian, 8vo. 1738, p. 255.

[N] *Of his will we ſhall give ſome extract below.*] It was written in Latin, and a fair copy of it, not very correct, we have ſeen, as alſo a tranſlation or abſtract in Engliſh: but in neither is it expreſſed who the witneſſes were, nor what the arms, or figure of the ſeal. It bears date, on the Sunday after the Feaſt of All Saints, in November, 1459, and ſets forth, that the ſaid Sir John Faſtolff, Knight, of the county of Norfolk, and in the dioceſe of Norwich, made and publiſhed this his laſt will and teſtament: in his Manor of Caſtre, within the ſaid dioceſe, in the following manner. Firſt, he commends his ſoul to God, to the Virgin Mary, and to all the Saints; and bequeathes his body to be buried, after his death, in the conventual church of the monaſtery of St. Bennet in the Holmes, in the ſaid dioceſe, under the arch of the new chapel, which he lately rebuilt there, on the ſouth ſide of the choir or chancel, under a marble tomb, near the body of Milicent his former conſort, who lies interred there. He farther ordains, that the abbot, and the ſaid convent, ſhall give ſecurity, before his interment, that they will grant and confirm to John Paſton, and to ſuch others as ſhall be nominated by him, full power of granting the lands, &c. which the ſaid John Paſton and other feoffees of the ſaid Sir John Faſtolff, or their feoffees, hold of the ſaid abbot and convent, to ſeven monks, or prieſts, and their ſucceſſors, towards endowing and eſtabliſhing a College, within the manor and lordſhip of Caſtre; or ſo much of the land as the ſaid Sir John Faſtolff ſhall think fit. Likewiſe orders, that all his debts ſhould be paid, and all forfeitures fully compenſated, reſtored, and ſatisfied. He bequeaths towards the repair and ſupport of the harbour of Great Yarmouth, and towards renewing and repairing the walls of the ſaid town, for the public benefit or conſervation of the town, and the adjacent country, one hundred marks; on condition, that the burgeſſes and governors thereof ſhall, without delay, proceed to the ſaid reparations, that the inhabitants may pray for the repoſe of his ſoul. He gives to the pariſh churches of the ſeveral villages, wherein he had either ſeat, manor, lands, or tenements, a ſilk gown, to celebrate maſs and pray for his ſoul in, and directs that there ſhould be erected in thoſe churches his atchievement of arms, embroidered at the diſcretion of his executors, and ſo as were moſt convenient to or becoming thoſe churches. He bequeathes to his tenants and menial ſervants a competent reward out of his goods and chattels, to the ſum of three hundred marks, according to their rank, condition, and merits; and ſo as his gentleman or valets may have a proportion double to the reſt; more eſpecially regarding thoſe who conſtantly attended him, in all perils and dangers, in ſickneſs and health. He likewiſe gives to all the orders of religious and mendicant friers, both in Great-Yarmouth and the city of Norwich, that they may offer their prayers for his ſoul, a ſufficient ſum, according to the diſcretion of his executors; on condition that the partakers thereof have no property, but depend upon the alms and charity of good Chriſtians for their ſupport. He bequeathes the reſidue of his goods, &c. after all debts, legacies, and charges are cleared, to his executors hereafter named; that they may diſtribute them according to diſcretion, and ſo as to promote the ſalvation of his ſoul, among the fitteſt objects of charity, the poor, infirm, lame, blind, thoſe confined to their beds, and who cannot maintain themſelves or their family: but ſtill to prefer his poor relations, neighbours, and thoſe who were known to him;

and died at his ſeat at Caſtre the next day after, being the feſtival of St. Leonard, or the eve before, as appears in the Eſcheats (*w*), in the 39th or laſt year of king Henry the VIth's reign, and no leſs than thirty-ſix years beyond the extravagant period aſſigned by Fuller (*x*). He was buried with great ſolemnity under an arch, in a chapel of our lady of his own building (*y*) on the South ſide of the choir at the abbey-church of St. Bennet in the Holm, in Norfolk, which was ruined at the diſſolution; and ſo much was he reſpected [*O*] after his deceaſe, that John Beauchamp, Lord of Powyke, in his laſt will dated the 15th of Edward IV (*z*), appointed a chantry, more eſpecially for the ſoul of Sir John Faſtolff. Some eſtimate of his landed property may be formed from a paper below [*P*].

(*w*) In Mr. Anſtis's Preface to the Regiſter of the Garter, Vol. I. p. 21.

(*x*) Worthies of England in Norfolk.

(*y*) He alſo rebuilt the South aile. Worceſtre, Itin. p. 333, 334, 341.

(*z*) Mr. Blomefield's Letter, as before.

The

him; or where he had any lordſhips, manors, lands, or tenements; and, for repairing of churches in the ſaid towns and villages; alſo the public roads and bridges, and other charitable uſes, eſpecially in Norfolk and Suffolk: and that one thouſand marks or pounds be laid out, within a year, upon his funeral, his legacies and other charities aforeſaid: and that five hundred and thirty three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight-pence, ſhall be laid out annually, ſo far as his goods, lands, &c. by ſale ſhall amount to, till they are fully diſpoſed of; and he exhorts, in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, that this truſt be ſincerely and faithfully diſcharged by his executors; and as he would in conſcience, reaſon and juſtice, do for them in like caſe; and as they will anſwer for the contrary at the tremendous tribunal of God. Then he conſtitutes William Biſhop of Wincheſter, John Lord Beauchamp, Nicholas, abbot of Langly, John Stokes, Doctor of Laws, Frier John Brackley, Doctor of Divinity; William Yelverton, one of the King's Judges, John Paſton, Eſq. Henry Filongly, Eſq. Thomas Howes, Prieſt, and William Worceſtre, to be the executors of this his laſt will. And the execution thereof he thus declares limited: that the ſaid John Paſton, and Thomas Howes, ſhall have the adminiſtration and diſpoſition of the movable goods, money, &c. which ſhall ariſe from the ſale of his lands, and the produce thereof, and they only, to diſpoſe of the ſaid effects for the benefit of his ſoul; and none of the reſt to concern themſelves in diſpoſing of his ſaid goods, &c. unleſs they are requeſted to aid and aſſiſt them; and that none of the reſt ſhall ſell, receive, or diſtribute any of his effects, without the conſent of thoſe two; nor any of them interfere in the adminiſtration while thoſe are alive; hoping they will not refuſe their aid when it is requeſted. But, if either of thoſe two decline, or refuſe to act and officiate, or ſhould die before the complete execution of his will, then he of the two who is willing to adminiſter, or does ſurvive, ſhall aſſociate one of the other executors, whom he thinks moſt fitting and capable. So, as often as one dies, or declines the truſt, the other ſhall elect one of the reſt. But, where both ſhall refuſe to act, or both die, before a ſubſtitute is choſen, then ſuch two of the ſurvivors, as ſhall have a majority of ſuffrages among themſelves, are allowed to adminiſter; and the two thus choſen may, as they ſee occaſion, conſult with the Biſhop of Wincheſter, Lord Beauchamp, the Abbot of Langley, Frier Brackley, Yelverton, Filongley, and William Worceſter. He farther appoints Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Walter Biſhop of Norwich, Maſter Robert Popy, Chancellor, and Hugh Fen, to be Superviſors of this his laſt will; and deſires that the two acting executors may receive ſuch recompence for their trouble as the ſaid Biſhop of Winton and John Stokes, or the major part of the ſurvivors, ſhall think fit. He alſo ordains that the ſupervifors of his will, and the other executors ſhall receive ſuch reward for their trouble as the two acting executors ſhall account fully proportionable thereto: and that, if any of the ſaid executors ſhall obſtruct or moleſt the ſaid John Paſton and Thomas Howes in the due execution of their truſt, or incur any of the offences before mentioned, they ſhall be diſcharged from having any concern therein: or, if they are troubleſome before they ſhall be admitted to a ſhare in the execution, he wills and ordains, that every ſuch delinquent ſhall be declared and held incapable of ſuch truſt, and be excluded from any ſhare in it. Dated in the year, &c. abovementioned. He left coin by him 2,643 l. 10s.—Gold plate, divers pieces, weight 10lb.; his ſilver plate weighed at the ſcale amounted to 1225lb. 404½, or 99 ſtone 11lb. 8½oz., reckoning Troy weight, 1202 to the pound, and 12 to the ſtone. 20 l. was given to build a new window in Wendling abbey. 24 l. to Bromholm priory. 80 l. lent to Langley abbey. Yelverton, his executor, is blamed for giving a receipt to Biſhop Wainflete for 442 marks of Sir John's money. Grey, Biſhop of Ely, had 140. Butler, earl of Wiltſhire, a legacy of 27 l. and two gallon pots, weighing twelve ſcore ounces of ſilver. Nevill, earl of Saliſbury, 165 l. 23 oz. of gold, and 3033 oz. of ſilver, were ſold by his executors, who had large ſums in their hands. Thomas Howes, one of them, confeſſor to Sir John, a grey frier, rector of Caſtlecomb, Wilts, and of Blofield and Pulham, Norfolk, had in his hands about 4000l. to lay out in repairs and ornaments of churches and collegiate houſes. He repaired the church and chancel of Pulham St. Mary, and in a South window ſet up the figures of Sir John and his lady, with their arms and this inſcription: "*Orate pro animabus Joh'is Faſtolf, militis, qui multa* "*bona fuit in tempore vite, & Milecentiæ uxoris ejus,* "*& domini Thome Howes, iſtius eccl'ie rectoris, et om-* "*nium fidelium defunctorum.* Howes appears to have been one of Faſtolff's moſt truſty and faithful ſervants and executors. Several letters, to and from him, are printed in the Paſton collection, and many more remain in MS.

[*O*] *And ſo much was he reſpected.*] In one of Mr. Aſhmole's choice old volumes of MSS. lately in the poſſeſſion of a noble peer (102), to whom we have been beholden for many extracts out of it, there is a conciſe character of our hero, written in the reign of king Henry VII. by a knight who was then King of Arms, wherein Sir John Faſtolff is called "a rich knight, 'and a grete bilder; having bilded Caſter-Hall, in 'Northfolk, a royal palace in Southwork, and ano-'ther in Yermouth: a ſpeciall goode maiſter to the 'Officers of Armes, and was moſt triumphantly 'brought in erthe, that I have heard of any man of 'his degre.'

(102) Sir Thomas Wriothesley's Heraldical Collections of the Knights of the Garter, Bath, &c. adorned with their portraits, arms, &c. fol. MS. in the poſſeſſion of the late Duke of Montagu. See an Abſtract of this volume, in The Britiſh Librarian, 8vo. 1738, p. 323.

In ſome old books of Heraldry, his arms have been erroneouſly blazoned; for, Faſtolff bears Or and Azure, quarterly- on a bend Gules, three Croſlets Argent; and not Eſcallops, according to the deſcription we meet with in ſome pedigrees of the family; as may be proved not only from ſeveral original ſeals of the Faſtolffs ſtill in being, but in the old arms which remain carved in ſtone over a window of his houſe at Caſtre by Yarmouth, engraved by Mr. Anſtis at the head of his memoirs of him. This coat is on a ſeal of Faſtolff's mother to a deed 1404, and occurs on a ſeal 1432, 11 Hen. VI. circumſcribed *S. iohannis faſtolff*, ſupported by two eagles volant holding labels and ſprigs under a helmet and torſe ſupporting a plume of feathers. Mr. Aſhmole ſays his cognizance was a *Book* with a *Pencil* in it; and a *Shield* with a branch of *Laurel* flouriſhing out of it.

[*P*] *Of his landed property may be formed from a paper below.*] July 7, 1448, Sir John Faſtolff, knight, made maſter Robert Pepys clerk, Nicholas Bocyng, John Gerrard, William Worceſter, William Barker, Jeffry Spyrlyng, and William Wirmegeye, his attorneys, to deliver ſeizin to his feoffees, John, Cardinal Archbiſhop of York, John, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, William, Biſhop of Lincoln, William, Biſhop of Wincheſter, Adam, Biſhop of Cheſter, Richard, Duke of York, Ralf Lord Cromwell, Ralf Lord Sudley, John Lord Beau-

The ruins of his houſe at Caſtre ſtill remaining ſhew it to have been alike capacious and ſtrong. It was moated round, but the moat is now for the moſt part filled up. The grand entrance was on the Weſt. The houſe formed a rectangled parallelogram; the South and North ſides longer than Eaſt and Weſt; the ſtables in front; the beſt rooms on the right hand of the ſquare, under which ſide is a noble vault, and over it probably the hall. The embatteled brick tower at the North Weſt corner is ſtanding, above one hundred feet high; and over one of the windows were carved his arms in the Garter as above deſcribed, ſupported by angels, now removed; on one of the doors a ſaltire engrailed. To it adjoined a dining-parlour, fifty-nine feet long, and twenty-eight broad. Eaſt from the caſtle ſtood the college, forming three ſides of a ſquare larger than the former, with two round towers; the whole converted into barns and ſtables. The caſtle moat is ſaid to have communicated with a navigable creek, and in a farm houſe North Weſt of the manſion called the barge-houſe is ſhewn a large arch, capable of receiving a boat of conſiderable burden (*a*). Weever (*b*) ſays he had licence from Henry VI. to build his houſe caſtle-wiſe as a fortification on that ſide of Yarmouth, to which perhaps relates the licence granted him 1443, 22 Hen. VI. to employ ſome of the King's ſhips (*c*) to carry materials for building and furniſhing (*d*) one of his manſion houſes. The current tradition is, that this houſe was erected by a French nobleman, who was taken priſoner by our famous knight, according to the model and architecture of his own caſtle in France, as the price of his ranſom.

(*a*) Mr. Groſe's account under his views taken 1775.

(*b*) P. 576.

(*c*) 2 *playks*, a *cog-ſhip*, a *farecoſt*, and 2 *battingers*.

(*d*) Pro expeditione operationum ſuarum ædificationis & *ſtuffuræ* hoſpitii. Rymer, Vol. XI. p. 44.

Sir John Faſtolff had, by his will, appointed John Paſton, eſq. eldeſt ſon and heir of Sir William Paſton, the judge, one of his executors; and had given to them all his manors, lands, &c. in truſt, to found the college of the ſeven prieſts, and ſeven poor men, in the manor-houſe at Caſtre, &c. "For the ſingular truſt and love," ſays Sir John, "that I have to my couſin John Paſton before all others, being in every "belief that he will execute this my laſt will."

Edward IV. 1464, for 300 marks, 100 in hand, and the remainder when the foundation takes place, granted John Paſton, ſen. eſq. licence to found the college before mentioned, and his favor and protection againſt Yelverton, Jenney, and others (*e*).

(*e*) Paſton Letters, IV. p. 182.

But it appears that this John Paſton, Eſq. had entered on this manor of Caſtre, and was impriſoned in the Fleet of London by Nevill, Biſhop of Exeter, (on Nov. 3, 1464,) then Chancellor. On his death, in 1466, he left it to his eldeſt ſon Sir John Paſton. July 6, 1466, the king granted him a warrant under his hand and privy ſeal, to take poſſeſſion of all the lands and inheritance of his late father, or of Agnes his grandmother, or of Margaret his mother, or of William Paſton, and Clement Paſton, his uncles; alſo the manor and place of Caſtre, or of any other eſtate which his father had, by way of gift, or purchaſe, of the late Sir John Faſtolff; which lands had been ſeized by the king, on evil ſurmiſes made to him, againſt his deceaſed father, himſelf and uncles, of all which they were ſufficiently, openly, and worſhipfully cleared before the king. "So that all yee now being in the ſaid place of Caſter, or in any "liflihode, late the Sir John Paſton's, by way of gift or purchaſe, of the late "Sir John Faſtolff, that was ſeized into our hands, avoid the poſſeſſion of the ſame, and

Brauchamp, John Forteſcue Chief Juſtice of the Commen Pleaſe, William Yelverton one of the Judges in the Common Pleaſe, Sir Henry Ingloſe and Sir William Oldhall, Knight, Richard Waller, Eſq. William Toyle, Clement Denſton, Thomas Ludham, Thomas Howys, clerks; Thomas Weſt, Eſq. William Wangford, Nicholas Gyrlyngton, William Genneye and Thomas Grene, in his manors of Caſter by Great Yarmouth, called Kedham's, Vaux's, and Boſung; with the vowſon of the chapel of St. John Baptiſt in Caſtor, the manor of Heryngby, and twenty marks annual rent, paid by the Prior of Hickling out of his manor called Netherhall in Hickling, which belongs to that convent. The third part of Runham manor, Begryles manor in Wynterton, Redham hall in Boyton, the manor of Windham with the advowſon of St. Ethelbert's church there, the manor of Heyleſdon and the advowſon of the church, and the advowſons of the two chauntry prieſts in that church, and Heyleſden water-mills, the manor and advowſon of Drayton, the manor of Tolthorp, and the advowſon of the mediety of Taverham, and the manor and advowſon of Heynford, Gutton manor in Brandeſton with the advowſon of the church, the manor of Bliclyng, Laund hall manor in Saxthorp, and the water-mill, and the manor of Tichewell; and all his eſtates in Caſtre, Great Yarmouth, Ormeſby, Scrowteby, Malteby, Winterton, Somerton, Martham, Baſtwick, Reppes, Hykelyng, Stokeſby, Hardingby, Runham, Thrikeby, Fylby, Mundham, Syſlonde, Sethyng, Lodne, Hyleſdone, Catton, Horſlede, Felthorp, Erlham, Upper and Lower Erlham, Drayton, Taverham, Attlebrigge, Brandeſton, Boton, Salle, Cauſton, Heynford, Bliclyng, Saſcthorp, Corpeſy, Itryngham, Irminglond, Heydon, Bryſton, Wolterton, Fichewell, Brancaſtre, Choſel, Thorneham, Dockyng, Beyton, Acle and Byrlyngham or Elſewhere, in Norfolk. And in all his meſſuages, lands, rents, and vices in Norwich and in Caldecoty's manor in Treton, Bradewell manor, Akethorpe manor in Lowiſtoft, Burnevyle's in Nacton, Cotton manor, and in all his eſtates in Tretton, Bradwell, Burgheaſtell, Gatton, Belton, Hopton, Launde, Geldeſton, Lowiſtoft, Coorton, Cotton, Skeyth, Wickham and Naketon in Suffolk, and in his manors of Dedham, Netherhall, and Overhall, and the watermill there in Eſſex; and in his manor or meſſuage in St. Olave's pariſh in Suthwerk near Horſleyedown, in Surrey, formerly Henry Yevele's, and in ſeven meſſuage and 25 land called Dunley's in that pariſh. Among the Paſton papers (III. 260—275) is a ſtatement of the loſſes and damages ſuſtained by him in the king's ſervice, both in and out of the kingdom; whereby it appears, that for fifteen years after his laſt return from France, to his death, he was at great expence in attendances on the king and council, for which, and for all his ſervices to king Henry IV. he had neither fee, wages, rewards, nor recompence. The crown owed him for loans and charges in France not leſs than 4083 *l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* Ibid. p. 267.

" ſuffer our truly and well beloved Knight, Sir John Paſton, to enjoy the profits thereof, " with all the goods and chattels there, and pay all the iſſues and profits thereof, as " yee did unto his father, at any time in his life."

Soon after this, on Monday before St. Bartholomew's day, 1469, John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, laid pretenſions to it; and ſent Sir John Heveningham, a couſin of Sir John Faſtolff's, to require John Paſton, eſq. governor of it, being a caſtle well fortified, in the abſence of his eldeſt brother Sir John Paſton, to deliver it up to him; maintaining that the ſaid Duke had purchaſed the ſaid caſtle of William Yelverton [Q], (that curſed Norfolk juſtice, as Worceſter ſtyles him,) whereas Sir John had ordered it not to be ſold but to be a college for prieſts, and an hoſpital for poor men. The ſaid John Paſton refuſing to ſurrender it, the Duke came before it with 3000 armed men, and with guns, culverines, and other artillery, and laid ſiege to it immediately. The names of the principal perſons at this ſiege were John Duke of Norfolk, Sir William Calthorp, Sir John Heveningham, Sir Gilbert Debenham, and his brother ——— Loſday, Sir Thomas Wingefield, and William Brandon, Thomas and William Wingefield, eſq. ——— Swaney, eſq. Hugh Auſtin, eſq. Sir John Waldegrave, William Debenham, jun. eſq. Robert Debenham, eſq. ——— ſon of Sir Lawrence Rayneford, James Radcliffe, eſq. Black John de Radclyffe, Simon Fitzſymons, of Eſſex, eſq. ——— Timperley, eſq. Richard Southwele, eſq. Gilbert Debenham, ſen. eſq. ——— Brook, eſq. ſon of the Lord Cobham, ——— Bardwell of Herling, eſq. Herward by Cromer, eſq. John Ratcliff of Attleburgh, eſq. ——— Lettrum, eſq. of Plumeſtede, and others. The ſiege continued five weeks and three days. The names of the defendants againſt the Duke were, John Paſton, jun. eſq. governor, in the abſence of his brother Sir John; John Daubeney, eſq. who was killed by a ſhell-ſhot (*f*); Oſbern Berny, eſq. Sander Com, a valet; Oſborn de Caſtre, and other *valetti* and ſervants; in the whole twenty-eight (*g*).

(*f*) *Querela*, a quarrel.

(*g*) William Worceſtre, Itin. p. 322—325.

February 10, 1474, 13 Ed. IV. an indenture was made between Sir William Yelverton, William Jenny, ſerjeant at law, and William Worceſter, executors of Sir John on one part, and Thomas Cager and Robert Kytton on the other, whereby the ſaid Robert was appointed ſurveyor of the lands and tenements in Southwark, and other places in Surrey, late Sir John's, to perform his laſt will, and alſo receiver of the rents; who was to have ſix marks *per annum*, and to be allowed beſides all reaſonable coſts, that he ſhall do in the defence and keeping out John Paſton, eſq. and of all others claiming by him.

Anthony, Lord Scales, at another time took poſſeſſion of it in the name of king Edward IV. under pretence that Paſton was the king's villan (though abſolutely falſe), all which proved a great deſtruction to the goods and effects in the ſame; but Sir John Paſton, through the favour and protection of king Edward IV. had afterwards poſſeſſion (*h*).

(*h*) Worceſtre, Ib. p. 323.

Another misfortune alſo happened to this ſeat or caſtle about the ſame time, owing to the negligence of a girl, who, in making a bed, ſet fire to it by her candle, and did conſiderable damage (*i*).

(*i*) Blomefield, V, 1552-1553.

Sir John Faſtolff had a houſe at Norwich in Pokethorp oppoſite St. James's church, called Faſtolff's place; in the windows of which Mr. Blomefield ſaw ſeveral paintings of ſaints and ſcripture worthies, and two knights fighting, which he imagined repreſented Sir John and his French priſoner (*k*). He likewiſe built a ſplendid ſeat in Yarmouth, and a palace in Southwark (*l*).]

(*k*) Ib. 1552.

(*l*) Vincent in offic. arm. No 18, p. 122.

[Q] *William Yelverton.*] Of Rougham, in the county of Norfolk, was a ſerjeant at law, judge of the King's Bench, 1444, knight of the Bath, 1460, and was living 1467, and related to the Paſtons. He had two wives, and iſſue by both; and, by the laſt, was anceſtor to the preſent earl of Suſſex (103). He acknowledges himſelf greatly obliged to Sir John Faſtolff, whom he calls his " moſte worſhippfull and " beſt betruſted maiſter."

(103) Paſton Letters, III, p. 181.

*** [This article in the former edition, compoſed by the diligent and inquiſitive Mr. Oldys, has been reviſed and enlarged in the preſent by Mr. Gough, who is poſſeſt of all the papers collected by thoſe able antiquaries, Le Neve, Martin, and Blomefield, which came from Mr. Oldys to the late Mr. Ives of Yarmouth, who ſeems to have intended to form a life of Faſtolff out of them, but was prevented by death. In the firſt volume of Sir John Fenn's " Original Letters " written during the reigns of Henry the Sixth, Ed- " ward the Fourth, and Richard the Third," are two of Sir John Faſtolfe's. They relate to private affairs, and are of little conſequence, any farther than as the former of them ſerves to ſhew ſomething of Faſtolff's diſpoſition (104). There are, likewiſe, three letters addreſſed to Sir John; one by Thomas Bourchier, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; another by William Botoner, uſually called William Worceſter; and a third by John Bocking. The Archbiſhop's is full of kindneſs and reſpect; the two others give the news of the time (105).

(104) Paſton Letters, vol I. p. 52—55. 120—125.

Mr. Capell, in his ſupplement to the firſt volume of his notes on Shakeſpeare (106), has given a paper of conſiderable length, which he entitles, " Anecdotes of " Sir John Faſtolf of Caſtre in Norfolk, whom Shake- " ſpeare calls Falſtaff." This paper was communicated by Lord Dacre, and is chiefly extracted from Mr. Anſtis's hiſtory of the " Order of the Garter," Mr. Parkin's Supplement to Blomefield's " Hiſtory " of Norfolk," and Tanner's " Bibliotheca Britan- " nica." It is, in fact, a life of Sir John Faſtolff; but does not contain any thing very material which is not recited in our work.

(105) Ib. p. 124-127. 150—157.

(106) P. 221-228.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek
MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Kippis, Andrew, 1725-1795

Biographia Britannica: Or, The Lives Of The Most Eminent Persons Who Have Flourished in Great Britain And Ireland From The Earliest Ages, To The Present Times Collected From The Best Authorities, Printed And Manuscript, And Digested In The Manner Of Mr. Bayle's Historical and Critical
Bd.: 5.

London (1793)

2 Biogr.c. 12 b-5
urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10936645-6